Gc
974.9
K95n
v.1
1343232

M.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 02246 7044

5 Vol.
30.00

Irving S. Kull

# NEW JERSEY

## A HISTORY

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

IRVING S. KULL, A. M.

*Professor of History, Rutgers University*

VOLUME I

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
NEW YORK
1930

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND.

COPYRIGHT
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
1930

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF
FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN CO., IND.

1343232

# PREFACE

AS one considers the writing of a history of New Jersey he finds much to give him courage and much to test his hardihood. The bright side of the picture is the large amount of patient and excellent work that has been done. The careful collection of invaluable sources, official and otherwise, their editing and publication, the tireless pursuing of many details and their recording, the development of the New Jersey Historical Society and its library and museum as well as the collections of local societies, the State Library at Trenton and the source collections of the libraries of Rutgers and Princeton universities—these and much more light the way and ease the path of the historian.

But there is another side to the picture: the lighted path goes only part way and where the lights end one reflects on the wisdom of the angels. The historiography of New Jersey has in the main been concerned with the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. With few exceptions little has been done with the subsequent periods. Moreover, within the earlier periods interest has been confined largely to the political and military aspects. This was natural enough—the American Revolution was not only one of the great creative chapters in the history of politics but it was consummated in war.

Since those heroic days the years have been passing by till now substantially more than half of New Jersey's history is post-Revolutionary. Moreover, as her history has stretched out in length it has become multiple in its complexity, the simple economy and the restricted social and cultural life of the Colonial days giving way to the dynamics of the Industrial Revolution, the ramifications of which have entered into every phase of her life.

For this longer and more complicated stretch of New Jersey's life there has been no historian. An occasional monograph has appeared, but before a comprehensive history of the State can be written much spade work must be done. It is pleasant to know that at Princeton University is being carried forward a series of studies which will eventuate in such a history.

The present work owes it appearance to the active interest of its publishers in local history. Its authorship has been distributed among a group of writers selected because of their special interests.

Such coöperative authorship involves certain difficulties. Because the writers are selected for their specialties and not because they know New Jersey history as a whole, naturally no common thread can dominate the authorship. But if a coöperative work loses a common perspective it gains in the perspective which each writer brings from his specialty to his particular contribution.

Because the spade work has still to be done for so much of New Jersey history the greatest possible freedom was necessarily allowed to each writer.

The merits of the work consequently belong to the writers who assumed responsibility for their portions of the book.

The table of contents indicates the larger proportion of space given to the post-Revolutionary period than in earlier histories and indicates a treatment partly chronological and partly topical. Though periods in history are never as clear-cut as the term suggests, it has seemed desirable to break up this history into four such—the Colonial, the Revolutionary, the period from the Revolution to the Civil War, and the one from the Civil War to the present. This has not meant, however, the subdivision of every subject into four parts, and certain subjects have been handled entirely topically.

The editor and the authors are indebted to many for their interest in this work and for suggestions made. In particular they wish to recognize the service of Mr. John Bebout, of the New Jersey Law School, who read the chapters concerned with the constitutional development of New Jersey. Especially happy is the editor of this opportunity to express to Mr. George A. Osborn, Librarian of Rutgers University, his appreciation of his unstinted service, kindly advice and sympathetic interest. Not less ready to serve was Miss Maud Johnson, of the New Jersey Historical Society. The initiative of this book came from its publishers, to whom the editor is indebted for a most happy relationship, for patience and the solution of not a few difficulties.

I. S. K.

Geneva, Switzerland,
July 4, 1930.

# FOREWORD

TO Professor Kull's preface the publishers wish to add a word of recognition of the able and devoted efforts that have resulted in these volumes—volumes that will serve the student of New Jersey history for many years as an authoritative work. The names of the contributors in each case head their various sections and chapters, but nowhere in the books appear the names of a group of New Jerseymen whose aid and counsel at its inception and throughout its progress have been dependable factors in its success. This board of advisers and endorsers was as follows: Honorable A. Harry Moore, Honorable Edward L. Katzenbach, Honorable Edward C. Stokes, John P. Dullard, Dr. John M. Thomas, Uzal H. McCarter, Professor W. Starr Myers, Adrian Lyon, Warren R. Dix, Louis Sherwood, Honorable Rulif V. Lawrence, Mrs. Mabel S. Douglass, Joseph F. Folsom, Charles M. Lum, Edmund W. Wakelee, Dr. William H. S. Demarest, John Lenord Merrill, Eugene Stevenson, Hon. George S. Silzer, Willis Fletcher Johnson, Dr. J. J. Savitz, Frank D. Andrews. To them sincere appreciation of coöperation is extended, as well as to all others whose interest and support, expressed in many helpful ways, encouraged and actively assisted those responsible for the compilation and production of the history.

THE PUBLISHERS.

# CONTENTS


CHAPTER. PAGE.

I—The Physical Basis of Civilization in New Jersey..... 3
By Arthur P. Kelley.

II—The Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Jersey..... 14
By Charles A. Philhower, A. M., Superintendent of Schools, Westfield, New Jersey.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL.
BY HUGH MACD. CLOKIE, M. A.
(Chapters III-IX, Inclusive).

III—The First Settlers of New Jersey—Dutch, Swedes and English ..... 57

IV—The Two Lords Proprietors and the English Settlement of East New Jersey..... 91

V—West New Jersey—The Quaker Experiment..... 122

VI—The New Proprietors of East and West Jersey, 1680-1703.. 141

VII—United New Jersey: The First Royal Governors, Lords Cornbury and Lovelace..... 169

VIII—The Administrations of Hunter, Burnet, Montgomerie and Cosby ..... 189

IX—New Jersey as a Separate Royal Province, 1738-62..... 207

X—The Colonial Industries of New Jersey, 1618-1815..... 228
By Jeannette Paddock Nichols, Ph. D., Research Historian.

XI—Colonial Agriculture of New Jersey..... 263
By Carl Raymond Woodward, Assistant to the President, Rutgers University.

XII—Roads and Travel in Colonial New Jersey..... 301
By Nellie Myers Kull, A. B.

XIII—Religion in Colonial New Jersey..... 318
By Milton J. Hoffman, D. D., Professor of Church History, New Brunswick Theological Seminary.

XIV—Early Schools in New Jersey..... 360
By Evelyn Jones Hawkes, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Education, New Jersey College for Women.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL.
BY HUGH MACD. CLOKIE, M. A.
(Chapters XV-XIX, Inclusive).

XV—William Franklin, The Last Royal Governor, 1762-76..... 401

XVI—The Overthrow of the Royal Government..... 419

XVII—The Independent State of New Jersey..... 435

CHAPTER. PAGE.

XVIII—The Revolutionary Constitution of New Jersey, 1776-1844.. 448

XIX—New Jersey During the Revolution..... 461

---

XX—New Jersey and the War of the Revolution..... 471
By Edwin P. Conklin, Historian and Author.

XXI—The Literature of New Jersey..... 487
By Charles H. Whitman, Ph. D., Professor of History, Rutgers University.

XXII—The Churches During the Revolutionary and National Periods ..... 514
By Milton J. Hoffman, D. D., Professor of Church History, New Brunswick Theological Seminary.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL.
BY HUGH MACD. CLOKIE, M. A.
(Chapters XXIII-XXVI, Inclusive).

XXIII—New Jersey and the Confederation..... 537

XXIV—Federalists and Republicans..... 557

XXV—From the War of 1812 to Jacksonian Democracy..... 565

XXVI—The Constitution of 1844..... 576

---

XXVII—The Industrial History of New Jersey in the Middle Period 583
By Jeannette Paddock Nichols, Ph. D., Research Historian.

XXVIII—New Jersey Agriculture: 1775-1810. Economic Disturbance and Reconstruction..... 616
By Carl Raymond Woodward, Assistant to the President, Rutgers University.

XXIX—New Jersey Agriculture: 1810-60..... 627
By Carl Raymond Woodward, Assistant to the President, Rutgers University.

XXX—New Jersey Agriculture: 1860-1930..... 669
By Carl Raymond Woodward, Assistant to the President, Rutgers University.

XXXI—Slavery in New Jersey..... 720
By Irving Stoddard Kull, M. A., Professor of History, Rutgers University.

XXXII—Ante Bellum Politics..... 745
By B. H. Goldsmith, Historian and Author.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL.
BY HUGH MACD. CLOKIE, M. A.
(Chapters XXXIII-XXXIX, Inclusive, and XLI).

XXXIII—From Peace to War..... 757

XXXIV—The Rise of Copperheadism..... 770

XXXV—The Presidential Campaign of 1860 in New Jersey..... 787

XXXVI—The Presidential Campaign of 1864 in New Jersey..... 801

XXXVII—New Jersey and States' Rights During Civil War..... 810

CHAPTER. PAGE.

XXXVIII—The Union-Republican Movement in New Jersey..... 817

XXXIX—The Peace Democracy Gains Control of the State..... 830

---

XL—Military History of the Civil War..... 856
By B. H. Goldsmith.

XLI—Contest Over United States Senatorship, 1865-66..... 868

XLII—Post Bellum Politics and Conditions..... 883
By B. H. Goldsmith.

XLIII—The Industrial History of New Jersey Since 1861..... 892
By Jeannette Paddock Nichols, Ph. D., Research Historian.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL.
By EDWIN P. CONKLIN.
(Chapters XLIV-L, Inclusive).

XLIV—From Bedle to Abbett..... 943

XLV—Closing Years of the Nineteenth Century..... 975

XLVI—Spanish-American War .....1003

XLVII—The Turn of the Century.....1011

XLVIII—The Entrance of Wilson Upon the Political Stage.....1044

XLIX—From Wilson to the Present.....1066

L—New Jersey in the World War.....1088

NEW JERSEY'S PRESENT GOVERNMENT.
By HUGH MCD. CLOKIE, M. A.
(Chapters LI-LV, Inclusive)

LI—The Legislature .....1121

LII—The Executive .....1135

LIII—The Judiciary .....1144

LIV—Elections .....1150

LV—Local Government .....1153

---

LVI—Educational Progress in New Jersey During the Nineteenth Century .....1158
By Evelyn J. Hawkes, Ph. D.

LVII—Some Twentieth Century Extensions of Public Education in New Jersey .....1189
By Evelyn J. Hawkes, Ph. D.

LVIII—Banking in New Jersey.....1205
By Eugene E. Agger, Ph. D., Professor of Economics, Rutgers University.

LIX—History of the Ceramics Industry in New Jersey.....1258
By George Herbert Brown, Cer. Eng., Director of the Department of Ceramics and Professor of Ceramics, Rutgers University.

CHAPTER. PAGE.

LX—New Jersey's Medical History.....1267
By John Hammond Bradshaw, M. D., F. A. C. S.

LXI—New Jersey in Literature—Walt Whitman.....1279
By Charles H. Whitman, Ph. D., Professor of English, Rutgers University.

LXII—Writers of Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.....1285
By Charles H. Whitman, Ph. D.

LXIII—The Press.....1326
By B. H. Goldsmith.

LXIV—The Bench and Bar.....1360
By B. H. Goldsmith.

LXV—History of Insurance.....1373
By B. H. Goldsmith.

# NEW JERSEY—A HISTORY

# CHAPTER I.

## THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION IN NEW JERSEY.

**By Arthur P. Kelley.**

**Physical Geography of New Jersey**—New Jersey, like most of the Atlantic States from Massachusetts southward, may be divided roughly into three physiographical provinces, the mountains, the Piedmont and the coastal plain. (Bartlett, 1924.) The mountain region is often further divided into the long Kittatinny Range, the broad Kittatinny Valley and the still broader and higher though deeply dissected Highlands. There is no great elevation included in the State, High Point in Sussex County being the highest and yet only 1,800 feet above sea level; and there is much low coastal marsh. No large river is included within the State bounds, the Passaic and the smaller Raritan being the largest, but the great Hudson River is found on the eastern boundary, the lordly Delaware on the west, and there are 319 miles bordering navigable waters. The Atlantic coast, however, is low and sandy, and barred by sand spits so that no good harbor exists between Raritan Bay on the northeast and Delaware Bay on the southwest.

The Raritan and the Delaware, then, are the logical entrances of New Jersey from the sea. Between these two embayments is a belt of lightly undulating land, easily traversed, well watered and free from boulders. It is in part the gravelly inner edge of the coastal plain, with the hillier Piedmont region beyond. Here we find crystal brooks flowing over their sands or lightly dropping into slaty ravines, while the broad level uplands between are well-tilled and fenced and dotted at intervals with farmsteads. Here, too, we find the great highways of commerce and more and more the homes of people.

To the east, where Raritan Bay meets the ocean and Sandy Hook presents a capricious frontage to the sea, lie the Navesink Highlands. Boldly rising to three hundred feet, with the Beacon Hills they constitute the only considerable elevations in the Coastal Plain, which is otherwise a slightly undulating tract of sands and gravel at most not more than a hundred feet above sea level. The plain is well trailed with highways and railroads, but throughout (at least in the major portion) is covered with forest so extensive, so unresponding to the home-seeker of earlier days that it early acquired the name of "The Pines" and was left for barren. At intervals there are streams and these are lined with dense white cedar or with red maple. Down by the coast are broad salt marshes, "low green prairies of the sea," though neither so broad nor so wet as those Marshes of Glynn where the tide ebbs and flows through intricate channels. The tidal water for the most part enters a bay, for almost the whole coast is edged by a fringing sand bar which has been heaped up by waves and wind, and on the bar are low dunes

that are seldom large enough or high enough to be blown and cause damage. Invaluable to the Jersey coast has been the sand bar and the bay within it.

West of the Piedmont rise the mountains. (See Lewis and Kuemmell, 1915.) True, there are some ranges which gladden the eye in the Piedmont, but these are not upfolded strata but rather are igneous intrusions in the sediments which have been etched by erosion, and thus we have the Palisades, the Watchungs and Cushetunk. But the hill-lands beyond—Sparta Mountain and Allamuchy, Jenny Jump and Pohatcong—have come to be by folding and elevation of sediments laid down before the great Appalachian Revolution. Almost all of the ranges trend northeast and southwest, for so was the axis of the Revolution, and in between the ridges are narrow valleys with steep sided and boulder-strewn slopes rising from meadows which border the streams. These streams usually follow the valleys and fall into the Delaware, or into the Raritan or Passaic; but some of them were there before the hills and have continued to remain there as the hills slowly rose. Delaware Water Gap was so formed; and of the gorges, it would be hard to find one more beautiful than that of the Black River.

Now as we go northward, we find that the valleys become more u-shaped, lakes appear and drifts of gravel heaped together without any hint of sorting. We find ourselves then at the terminal moraine of the last great ice-sheet which covered northern North America, a moraine which crosses Staten Island and enters New Jersey beyond Woodbridge but bends northward by way of Hackettstown because there the ice-sheet was retarded by mountains. North of the moraine the land becomes rough and rumpled into hillocks and hollows, and in the hollows lie placid lakes mirroring the blue and the clouds or clumps of white birch which sway lightly at the bank. Small fields and boulder strewn pastures are succeeded by woodlands and rocky mountain slopes, a gorge dark with hemlock or a sudden lake silhouetting a distant range.

These physiographical provinces—Coastal Plain, Piedmont and Mountain—are common to the Atlantic States and Provinces, except that in the Maritime Provinces and in New England the Coastal Plain is largely submerged in a shallow sea. New Jersey is the northernmost State with a well developed coastal plain; the State differs from its neighbors in that the Piedmont lacks those rich gneissic and other Palaeozoic soil-forming rocks which lie on the seaward side in adjacent states. Its mountains are part of the Appalachian system and are the ends of those parallel ranges which characterize the system southward.

**Geological Origin of Land and Life in New Jersey**—The physiographical provinces are the result of their past history. In studying these ancient records we perceive that during that great interval, the Palaeozoic,—hardly to be measured in the human abstraction, time—New Jersey was a seaside territory, but the sea lay west and the continent lay east. For in that time the land mass of which New Jersey was a part lay eastward, and

GLACIAL ROCK SLIDE NEAR WANAQUE

Banding of the rock and glacial striae do not coincide in direction. Glacial movement was up to the left

GLACIAL ROCK SLIDE NEAR WANAQUE

A great contrast to the view above. Smooth floor polished by the ice movement carrying débris across

we call it Appalachia, and a great strait existed between Appalachia and Laurentia which was to the north and west. This strait covered what is now the Highlands of New Jersey and had indeed covered this land from a still remoter time which we may conveniently call the Proterozoic. Throughout the Palaeozoic, however, sediments were brought down rivers of Appalachia and deposited in the strait, so that gradually the shore was built westward, and with elevation all of New Jersey became dry land. For this reason New Jersey is lacking those beds of coal and deposits of petroleum which were formed late in the Palaeozoic in swamps further westward.

With the end of the Palaeozoic came that great Appalachian Revolution which we have already mentioned, by which the vast deposits of sediment between Appalachia and Laurentia were folded into gigantic mountains. This event, then, properly marks the beginning of the Mesozoic, the Middle Time of the older geologists. New Jersey now had mountains in the northwest, though vastly higher than at present, but instead of a low coastal plain there was another land mass to the east, also with high flung mountain ranges. (See Darton, 1890.) Between the two lay a valley—across the present Piedmont—like the interior valley of California which now exists. The valley, too, was arid and huge saurian beasts haunted infrequent water holes and tracked the red clay and were not infrequently mired and buried. From the mountains streamed rivers from their canyons, bringing incredible amounts of iron stained sediments and depositing them in thick edged strata; above towered mountains with possibly glaciers upon the loftiest peaks. Four times the land may have rocked with earthquakes as spreading sheets of lava were intruded into the red sediments. All of this history is now expressed in a peaceful landscape of red shale and sandstone with low basaltic ridges.

Later the old land of Appalachia sank, Atlantis like, into the sea and dragged down the seacoast of New Jersey until ocean waves beat upon the red-stained shales. The coast was not submerged very deeply, however, and through the newer time of the Cenozoic and continuing even today there have been deposits built upon this continental shelf. During Cretaceous times which ended the Mesozoic there was formed that belt of gravel and sand richly provided with glauconite, usually called green sand, which extends from Raritan Bay to Trenton and southward along the Delaware. Here, too, were deposited deep beds of white clay and in the clay we find fossil remains (See Newberry, 1896, Berry, 1905, 1910) of ancestors of our present flowering plants in abundance. Before the Cretaceous there were no or virtually no angiospermous flowering plants and the reptilian herbivores must needs have contented themselves with fern plants and allies of the conifers. Judging by the way animals of the present avoid such plants, the ancient saurians must have regretted the adoption of such a diet.

Gradually, through the Tertiary, coastal New Jersey was built up to its present form (Geol. Surv. N. J., 1910) but meanwhile a change had come upon the old eroded mountains of the northwest. In most of the preceding ages, climate of the earth had been more or less uniform throughout except

as elevation above sea level caused decrease in temperature. We now (in Pleistocene) find the climate of the earth becoming distinguished into zones. Moreover the Arctic climate extended southward and enormous ice-sheets developed over the Laurentian Highlands, over Central Canada and over the Cascadian region. (Transeau, 1903.) That over the Laurentian Highlands, pushing southward, finally entered New Jersey, ploughed out valleys, overrode and planed mountains. (Salisbury, 1905.) Wide-spread deposits of gravel and clay were made beneath the ice sheet and innumerable boulders were broken from ledges, later to be strewn over the countryside.

This ice sheet had at least two advances over New Jersey, remains of the older (Jerseyan) drift being visible beyond Somerville and Flemington, while the last (Wisconsin) drift is everywhere evident in the northern counties and a sinuous terminal moraine was left at the edge. With amelioration of the climate the ice cap retreated to its present position in Arctic regions.

As the ice sheet had come southward in Pleistocene it had driven vegetation and animals with it,—a boreal vegetation of tundra and coniferous forest which formed a fringing belt at the edge of the ice sheet and even possibly upon it. This belt of boreal plant-life was apparently not very wide but probably covered the mountains of New Jersey. On the Coastal Plain another flora had developed, derived in part from the coastal flora which had its inception in the exuberance of the Cretaceous and in part from the Highlands; for on the old Pocono Plateau had developed a primitive Pine Barren flora. By a slight submergence of the Cretaceous marl belt southern Jersey became an island with its pine barren flora upon it (Harshberger, 1911; Taylor, 1912).

With retreat of the ice the boreal flora and fauna retreated with it but some of the boreal plants—tamarack and Ledum among others—remained stranded in the mountains. The old Pocono flora also found a home on dry sandy ridges of the Highlands, for it was being hard pressed by invading deciduous forest which came northward from the more southern Appalachians. Pine Barren vegetation also covered the Coastal Plain but was gradually invaded by encroaching oak forest until now the whole Pine Barren area is permeated with oak. In this way arose the forests of New Jersey, mixed pine and beech-oak in the mountains, beech and oak in the Piedmont and the marl district, and pitch pine in the Pine Barrens. We find that animals as well as plants have responded to climatic as to other influences of their homes, and we may justly recognize life zones which trend across New Jersey;—the Austro-riparian barely entering Cape May, the Carolinian covering the pine and marl belts, the Alleghanian covering part of the Piedmont and the mountains with some hints of Transitional in the northermost counties.

**Primeval Forests and Fauna**—When Europeans reached New Jersey, therefore, they found a virgin forest covering the State, for the earlier inhabitants had made but slight impression upon it; the Amerinds of

Scheyichbi had little of the forests. With their stone axes they had made slight clearings along streams, and there were maize lands along estuarine rivers (DeLaet, 1625; DeVries, 1633; Jogues, 1646); but the at most 3,000 inhabitants of New Jersey lived chiefly by hunting and fishing. Slender trails led through the forest (DeRaires, 1628; Nelson, 1894) to the shell fisheries on the Navesink and the Delaware, a woodland "as delightful . . . . a desert, as can be seen, with so many varieties of severall flowers, trees and forrests" (Evelin, 1655). The forests of the lands first seen were hardwood, as witnessed by men of the "Half Moon" which anchored in Sandy Hook Bay and "So they went up into the Woods, and saw great store of very goodly Oakes and some currants" (Juet, 1610). Bluffs beyond Raritan Bay were found to be "tolerably high points and well wooded, . . . . full of oaks, elms, walnut and fir (hemlock) trees, also wild cedar and chestnut trees . . . . (with) many fine valleys, where there is good grass. . . . . At the side of the before mentioned 'Achter Col,' there is a great deal of waste reedy land; the rest is full of trees, and in some places there is good soil, where the savages plant their maize . . . . The other side of the same small river, according to conjecture, is about 20 to 23 leagues broad to the South River (from the Raritan to the Delaware) in the neighborhood of the Sancicans, in so far as I have been able to make it out from the mouths of the savages; but as they live in a state of constant enmity with those tribes, the paths across are little used, wherefore I have not been able to learn the exact distance." (DeRaires, 1628.)

The wooded character of the country is attested by Indian place names, as "nawakwa (Rahway) which means "middle of the forest" (Nelson, 1894). A letter written in 1655 (Whitehead, 1875, pp. 16-17) remarks, however, that "Both sides of the Raritan are adorned with spacious meadows, enough to feed thousands of cattle. . . . . The woodlands are very good for corn and stored with wild beasts, as deer, elks and innumerable multitude of fowl, as in other parts of the country. . . . . Upon this river is no town settled, only one at the mouth of it (Ompoge—Amboy) . . . . (and) none betwixt that and Delaware Bay, which is about sixty miles, all of which is a rich champagne country, free from stones and indifferent level, having brooks or rivers, ordinarily one or more; in every mile's travel. This country is peopled only with wild beasts, as deer, elk, bears and other creatures, so that in a whole day's journey, you shall meet with no inhabitants except a few Indians."

Gabriel Thomas (1698) speaks also of the wild animals of the forest: "Panthers, Woolves, Fishes, Deer, Beaver, Otter, Hares, Musk-rats, Minks, Wild Cats, Foxes, Rackoons, Rabits, and that strange creature, the Possam, . . . . There are also Bears . . . . the Flying squirrel . . . . in the woods an abundance of Red Deer . . . . (and) vast numbers of other wild creatures as Elks, Bufalos, etc. . . . . The Bay and River of Delaware and the Rivers and cricks that run into it are plentifully stored with various sorts of good Fish and Water-fowl as Swans, Geese, Ducks, Wigeons, etc. And a

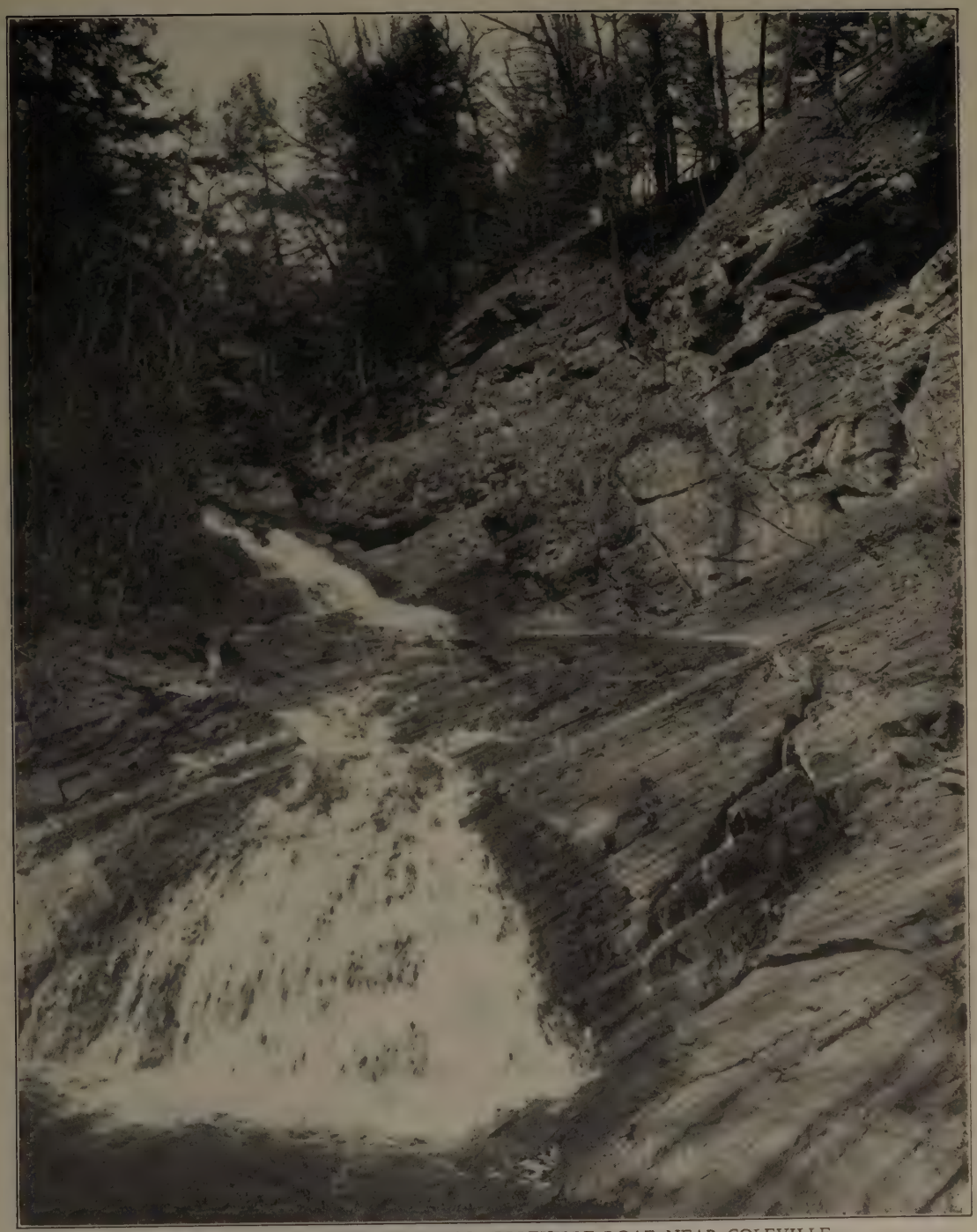
considerable Whale-Fishery may be carried on in the Bay of Delaware, and on the Sea-coasts of New Jersey, . . . . There are a great quantity of Oysters . . . . Likewise, in Delaware River are great plenty of Sturgion . . . . Herrings . . . . Shad . . . . The woods are furnished with store of Wild Fowl, as Turkeys, Pheasants, Heath Cocks, Partridges, Pidgeons, Blackbirds, etc."

Not all of the forests were of hardwood, for the Palisades then, as now, had hemlock woods (Bogaert, 1634) while the Hackensack marshes were covered with a cedar swamp which was tersely described by a traveler (Wansey, 1797): "All the way to Newark (nine miles) is a very flat marshy country, intersected with rivers; many cedar swamps abounding with mosquitos." The white cedar was removed about 1800 to stop banditry but stumps may still be seen about Harrison.

We have spoken of the Highlands; beneath is Sandy Hook where Indians came for "wild plumes," while southward stretches a fringing sand spit with low dunes and a beach with breaking waves. "A little beyond (Egg Harbor and Bay Haven) in the same direction, a fine tall forest is seen upon a low strand, and then succeeds a flat shore with very small and low dunes; and then towards the south a lofty hilly woodland and here and there slight elevations." (DeLaet, 1625.) The dunes beneath a sky of blue, with a summer sea beyond and the beach plum in a vernal dress of white, the velvety cedars and dancing waters of Barnegat Bay—the last of your beauty is about to disappear before encroaching towns! Great hollies grew at Five Mile Beach (Abbott, 1907) while in former times the forests grew closer to the sea (Cook, 1868). Within was a land of pines recognized even on a map of 1655 (Vanderdonck) and probably almost a pure growth of pine (Stewart, 1897), a land of mild climate and soft resinous breezes. It was described as "flat, and the trees far asunder with no sod" (Kalm, 1748) and as settlers penetrated, they settled on the borders of navigable waters, "depending more on the water than on their farms for a livelihood" so that the interior remained an unbroken wilderness until far into the Nineteenth Century. (Coman, 1891.) There were great swamps of white cedar among the pines, trees with "thick and tall stems" placed close together (Kalm, 1748).

Along the Delaware were rich lands covered with forests of "tall trees, with deciduous leaves" (Kalm, 1748) except that hemlock was found along the river at Burlington, and in branches of these trees settled flocks of wild pigeons so numerous that travelers were in danger from the falling of broken limbs. (Jones, 1898.) Beaver and otter disported on the banks of Assanpink Creek (Abbott, 1868). To the north and west the hill-lands were rough and wooded: Cazenove (1794) records that on the upper road to Easton "the ground from M(orris) T(own) to this place (Black River Town) was very broken; high hills and not very good (soil)."

**New Jersey as a Cultural Center**—What, then, were the natural conditions which New Jersey presented to the Colonist?



COOPER'S GLEN, SUSSEX COUNTY—COLEVILLE ROAD NEAR COLEVILLE

One of the State's most picturesque waterfalls

(I) *Accessibility*—In sailing westward from Europe, the first most feasible route which clearly escapes cold Arctic currents coming from the North is the route just south of Cape Cod. This naturally leads to Raritan Bay; and it is not remarkable, therefore, that explorers soon found themselves along the Jersey Coast when the Azores route was abandoned.

(II) *Lack of Harbors*—We must note, none the less, that no good harbor is possessed solely by the State. Camden, jointly with Philadelphia, shares the dredged waterway of the Delaware; Newark has in recent years developed a port by a similar process. Perth Amboy was a chief port and a more important city in earlier days; Jersey City has had possibly greater advantages. New Jersey, accordingly, was conveniently accessible to Colonists but indirectly through New York and later through Philadelphia and Burlington, and early trade flowed to these places. The low even coast of Jersey with its dunes and its breakers was early a barrier to progress of the State though later an asset.

(III) *Transportation Facilities*—Once landed the Colonist found easy traveling, for the forests were open and with so little underbrush that a carriage could have been driven beneath the trees (Budd, 1685; Kalm, 1748). The woods were moist, and destructive fires had never been extensive, so that travelers did not need to fear those terrors of grass and forest fire which afflicted later settlers in regions farther west. The two Indian trails between the Raritan and the Delaware (Woodward and Hageman, 1883) with others became bridle paths and later were widened into crude roads; and even in the hills numerous valleys made travel easy.

Trading was materially aided by the numbers of streams of the State navigable by skiff and small boat. From the stream-side clearings, produce could be floated to market and supplies returned by water (Coman, 1891); and settlement thus depended upon the streams. In later development an important waterway was readily constructed between New Brunswick and Trenton (the Delaware and Raritan Canal) following the old drainage depression through which the Raritan flowed into the Delaware during the Pleistocene. Railroads, too, found natural depressions even in the mountains while on the coastal plain the railroads run for miles without a fill or bend. Thus New Jersey, with its broad coastal plain, its navigable waters and level tide water region, provided better highways than New England which is virtually without a coastal plain, or the Southern States which have a super-abundance.

(IV) *Geographical Position*—Lying as the State does, virtually a peninsula injected between the North and the South Atlantic coasts, New Jersey could not but be a highway of travel between the two, a highway of commerce and transient travel which at the same time attracted a permanent population which both aided maintenance of the traffic and produced products for its increase. New Jersey, third from the smallest of the Colonies, of the

States, had no part remote or inaccessible, and its products, at first agricultural but later industrial, could be placed with slight difficulty in the arteries of world traffic.

(V) *Climate*—The climate of New Jersey, though having greater extremes than the climate of Southern England, is more nearly similar than the climates of either New England or of Virginia. With a mean annual temperature of 52 degrees as against 48 degrees for Boston or 58.6 degrees for the Virginia coastal plain, Atlantic City presents an attractive figure. Rainfall, too, is sufficient for healthy vegetal growth without being depressingly damp (48 inches of rain-fall, though the figure varies through the State. See Vermeule, 1900), while fogs are not as prevalent as on the west coast of Europe. The coast has comparative freedom from snow although there is a progressive increase as the mountains are approached. Atlantic City has seven months of summer—two months more than the mountains—and snow seldom lies on the ground. Winds are rarely excessive but there are usually refreshing breezes and on the coast an alternation of land and sea breezes. Coming to New Jersey, therefore, the European colonist found a climate not unlike his own, and the period of adaptation to a new environment was consequently shorter than in tropical or frigid climes. Moreover, the State occurs in one of the four regions of the world shown by Ellsworth Huntington to be best adapted to development of the highest type of civilization. The colonists, however, regarded the climate as less favorable than their own because of sudden changes from warm to cold. (For a discussion of climate and its effect on health of the colonists, see Kalm, 1748.)

(VI) *Soils*—The natural approaches to New Jersey being by way of Raritan Bay and the Delaware, they led at once to finest soils of the State. It was a happy circumstance that the early settlements were at Middletown, along Arthur Kill and the Delaware, in the rich marl belt. Even the red shale was said to produce bountiful crops of grain and so the uplands and valleys of New Jersey came to have a reputation which induced emigration from other colonies. (See Chapter on Agriculture.) On the other hand, we find great tracts of Tertiary and Quarternary sands which make up such a generous fraction of the size of the State which long retarded its progress when agriculture was considered a more vital industry. Even today, because of fires, much of the area which could be in productive forest, has degenerated into barren scrub lands. Then, too, much of the north is depauperately mountainous or is covered with glacial till while the belt of red shale and sandstone is none too productive. The marl belt and the limestone valleys determined the early productive history of the State.

(VII) *Mineral Resources*—Early attracted to America in the lust for gold, Europeans turned covetous eyes towards the Jersey hills (Juet, 1610) but found neither gold nor silver, although silver is recorded from the State (Canby, 1899). The long persistent idea that the Appalachians were the

backbone of the continent bolstered their hopes, but they knew naught of the copper deposits nor the rich ores of zinc and of iron in the mountains as at Franklin Furnace; bog iron ore was early utilized. Inexhaustible supplies of fine sand were the basis of a glass-making industry which waxed and waned. Cretaceous clays have made possible New Jersey's ceramic products. The rich deposits of marl were sources of fertilizers in the early Nineteenth Century (See Mem. Phila. Soc. Prom. Agric.). In the earlier days oyster shell was utilized as a source of quick lime but there is limestone in abundance; with granite, sandstone, and gneiss for building, gneiss for road material and gravel for both. No coal or oil occurs in New Jersey, however, and industrial development of the State had to be on lines different from that of states provided with such resources.

(VIII) *Forests*—The forests—as we have seen—were largely hardwood in the north and softwood in the south. Of all the hardwoods, oak was chiefly prized and that for ship-building and construction, and was shipped even to the West Indies "in exchange for rum, sugar and molasses" (Gifford, 1900). There was also ash and hickory (used for axe handles); and there were such valuable trees as black walnut, cherry and red cedar. The Representation of New Netherland (1650) speaks of "walnut (hickory) of different sizes, in great abundance, and good for fuel, for which it is much used, and chestnut, the same as in the Netherlands (though really a different species) growing in the woods without order. There are three varieties of beech—water beech, common beech, and hedge beech—also axe-handle wood, two species of canoe wood, ash, birch, pine, fir, juniper or wild cedar, linden, alder, willow, thorn, elder and many other kinds useful for many purposes, but unknown to us by name."

The pine forests provided tar, resin and turpentine (Rawle, 1725), New Jersey being an important producer of naval stores during Colonial days; and at a later period, charcoal for use of the forges and iron furnaces (Cook, 1879). Value of the cedar was early recognized and the swamps were located (Stevens, 1897), the trees being made into shingles for houses of Manhattan, Philadelphia and the surrounding country (Kalm, 1748); and hoops were also made from the cedar. So valuable was the wood that buried trees were mined from the swamps.

(IX) *Fruits and Plant Products*—The earliest settlers spoke exuberantly of the natural products of the country—of "wild fruits, pears, wilde cherries, pine-apples and the dainty parsemanas" (Evelin, 1655). The "pine-apple" must have been somewhat exaggerated, and possibly the persimmon. The more exact Journal (l. c.) cites the following indigenous fruits: "Acorns, nuts of different kinds as chestnuts, beech nuts, not many mulberries, plums, medlars, wild cherries, black currants, gooseberries, hazel nuts, small apples, abundant strawberries through out the whole country, bilberries or blueberries, ground nuts and artichokes, vines in the wild woods as well as on the maize lands and flats." The quantities of grapes impressed the settlers and

provided the basis for such forms as the Concord and the Catawba. The peach became naturalized very early (Jogues, 1646). In the bogs were blueberries and cranberries which were destined to later importance.

There was no lack of natural fruits for the colonist. In addition the Indians taught their new neighbors the value of wild rice (*Zizania*), the tuckahoe (rootstocks of *Peltandra* and *Orontium*) and tubers of *Apios* as well as maize, pumpkin and tobacco (Juet, 1610). They found that dogwood bark could be substituted for quinine and that sassafras provided both a tonic and a tea. (See Gifford, 1900, for a discussion of early uses of plants by Indians, Watson's Annals, and the invaluable work of Kalm). In the hill-lands grew the sugar maple from which the Indian extracted sap for making maple sugar; in swamps grew holly and mistletoe, sphagnum and willow, each to become later of importance. We should mention also the salt meadows which yield salt marsh hay. The very prolificness of plant life, however, made the new lands difficult to keep clear, though the trees were easily removed in the first place.

None of the other seaboard colonies provided such a rich store of plant products in so small an area as did New Jersey.

(X) *Animal Products*—In all of the early settlements game was necessary for both food and raiment. Here were game, fowl and fish in abundance; passenger pigeons were so abundant that DeVries wrote in 1633 "an immense flight of pigeons is obscuring the sky." "The country was the stamping ground of the bison, or buffalo." (Stevens, 1897), although they were probably small detached herds wandering in natural meadows. Numerous animals provided leather and fur.

As a land for colonization, New Jersey offered an equable climate and rich natural resources, but because of lack of harbors and presence of coastal sands the stream of traffic was earlier diverted to other channels; and through lack of coal and oil and prodigal wasting of charcoal resources its manufacturing development was delayed. Its position and great wealth of possibilities give the State, nevertheless, an importance beyond its size.

References:

Abbott, C. C., 1868. *Fauna of New Jersey.* In The Geology of New Jersey; Final Report of the State Geologist, 1868.

Abbott, C. C., 1907-09. *Archæologia Nova Cæsarea,* 1907-09, Trenton.

Bartlett, Irene W., 1924. *The Geography of New Jersey.*

Berry, E. W., 1905. *The Flora of the Cliffwood Clays.* Geol. Surv. N. J., Ann. Rep. State Geol., 1905.

Berry, E. W., 1910. *The Raritan Flora.* Geol. Surv. N. J. Ann. Rep. State Geol.

Bogaert, H. M. van der (auth.?) 1643-45. *Narrative of a journey into the Mohawk and Oneida Country.* Rep. in Narr. New Netherlands, 1609-64; J. F. Jameson, Ed.

Budd, Thomas (1685). *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America,* being a true account of the country; with its produce and commodities there made in the year 1685, a new edition with an introduction and copious historical notes, by Edward Armstrong, N. Y.

Canby, Wm. 1899. A list of minerals found in New Jersey. Final Rep. N. J. Geol. Surv.

Cazenove Journal 1794. *A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania.* R. W. Kelsey, Ed. Haverford (Pa.)

WANAQUE RESERVOIR
Lookout south from intersecting concrete bridge

WANAQUE RESERVOIR
Looking north from same point. When filled, the reservoir water will be up to the line of trees shown in these views

Coman, C. W., 1891. *Oak Land and Pine Land Belts and Their Relation to Agriculture.* Geol. Surv. N. J., Ann. Rep. State Geol., 1891.

Cook, G. H., 1868. *The Geology of New Jersey.* Newark (N. J.) *Daily Advertiser.*

Cook, G. H., 1879. *A List of Charcoal Blast Furnaces.* Geol. Surv. N. J., Ann. Rep. State Geol., 1879.

Darton, N. H., 1890. *The Relations of the Traps of the Newark System in the New Jersey Region.* U. S. Geol. Surv., Bul. 67.

DeLaet, J., 1625. *Nieuwe Wereldt.* (abbr. title.) Trans. in Narr. New Netherlands 1609-64.

DeRaires, Isaak, 1628? *Letters of Isaack deRaires to Samuel Bloommaert.* In Narr. New Netherlands, 1609-64.

DeVries, D. P. 1633-43 (1655) *Korte Historiael Ende Journaels Aeutcyckennige.* Trans. in Narr. New Netherland.

Evelyn, R. 1655. Letter, quoted in Smith, Samuel 1765 *History of the Colony of Nova Cæsaerea* (abbr. title). Repr. from 2nd ed. Trenton (N. J.).

Gifford, J., 1900. *Forestal Conditions and Silvicultural Prospects of the Coastal Plain of New Jersey.* Geol. Surv. N. J., Ann. Rep. State Geol., 1899; Report on Forests.

Harshberger, J. W., 1911. *Phyteographical Survey of North America.* Leipzig.

Jogues, Isaac, 1646. *Novum Belgium.* Trans. in Narr. New Netherland, 1609-64.

Jones, N. E., 1898. *The Squirrel Hunters of the Ohio, or Glimpses of Pioneer Life.* Cincinnati.

Journal of New Netherland, 1647 Trans. in Narr. New Netherland, 1609-64.

Juet, Robert, 1610. *The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson.* Trans. in Narr. New Netherland, 1609-64.

Kalm, Peter, 1748. *Travels into North America.* John Reinhold Foster, trans. London.

Lewis, J. V. and H. B. Kuemmel, 1915. *The Geology of New Jersey.* Geol. Surv. N. J. Bul. 14, 1915; Union Hill (N. J.).

Nelson, William, 1894. *The Indians of New Jersey.* Paterson (N. J.) Press Print.

Newberry, J., 1896. *Flora of the Amboy Clays.* Mon. U. S. Geol. Surv., v. 26, 1895.

Rawle, Francis, 1725. *Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware to Become Rich; Wherein the Several Growths and Products of these Countries are Demonstrated* (abbr. title) Philadelphia.

Stevens, L. T., 1897. *The History of Cape May County.* (Abbr. title) Cape May City (N. J.).

Stone, Witmer, 1911. *Plants of Southern New Jersey.* Ann. Rep. N. J. State Museum, 1910.

Taylor, Norman, 1912. *Origin and Present Distribution of the Pine Barrens of New Jersey.*

Thomas, Gabriel, 1698. *Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania, and of West New Jersey in America.* London.

Transeau, E. N., 1903. *On the Geographic Distribution and Ecological Relations of the Bog Plant Societies of Northern North America.* Bot. Gaz. 36.

Van der Donck, Adrian, 1655. *Beschrivinge van Nieuw-Nederlant* (Abbr title). Trans. in Narr. New Netherland, 1609-64.

Vermeule, C. C. *The forests of New Jersey.* Geol. Surv. N. J., Ann. Rep. State Geol., 1899; Report on Forests.

Wansey, Henry, 1798. *An Excursion to the United States of North America in the Summer of 1794.* 2nd ed. Salisbury.

Whitehead, W. A., 1875. *East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments.* Newark (N. J.).

Woodward, Carl, 1927. *The History of Agriculture in New Jersey.*

Woodward, E. M. and J. F. Hageman, 1883. *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties, New Jersey.*

# CHAPTER II.

## THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF NEW JERSEY.

By Charles A. Philhower, A. M.,
Superintendent of Schools, Westfield, New Jersey.

**Prehistoric Man in New Jersey**—It is still an unsettled question whether man first came to this continent from Asia or Europe. There are a few who argue that man was autochthonous to America; but these are rapidly losing ground. The advocates of the "Lost Atlantis," a continent now submerged in the Atlantic Ocean, are fast falling into oblivion. There is but a figment of fact that man reached the Western Hemisphere by canoeing his way from island to island in the littoral continent of Atlantis. However, evidence substantiates the position that discovery was made by Norwegians some hundreds of years prior to the first voyage of Columbus. Some have argued that the American Indian, if not of the Lost Tribe of Israel, is directly descended from this stock. What his racial ancestry was is still a quandary, but that he came by way of Bering Strait and the Kuro Siwo Ocean Current, landed on the cold shores of Alaska and spread out over North America in a rather fan-shaped fashion is generally accepted. Just how long ago this happened puzzles the archeologist and ethnologist. Recent finds in Yucatan give conclusive evidence that it was more than 700 B. C. Archeological finds suggest that man was co-existent on this continent with the mastodon, the dinosaurs and the extinct peccary. There is reason to believe that the mastodon was exterminated in New Jersey by a very early type of savage man. In a glacial lake in Orange County near the village of Montgomery a mastodon was found standing erect in the mire with a dugout canoe near it, suggesting that primitive man had driven him into the perilous location. The remains of a mastodon was discovered in a similar position in the Passaic Valley near Chatham, New Jersey. The Lenape stone found in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, by Bernard L. Hansell in 1872 shows conclusively that the Indian and the mastodon were co-existent in the Delaware Valley, if the specimen is accepted as authentic. It does not take a great stretch of the imagination to see early man as a roaming troglodyte braving the frigid waters of Bering Sea and in savage hordes, the one following the other, heedlessly, into the wilds of what is now the Americas. Living mostly in the open, with hair covering the body similar almost to that of animals, he is found set at enmity with all other created beings, killing and subsisting upon those that in any way interfered with his livelihood. This manlike animal grew in stature and in wisdom until he was the lord of the realm, and we find in him paleolithic man minus many of his animal characteristics. The "turtle backs" of America that correspond to the "hatches" of England and the *coups de poings* of France

are telltale evidence of man in the pleistocene or glacial epoch. These implements are of various materials; jasper, argillite, rhyolite, quartzite, chert, and novacalite, and are found sparingly throughout the State. Diligent search has been made for evidence in this field by C. C. Abbott of Trenton, New Jersey, H. C. Mercer of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, and Ernest Volk of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and while there are those that strongly argue against the thesis of paleolithic man in America yet through various expeditions now seeking evidence in the west, southwest, and central America the position of these archeological pioneers is being substantiated. Implements, crude in workmanship, lacking polish, absence of pottery, depth of position in undisturbed deposits and patination on fractured surfaces indicate great age. Evidence of this character was reported in the Trenton gravels by Abbott at Trenton. In the Upper Delaware at Minisink Island the writer has found cultures with hearth stones in original position nine feet below the surface. On the floor of a rock shelter at Warfords Rock south of Frenchtown an ancient culture was located, two and a half feet below the surface in undisturbed position. Discoveries such as these and those of Abbott are not uncommon in New Jersey.

By the patina on chipped stones there is suggestion of at least two distinct cultures. Specimens of flint show flake scars of decidedly greater age than others often on the same reject. It would seem that primitive man in paleolithic time picked up a piece of flint with an idea of fashioning it in a certain way and after breaking off a few flakes cast it aside; and that a thousand years or more later another workman in stone tried to fashion it to his needs without success. I say a thousand years, for the patina as shown on the scars of such ancient artifacts took longer to form than the historic period of man's existence on the earth. Then, too, the distinctive difference in the character of patination on the same background indicates a long interval of time.

It is ordinarily thought that the old argillites which are so common and uniformly distributed throughout the State are vestiges of the workmanship of a different race from that of the historic Indian. This may be true. It is general knowledge that argillite weathers much more readily than flint, and what seems to be an index of great age might have taken place in a few hundreds of years. It should be noted also that evidence of weathering on this material varies greatly. Some implements are weathered almost to the point of obliteration of identification. However, the workmanship on the old slate knives is also of a very primitive character. Surface finds show that argillite was universal throughout this area and that it was used for a very long period of time. In fact, there is suggestion that in case of emergency old argillite arrows and spears were picked up, and upon polishing the points were used even in historic time.

Another object of great age is the implement commonly called the ceremonial stone. There seems to be no account of its use in the literature on the discovery or relative thereto that sheds any light in this field. In the

diggings of Hawkes and Linton on the Rancocas Creek we find these ceremonials associated with an argillitic culture in an undisturbed yellow sand of considerable age. With them was no pottery, which fact points to an early and distinctive race of people. Evidence indicates the possibility of four periods of man's existence in New Jersey prior to the historic Indian, troglodytic, paleolithic, neolithic, and argillitic. At the present, facts cannot carry us beyond two.

**Accounts of Discoverers**—It is thought that Verrazzano touched the coast in the latitude of New Jersey in 1524. His account of the country and natives reads as follows:

> When we had something animated them, using their gestures they came so neere us, that we cast them certaine bels and glasses, and many toyes, which, when they had received, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ship. There were amongst these people 2 kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare; the eldest was about 40 yeeres of age, the second was a young man of 20 yeeres olde; their apparell was on this manner—the elder had upon his naked body a harts skin wrought artifically with divers branches like damaske; his head was bare with the hayre tied up behind with divers knots; about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with divers stones of sundry colours; the young man was almost apparelled after the same manner. This is the goodliest people and of the fairest conditions that we have found in this our voyage. They exceed us in bigness, they are the colour of brasse, some of them inclined more to whitenesse, others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with long and black hair, which they are very careful to trim and decke up, they are black and quick eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Majestie of the other parts of their body, having al such proportion as apperteeneth to any handsome man. The women are of like conformitie and beautie, very handsome and wel favoured, of pleasant countenance, and comely to behold; they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education; they are all naked save a cover of deere skin branched or embroidered as the men use; they are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skins of luzernes (lynx); they adorne their heads with divers ornaments made of their owne hair; which hang downe before on both sides of their brestes, other use other kind of dressing themselves like unto the women of Egypt and Syria; these are of the elder sort; and, when they are married, they wear divers toyes, according to the usage of the people of the east, as well men as women.

From the pen of Juet who came in with Hudson in September, 1609, we have the following report:

> This day the people of the country came aboard of us, seeming very glad of our coming, and brought greene tobacco, and

LENAPE INDIAN AND SQUAW

(From Models by Ned J. Burns in the American Museum of Natural History)

*Courtesy of Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis*

gave us of it for knives and beads. They go in deer skins loose, well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire clothes and are very civil. They have great store of maiz or Indian wheat whereof they make good bread.

The fifth . . . . This day many of the people came aboard of us in mantles of feathers and some in skinnes of divers sorts of good furres. Some came to us with hempe. They had red copper pipes, tobacco pipes, and other things of copper they did weare about their neckes.

The sixteenth . . . . This morning the people came aboard and brought us eares of Indian corne, and pompions (pumpkins) and tobacco, which we bought for trifles.

The eighteenth . . . . The people of this countree came flocking aboard, and brought us grapes, and pompions, which we bought for trifles, and many brought bevers skinnes, and otters skinnes, which were bought for beads, knives and hatchets.

The twentieth . . . . One of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly as any of our countrey women would doe in a strange place.

On Sunday, September 6, John Coleman with four other men went out on an exploring party. He came in through the narrows, passed between Bergen Point and Staten Island and landed near to Elizabeth Port. On his return he was slain by an arrow from an Indian. He was probably the first white man to set foot on land in Union County.

The account runs as follows:

Very good riding for ships; and a narrow river to the westward between two islands. The lands were as pleasant with grasse and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seene and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open Sea and returned.

The next account came from De Vries in 1642. His description relates to the Indians of this section and to the north including the Hackensacks:

Fort Amsterdam.—The Indians about here are tolerably stout, have black hair, with a long lock which they let hang on one side of the head. The hair is shorn on the top of the head like a cock's comb. Their condition is bad. They are very revengeful. . . . Their clothing is a coat of beaver skin over the body with the fur inside in winter and outside in summer; They have also sometimes a bear's hide or a coat of the skins of wild cats, or hefspanen (raccoon) . . . . They also wear coats of turkey feathers, which they know how to put together. . . . They trade their beavers for duffels cloth . . . . which they find more suitable than the beavers . . . . Their pride is to paint their faces strangely with red or black lead, so that they look like fiends. . . . They say they are mannetto, the Devil

himself. Some of the women are well featured, having long countenances. Their hair hangs loose from their head; they are foul and dirty; they sometimes paint their faces, and draw black rings around their eyes. They cleanse themselves by means of sweat baths in the fall. Stones are heated and put into a small oven in which they crawl, and remain there until they are dripping with perspiration, then they plunge into cold water. . . . The girls are marriageable when they arrive at womanhood. They first put on a disguise; casting this aside they deck themselves with seewam upon the body and head and neck. They then go and sit in some common place with some squaws, showing that they are out for a bargain. Whosoever gives the most seewam is the successful suitor. They remain together as long as they are inclined to each other. They are fond of meetings to frolic and dance. The women are compelled to work like asses. When they travel the women carry the baggage together with their infants bound to a board.

**Earliest Known Tribes**—The most ancient Indian tradition places the Chi-chi-hó ki in the vicinity of Burlington called at that time, Tschichopacki, the oldest planted land. This was the designation of the turkey tribe. The word chikeno means turkey and aki, land, thus turkey land, the seat of the Unalachtigo.

The earliest reference of the Europeans to Indians living in New Jersey is found on Matthaeus Greuter's Globe, 1532, in the Spanish Museum, New York City. The name given to the Indians living south of the Raritan was, at that time, Sanawanooks. This suggests that the Sawanoos or Shawnees occupied the land immediately prior to the discovery. On the Carte Figuartive, 1614, and on Jacob's Map, 1621, the Aquamachukes or Aquanacukes lived in Monmouth County near the shore, at Sandy Hook and westward. Van der Donck's Map of 1656 labels the territory as occupied by the Matovancons. From this date on the Nauvesinghs or Navesinks are referred to as living in and about Sandy Hook.

The oldest accounts place the Kechemeches in Cape May County and the Minisinks in Sussex County. In 1633 the Narritacongs are found north of the Raritan. This word seems to be interchangeable with Raritang and Raritanoos.

On Visscher's Map of Novae Sveciae (New Sweden) 1650-56 (?) the Sanhicans or Assanhikans are located at Trenton. These were the people of the stony country or of Assanpink, meaning, Stony Brook. On this same map the Naratikoncks are located in and about Salem.

Staten Island was called Monacknong Eghquaons (Cappellan 1657). In the more strict Indian tongue the appellation was Aquehonga Manacknong. The Indians inhabitating the island belonged to the Lenape and were called the Monatons (Unami).

**The Lenni Lenape Nation**—The Indians who lived in New Jersey immediately preceding the historic period were known as the Lenni Lenape.

Brinton gives the meaning of Lenape, "a male of our kind"; and when emphasis was desired, the term was Lenni Lenape, which is but a repetition of the first syllable with a syllable thrown in for the sake of euphony. The Walam Olum or Red Score discovered by Rafinesque in 1820 is a record of the wanderings of this nation of Indians. In fact it is the national epic of the Lenape. In brief it sets forth the creation of the world by the great Manito, the creation of man and animals. There was peace for a time until an evil Manito in the guise of a great serpent brought about an overwhelming flood. Many perished, however a few escaped by the kind offices of the turtle who conveyed them to solid land. There people found themselves in a cold country from whence they journeyed southward toward the "snake land." They crossed a great river in winter, reaching the land of the spruce pine. From this point they attacked the people of the "snake land" and after a successful conquest settled the country and learned to cultivate maize. From the "snake land" (probably Ohio) they moved toward the east by warring against the Talega and by the aid of the Hurons drove them southward. Then followed a period of peace. After a time there was a division among the people into the Nanticokes and Shawnees, some of whom went to the south and some to the west. The main body of the people ultimately arrived at the Salt Sea, the Atlantic Ocean. Here they encountered the Iroquois. The three subtribes, the Minsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo finally settled in the valley of the Delaware River. They often were at war with the Iroquois and were generally successful. The story closes with rumors of the coming of the white man who approached them both from the north and the south.

From Heckewelder's account of the Lenape the following tradition is given. This corresponds in the main with the Walam Olum. The Lenni Lenape, according to the tradition of their ancestors, came from the western country. For some unknown reason they set out for the land of the rising sun. After a long journey they arrived at the Namesi Sipu (Mississippi) where they fell in with the Mengwe (the Iroquois), who were bound in the same direction. Beyond the Mississippi were the Talligewi or Allegewi (Alleghany). They were giants, tall and stout, and built large fortifications and entrenchments. These facts suggest the Susquehannocks as to size and the mounds builders as to entrenchments.

The Lenape asked the Allegewi to settle in their country, but were refused at first. They finally obtained permission to pass through their land, but when the Allegewi saw them crossing the river in great numbers they attacked those who had passed over and slaughtered most of them. At this juncture the Mengwe (Iroquois) and the Lenape joined forces and a war of many years followed. The Allegewi were finally overcome. The Mengwe took the land about the Great Lakes and the Lenape that to the south. After some hundreds of years they crossed the Alleghany (Allegewi) Mountains and forged on to the Lenapewihittuck, the Delaware, and explored the land of Scheyichbi (New Jersey). Finally the Lenape settled in the region of the four great rivers, the Delaware, the Hudson, the Susque-

hannah, and the Potomac. This nation, the Algonkin, was ultimately divided into three separate bodies. The larger division was settled on the Atlantic, another on the Mississippi, and the remainder north of the Great Lakes.

The Delawares on the Atlantic divided themselves into three subtribes, the Minsi or Wolf, the Unami or Turtle, and the Unalachtigo or Turkey.

The Mohicans were of Lenape descent but became detached by intermarriage with Indians across the Hudson. They occupied the territory east of the Mahicannituck (Hudson) in New York, Long Island and Manhattan. Likewise the Nanticokes, a band of Lenapes spread to the south in Maryland and Virginia.

The legends of the three subtribes of the Lenape are tersely set forth in the following stanzas written by Richard Adams, a Delaware Indian:

MINSI—TOTEM, WOLF (TOOK' SEAT THE ROUND FOOT).

The Wolf band comes from children,
Whom a she-wolf nursed with care,
And thus restored the children
Who were giv'n up in despair.
Her wailing brought the hunters
To the babies where they lay;
So a band among the people
Is the *Wolf Clan* of today.

UNAMI—TOTEM, TURTLE (POKE-KOO-UN' GO, THE CRAWLER).

When the waters were so mighty
As to reach the mountains high,
And it seemed that all creation
Surely then was doomed to die,
Came the turtle to our rescue,
Brought us safely unto land,
For the Manitou had sent him;
Now we're called *"The Turtle Clan."*

UNALACHTIGO—TOTEM, TURKEY (PUL-LA' OOK, HE SWALLOWS WITHOUT CHEWING).

When the tribe was once in danger,
A wild turkey gave alarm,
And the warriors met the foeman
With the fury of a storm.
To a maiden, in a vision,
Did the turkey show the plan,
And we call all her descendants
To this day, the *"Turkey Clan."*

Considerable question has arisen respecting the significance of these divisions. Brinton thinks of them as being geographical only. Heckewelder presents them as distinctive political divisions, and Morgan concurs. All transactions in the transfer of lands support this latter position, but just what were the limitations of their territory and what kingdoms were included has not been satisfactorily determined. Very little reference is made in early works and documents to the subtribes. Determining factors in shedding light on the subject are transfers of land and the relationship of kingdoms that are classified under each of the three headings. Then, too, the totems of these subtribes are known and where such insignia are used it is easy to identify the subtribe. The Indian names that have survived in the various parts of the State also indicate to some degree the sub-

tribe that inhabited that section. Words ending in ong as in Musconetcong, Hopatcong, etc., are Minsi; words ending in ink, unk as in Assanpink, and Metedikunk seem to be Unami; and words ending in e such as Kechemeche, Absegame and Numme seem to be Unalachtigo. The ending ing is found throughout the State. There is much evidence that leads to the placing of the lower limit of the Minsi with the Sourland and Watchung Mountains, the Unami with a line from Coopers Creek to Mullica River, and the Unalachtigo south of this boundary.

**Sub-tribes of the Lenni Lenape**—There were petty kingdoms or sachemdoms as the smallest groups were called under the three subtribes, the Minsi, the Unami and the Unalachtigo. In the main they were as follows:

Minsi: (Men of the stony country.)
- Esopus—Near Kingston.
- Mamekotungs—West of Shawangunk Mountains.
- Wawarsinks and Kattskills—In vicinity of Wawarsing and the Catskills.
- Minisinks—West of Esopus and in the Delaware Valley.
- Warranawankongs—West bank of the Hudson.
- Aquackanonks, Wapings or Opings, and Pomptons—Northern New Jersey about Paterson.
- Haverstraws—Vicinity of Haverstraw Bay.
- Tappans—North of Hackensack.
- Hackensacks—About Hackensack.
- Musconetcongs—North of the Sourland Mountain.

Unami: (Fishermen.)
- Raritans—Along the Raritan River.
- Sanhicans—About Trenton.
- Navesinks—About Sandy Hook.
- Neshannocks—Vicinity of Somerville and in Hunterdon County.
- Assiscunks—Near Burlington.
- Rancocus—Rancocus Creek.
- Maroekongs—Camden County.
- Amarongs—On Pensaukin Creek.
- Atxions—Eastern part of Burlington County.

Unalachtigo (Wunolachtikos): (People living near the ocean.)
- Chikelacki—Wilmington, Delaware.
- Mantuas—Mantua Creek.
- Yacomenshakings—Central South Jersey.
- Kechemeches—Cape May County.
- Absegame—Atlantic City to Mullica River.
- Sikonesses—Cohansey Creek.

**The Minsis** were the warlike tribe acting as a buffer state between the Iroquois on the north and the rest of the Delawares to the South. They grew so powerful that they became virtually an independent tribe. In consequence the Lenape are often spoken of as the Delawares and the Minsis.

The powerful factors among the Minsis or Munsees were the Minisinks, Pomptons and Wappings. In the final release of claims in North Jersey at the Treaty of Easton in 1758, these Indians signed the transfer even though Teedyuskung, a Unami, consummated the transaction. The land relinquished at this time was bounded as follows: south of a line from Cochecton on the Delaware to Tappan Creek on the Hudson, thence through the Narrows to Sandy Hook, including Staten Island, thence up the Raritan to the confluence of the North Branch (Allamatunk) and the South Branch to the Falls at Pottersville, thence to Paoqualin (the Flats above the Water Gap) and thence up the Delaware River to the starting point. This deed, in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, sets the limits of Minsi jurisdiction at that time.

A wrong conception of the territory of the Unami is had from Heckewelder when he says that the extent of the Unami was to the head of tide water both on the Delaware and the Hudson. Brinton says: "That at any time, as Heckewelder asserts, their territory extended up the Hudson as far as tide water, and westward far beyond the Susquehanna is surely incorrect." ("Lenape and Their Legends," Brinton.)

Nelson speaking of a purchase at Pompton in 1695 says: "This instrument indicates that the Pequannock and Pompton Indians recognized the supremacy of the Minsi Tribe to which they and all other sub-tribes of Northern New Jersey belonged. ("Indians of N. J.," p. 112.)

O'Callaghan, in the "Documentary History of New York," states that the Narriticongs (Raritans) were driven from north of the Raritan by the Minsi thirty years after the coming of the Europeans and that they relinquished their last rights in 1677 under Canackawack and Thingorawis. Thus it appears that the warlike Minsis about 1640 came down on the Raritans and drove them out. We find the Raritans or Narriticongs in South Jersey on Oldman's Creek in 1650. Since the Tappans and Hackensacks were not driven out at this time, it would suggest that a closer affiliation existed between them and the Minsis than between the Minsis and the Raritans. While it is clear that the Raritans were Unami, there is reason to doubt whether the Hackensacks and Tappans belonged to this subtribe.

It appears that the Minisinks were the local sachemdom of the Minsi. In 1680 the Manissings or Minisinks numbered three hundred fighting men. Their sackamaker was Taummahauquank, a powerful leader. They occupied the Delaware River Valley from Walpack north to Cochecton and contiguous mountainous country lying both on the east and the west. Their council fire was on the Delaware River at Minisink Island mainly on the Bennen Kill south of the Island. This was once the site of an old Shawnee fort as referred to by Zinzendorf in a trip from Bethlehem to Kingston (Sopus). At this point lived Syacop, the chief of the Minisinks. It was from him in 1725 that Johannes Westfall, a Dutch pioneer, bought the land where is now located the farm of Burson Bell. The great Minisink Indian burial ground is on this property. In 1914 the Heye Foundation of the American

Indian of New York City disinterred sixty-seven burials on this site, finding much Indian pottery and stone artifacts. The earliest map, Van der Donck's, 1656, gives four villages of the Minisinks. The most northern was t'Schepinaikonck on the river in the region of Cochecton, Callicoon and Hancock, New York. The Meoechkonck were situated at Wurtsboro, New York. These were the Mamekotungs. At Matamoras, Pennsylvania, the Mecharienkoncks were located, and the main body of the Minisinks at t'Schichte Wacki (the place of darts or javelins) at Minisink Island.

The Wawarsings held the area still known as the Wawarsink west of Kingston, and the Katskills, the watershed of the Catskill Mountains north of Saugerties. The Esopus or Sopus Indians were the Waoranecks of 1625. They were the leaders in the Esopus wars and in consequence are designated as "the Murderers Kill Indians" on Murderers Creek. The Waranawonkongs lived in the valleys of the Shawangunk, the Wallkill and the Esopus rivers. Their strongholds were in the Shawangunk Mountains, and on the Esopus River at a place known as Wiltmeet.

Haverstraws was the Dutch name for the Indians living on Haverstraw Bay. Their name in the Minsi language has been lost. Sackagkemeck was a notable sachem and on many occasions is the factotum in the execution of deeds.

South of the Haverstraws were the Tappans. In 1680 they consisted of one hundred and fifty fighting young men. At this time their Sachem Maimshee was considered the greatest in North Jersey. They were closely related to the Hackensacks and joined them on the northeast, extending to the highland and to the river. Sessekemick represented them in the treaty of 1745.

The Aquackanonks from Haquequenunck, meaning a place in a rapid stream where fishing is done with a bush net, included the Pomptons, Wappings, and Oppings in and about Paterson, New Jersey. Their principal village in 1678 was at Dundee just below the Dundee Dam, near Paterson. Their sachem in 1676 was Captamin or Captahem. He held jurisdiction over a large part of North Central Jersey.

A powerful civic group of the Minsi were the Hackinsacks, called Ackkinkashacky in the valley of the Hackinsack, with their seat on the present site of the city of Hackensack. In 1643 they numbered one thousand souls, three hundred of whom were warriors. Their most notable and respected chieftain was the venerable Oratamin, Oratam, or Oratum. His chieftaincy embraced what is now Jersey City, Hoboken, a part of Staten Island, Weehawken, Newark and Passaic. In consequence of the butchery exercised by the Dutch at Pavonia, February, 1643, about a dozen small kingdoms joined under the leadership of Oratamin to avenge the outrage. He figured as the principal in a number of peace treaties and transfers of land; and died about 1667, an aged Indian, honorable and respected. It was through his forceful personality, mainly, that the Hackensacks have been given so prominent a place historically.

Besides the kingdoms mentioned above there were many others of

less importance. Among them were the Hopatcongs, at the lake now known by their name, the Lopatcongs at Phillipsburg, the Pohatcongs, just south of that city, the Musconetcongs in the Musconetcong Valley, the Manungachunghs in Warren County near Belvidere, the Wissumuncys in Hunterdon County, and the Neshannocks in the upper Raritan Valley.

**Unamis**—The Unamis were the subtribe in whom resided civil authority. The name was originally pronounced Wu-naú mee. It is probably derived from ná mes, fish, and signifies fishermen. Judging from surface finds it would seem that they had two great council fires, one on the Trenton Terrace between the city of Trenton and Crosswicks Creek, and the other at Keyport at the mouth of the Raritan.

This group is often referred to as the Delawares. They spoke a dialect of the Lenape language distinctively their own and lived mainly in the Delaware Valley on both banks south of the Sourland Mountains to Camden. It was with them that William Penn dealt principally when he purchased the land at Philadelphia in 1682. Their great chieftain in historic times was Tedyuscung who figured so prominently in the Treaty of Easton. He was born east of Trenton in the year 1700, the son of old Captain Harris. This young brave was of attractive physique and of sterling qualities of leadership. He was known among his people as "Honest John." When the inroads of the white settlers became too disturbing to the Indians of Central Jersey, Tedyuscung led them to the northward where they made their home in the Forks of the Delaware with the present site of Easton as their capital. From this point in the spring of 1754 with a Mohican, Abraham, he and his people removed to the Wyoming Valley. Here he resided in peace until July of the next year. When he heard of Braddock's defeat he sallied forth with some allied Mohicans and Shawnees and determined to chastise the English for the injustice suffered in the "Walking Purchase." Murders were committed, homes were devastated and the settlers in the Forks fled before the fury of this resentful warrior. The government intervened and after an eloquent address by Tedyuscung the Treaty of Easton followed, July 24, 1756. Other councils were held and finally a permanent peace was obtained. Tedyuscung's outstanding ability as an orator and leader and his adoption of the customs of the English excited the enmity of the Iroquois and at an unguarded moment, while in a drunken stupor in his home near Wilkes-Barre, he was discovered, his house was set on fire and he was consumed in the flames. Thus ended the life of the "War Trumpet of the Delawares," the greatest of all Unami Sachems.

Prominent among the Unamis were the Raritans who lived in the valley of the river by that name. In 1646 they were estimated at 1,200 warriors comprising twenty chieftaincies. It was their custom to bury their corn in pits in the ground, and because of the frequent overflowing of the river the whole winter store was often destroyed. Van Tienhoven says that it was on account of this unfortunate condition that they moved farther inland,

probably in the region of Hunterdon County. Later, because of inroads of the Southern Indians (Shawnees) and troubles with the Dutch, they retired to the mountains of North Jersey and Pennsylvania. They owned part of Staten Island and when the English came in 1664 Mattano, their leading statesman, was the important personage from whom the land was purchased. A remnant later removed to Edgepillock, Burlington County, together with the vestiges of a number of tribes and kingdoms, and from thence in 1802 to Oneida Lake with the Senecas.

At Trenton lived the Assanhicans or the Assanpinks, the stone implement people or the people of the stony brook. Assin in Unami means stone. Their domain extended eastward along the Upper Indian Path through the valley of the Millstone (Mattawong). It is thought that the first great Lenape Indian was an Assanhican at "The Falls" in 1396. Tradition says his name was Wolomenap (Hollow Man). South of the Raritan at Keyport and at the Atlantic Highlands lived the Navesinks or Nauvesinghs. Hudson describes them as "clothed in mantles of feathers and robes of fur, the women clothed in hemp; red copper pipes and other things of copper they did wear about their necks." The word Navesink means where the land goes to a point or angle as it does at Sandy Hook. They owned the shore southward on the coast to the region of the Metedeconks. This last mentioned group inhabited the coast and the banks of the Metedeconk River.

The Rancocus and Assiscunks lived in and about Burlington and on the Rancocus Creek. Their most important village was called Ramcock and was located near the present village of Rancocus. In 1648 they were estimated at one hundred warriors.

North of the Rancocus were the Crosswicksungs with a village of prominence on the present site of the town of Crosswicks. It was here that David Brainerd preached to the Indians in 1746. The famous Ockanickon was a Crosswick Indian. He died at Burlington in 1754; and his last words to his brother's son, Iahkursoe, are worthy to be remembered: "My brother's son, this day I deliver my heart into your bosom; and mind me, I would have you love what is good, and keep good company, refuse what is evil, and by all means avoid bad company." It is said that he died singing the hymn:

God send de angle take him care
He come he'self to hear him prayer
If Indian heart do pray.
He see me now, he know me here.
He say poor Indian, neber fear
Me wid you night and day.

At Camden were the Maroekongs living on the Asoroches or Asomoches. This tribe joined the Atxions numbering three hundred who extended quite across the State to the Manahawkins on the coast. These Indians are the most unique in the State in respect to certain types of implements. The knobbed celt and the double grooved axe are seldom found except in this territory. Even here they are rare. A prominent chief of the Maroekongs

was Cotuxen. The Amarongs were located on the Pensaukin north of the Maroekongs.

**Unalachtigo**—The turkey tribe, Chichihoki, later called the Unalachtigo (probably synonymous with Nantiko or Nanticoke, whose council fire was originally in the vicinity of Trenton, Crosswicks or Burlington) was driven southward at an early date and finally spread over to the west side of the Delaware. They were later driven back into New Jersey by the fierce Conestogas, Susquehannocks or Andastes, with whom they were at war from the time they came into Scheyichbi. There are strong indications that their council fire was in historic times on the south bank of the Cohansie near Fairton. The local tribe on the Cohansie was the Sikonesses. Their village was probably called Sepahacking, mentioned on Lindstrom's Map, 1654. In Salem County lived the Kagkikanizachien near Woodstown.

North of these were the Narriticongs and then the Mantuas or Frog Indians on Mantua Creek. In and about Glassboro, Williamstown and eastward, covering the central part of the State, were the Yacomenshackings. South of Great Egg Harbor Bay lived the Absegame in "the land of the swan." Evidence that the Mullica River separated two distinct tribes is found in the stories of feuds handed down through tradition. The Indians of Leeds Point and Chestnut Neck are reported as often fighting with the Indians of Tuckerton. On one occasion tradition says that the Unalachtigo Absegame of Leeds Point had been warring to the bitter end with the Unami Manahawken of Tuckerton. It is said that this battle was fought on Miniconk Island. One of the southern and two of the northern Indians were all that were finally left. The two Manahawkens pursued the Absegame brave who with a yell of defiance dove into the river, swam to the opposite shore and triumphantly emerging from the water made his escape. Such incidents are probably typical of Indian warfare in various parts of the State.

At Cape May were the Kechemeches. In 1648 Master Evelin locates them in the southern part of New Albion (New Jersey). "On the north side of Cape May about five miles within, is a port or rode for any ships called the Nook, and within liveth the king of the Kechemeches having as I suppose about 50 men. I do account all these Indians to be eight hundred, and are in several factions and war against the Saquehannocks (Susquehannocks) and are all extreme fearful of a gun, naked and unarmed against our shot, swords and pikes." He also states: "About the South Cape (of New Jersey) there are two small Kings of forty men apiece called Tirans and Tiascons." These were probably kingdoms located on the Maurice River. The Sewaposees often mentioned by DeLaet and often placed at this point were on the south side of the Delaware at Indian River.

There were some notable characters among the Unalachtigo. The good chief Nummee, who was buried on Nummy Island on the coast of Cape May, was one of these. His village was located at Nummy Town in the

interior of the county. Ashatama the basket maker, lived near Egg Harbor City, and Obisquahausset near Salem. For many years it is said that the Indian Queen Bathsheba Moolis came from the interior of the State on an annual visit to the shore at Egg Harbor. In stature she was corpulent and rather short, and an amiable character. Her people always treated her with great respect and so long as she was able to withstand the fatigue of the journey she enjoyed the hospitality of the principal inhabitants of the shore.

In 1672 George Fox crossed from New Castle to West Jersey, landing at what is now Pennsville. His journal reads as follows: "We departed from New Castle and got over the Delaware River not without great danger to our lives. When we were over, we were troubled to procure guides which were hard to get and very changeable. Then we had that wilderness country to pass through since called West Jersey, not then inhabited by English. So that we have travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire and sometimes in the Indian wigwams or houses. We came one night to an Indian town and lay at the Kings house who was a very pretty man; both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on, but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we staid the King came to us and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much, and also to his people and they were very loving to us. At length we came to Middletown, an English plantation in East Jersey."

The above script gives an idea of the country at this early time and to some extent the nature of the Indians inhabiting the southern part of the State.

**Manners and Customs of the Lenape of East Jersey**—Fragmentary accounts are given here and there in the early Dutch manuscripts relative to the manners and customs of the Indians of East Jersey. It is from these sources that this information has been gleaned in the main.

The men were fine looking fellows with broad shoulders, black hair and brown eyes. The hair was usually worn long but sometimes it was burned off with the exception of a scalp lock or a coxcomb-like roach. Their color was dark with a rather copper cast. They were very swift on foot and could carry heavy burdens. A grown-up man seldom had a beard, but when he did he pulled it rather than to cut it. It was a common practice to tattoo the body with representations of snakes, wolves, eagles, turtles, turkeys, and hideous imaginary beings. On special occasions they would paint exposed parts of the body, particularly the face.

In the main they were found to be modest, quick-witted, loyal to their friends, but treacherous in the last degree toward their enemies. Whatever tortures were inflicted, even to burning at the stake, they were borne with utmost indifference. It was not unusual for a Lenape warrior when being executed to sing even with his last breath.

Their clothing was usually scanty. Children had little, if any at all, until they were three years of age. Bear, elk, raccoon or wolfskin was used. The skin was worn with the fur on the outside in summer and on the inside in winter. An apron-like garment was fastened about the loins and in winter a long blanket of skin was thrown over the shoulders and wrapped around the body. The feet and legs at this season were bound in skins of the deer or elk.

The men were apparently lazy. However, they spent much time in hunting, fishing and going to war. When they became old they were considered of little account. At this time of life they employed themselves in chipping arrow heads, making wooden spoons, bowls, traps, pikes and nets.

The dress of the women varied somewhat from that of the men. Skirts of turkey feathers were commonly worn. They wore their hair in long braids and would twine about the head a band of deer's hair dyed red or some other bright color. Shell beads were banded about the neck and waist. It was the custom to paint their faces, especially before marriage, in order to attract attention, and they often wore rings in their ears and in the nose. The work about the wigwam was left to the women. They had little housekeeping to do, dug the fields, planted the seed, and cultivated the crops. It was left to them to gather firewood, do the cooking and attend to the children.

The dwelling was not the tepee of the plains. This abode was used west of the Mississippi. The characteristic wigwam or "wickam" of the Lenape was a shelter having a length twice its width. It was made by planting in the ground two rows of poles about fifteen feet apart and thirty in extent. These poles were of green saplings, usually hickory, and were bent to a rounded roof and withed together. The sides of the house were covered with chestnut bark and braced and protected with leaves, cornstalks, and banks of earth. There was a door in each end of this domicile through which the owner crawled inside. In the center was a fire pit and over it an opening in the roof. Along the sides were bench-like elevations on which the occupants sat and where they slept. Oftentimes from six to twelve of these houses were surrounded by a palisaded enclosure made of logs set endwise in the ground. Such a fort, as it was called, was located on the Delaware in Sandyston Township, Sussex County, in 1651, south of Minisink Island.

The Lenape took advantage of shelters afforded by overhanging ledges of rocks and thereby built for himself a kind of rock house, especially when such ledge faced the south or east and was near a spring or stream of water. By fragments of pottery, broken bones, arrowheads, and other implements of the chase and household, over 150 of these abodes have been identified in the northern part of the State.

The food of the Lenape was simple. He drank water, and ate meat, fish, shell fish, corn, beans, squash, pumpkin, melons. In case of famine he was sometimes forced to eat snakes, eagles, frogs, skunks, and the like. Meat and

fish were broiled and boiled. Corn was usually ground into a meal and then roasted or charred and buried in storage pots for winter use. Oysters, clams and mussels were strung, dried, and then smoked. They made good seasoning for meats and combinations of corn and beans. A very poor quality of bread was milled from cornmeal, and from this same meal they cooked a porridge called by them samp, suppan or sapsis. This dish was adopted by the early settlers under the name of mush. In the southern part of the State a subterranean fungus called tuckahoe was gathered and dried for use in winter. Besides the staples mentioned, various roots, such as those of the bind weed, Indian turnip, calamus, water chinkapin, ground nut, etc., were eaten. Sundry barks, birch, sassafras, spicewood, slippery elm, etc., and green plants, such as dock, purslain, poke, mints and water cress found a place in their dietary. Walnuts, butternuts, acorns, chestnuts, hazelnuts, grapes, wild plums, apples, the fruit of the cactus (opuntia), persimmons, berries, the May-apple, the seeds of the lotus and fruit of the calamus were relished by them.

The Lenape had discovered the use of dyes. These were utilized in tattooing, staining baskets, hides, blankets, and other fabrics. Hickory bark gave a yellow, the indigo plant a blue, brown from walnut bark, red from the blossoms of Oswego tea, and bloodroot, called by the Indians puccoon, and purple from the pokeberry.

The education of boys and girls besides hunting, swimming, weaving, planting, speaking the language, etc., was made up of learning to count, to reckon linear measure, to compute time, and learn values. Counting was done on the fingers. The words from one to twelve were as follows: ngutti (nut'ti), nischa (ni'sha), nacha (na'cha), newo (ne'wo), palenach (pale'-nak), guttasch (gut'tash), nischasch (ni'chash), chasch (chash), peschkonk (pesh'konk), tellen (tel'len), tellen attach (at'tak) ngutti, tellen attach nischa, etc. A unit of linear measure was the distance from the thumb and first finger to the pit of the elbow. Distance in travel was a day's journey from sun-up to sun-down. Time of the year was identified by moons, one moon, two moons, etc. A unit corresponding to our day was the night, one night, two nights, etc., and the reckoning of the year was by, seed time, when the deer is red, when corn is ripe, etc. The months were:

January—Squirrel month.
February—Frog month.
March—Shad month.
April—Spring month.
May—Summer begins.
June—Summer.
July—Hot month.
August—Deer month.
September—Fall.
October—Month of vermin.
November—Snow month.
December—Cold month.

Values were computed by beaverskins, eagle feathers, and wampum.

They had no God of Love, but lived in fear and dread of an evil spirit which they called the Manit'to. When there was sickness, death, famine, hail, or severe prolonged cold they said the Manit'to was angry with them. Their constant concern was to appease the displeasure of their Manittowucks or lesser gods who exercised good or ill toward them as they pleased. They

believed in a life beyond the grave where there was a happy hunting ground for the virtuous, and privation and suffering for those who were not brave and good.

**Manners and Customs of the Lenape of West Jersey**—Thomas says of the Unami, "They are ordinarily tall, straight, well turned and true proportioned—their tread strong, and clever of complexion black but by design, gipsie-like greasing themselves with bear's fat clarified, and using no defence against the injuries of the sun and weather, their skins fail not to be swarthy. Their eyes are small and black. They have comely faces, some of their noses having a rise like the Roman." From Mickle we learn: "The common warriors had one tuft upon the top of the head and the sakimas by way of distinction had two which were plaited. They stained their bodies with fantastic daubs of various colors among which was a black paint said to have been found upon the seashore." Black signified sorrow, and red joy. Campanius reports that the men had broad faces, flat noses, large lips and short, broad teeth. Both historians speak of the women as being handsome with round faces, high breasts and bodies straight and plump. They suffered their hair to grow full length and generally to hang loosely down their backs. They painted their faces to better their complexions. Ordinarily they wore necklaces of wampum made from the pearly part of the oyster shell or from the claws of hawks. A distinguished brave was found at times with a necklace of enemies' thumbs cut off after battle, and strung together to commemorate his prowess. The head was dressed with feathers and snake skins to which they might add the shell of the welk, a bureau knob, brass buttons, a banner stone or bird stone. Rings were worn in the ears and the nose.

They ate when they were hungry. Fish was the principal diet, and the fat of the bear was used for butter. Corn, peas, beans, and pumpkins, made up mainly their dietary of vegetables. Maize was crushed in a hollow stone mixed with water, rolled up in leaves and baked in the ashes. Campanius claims that the Unami were cannibals.

When a child was born it was dipped in the river, especially in cold weather,in order to make it rugged. Thomas says this was also often resorted to when the father was in ill humor. Papooses were tied to a board and carried on the back of the mother and sometimes swung from the branch of a tree. The children learned from their fathers and mothers the language, the signs of the weather, the virtues of herbs, what kind of wood best produced fire by use of the bow drill, how to make stone implements, how to burn out a canoe, to make wooden bowls, and clay pottery, how to plait mats, ropes, baskets of wild hemp and splits of trees, and how to manufacture wampum. Children were taught the manner of burying the dead. The body was perfumed, the face painted and then interred in the embryonic position, with the knees and arms doubled up to the chin, lying on the right side facing the east with the head to the south. With it occasionally were buried their trinkets, beads, pipe and tobacco, cooking utensils and some tuckahoe. They were taught to kill the rattlesnake that gave no warning and to spare the

one that did, not to eat the hollow of the thigh of an animal, not to interrupt a person while speaking, and to walk on the trail one after the other in Indian file.

Boys first learned to fish and did not take up the bow and arrow until about the age of fifteen. When they had learned to shoot they were expected to bring in a certain number of skins to the wigwam. Upon doing this they were allowed to marry a squaw of their own choosing. When a Unalachtigo girl arrived at the marriageable age (about 14 years) she put a colored band, red, blue, etc., about her forehead which bespoke her willingness to receive the attentions of young braves. After marriage the squaw stayed at home with her mother for a few years. The marriage ceremony was simple. He gave a bone to her, signifying that he would supply the meat, and she gave an ear of corn to him signifying that she would supply the bread. Generally speaking, hunting, fishing, and cultivating crops were their business and war and dancing their amusements. They were straightforward in managing their affairs, and had no use for anyone who did not keep good faith with them. The Indian women of West Jersey were neat, clean and industrious, and the young squaws were modest and shamefaced. In the main, each tribe lived in love and harmony.

They exercised a high regard for the property of others. If an Indian found a deer in the woods he would not touch it, even though he was ever so hungry, until he had found out that it was not claimed by some one else. Land was held in common, and strict lines were observed relative to the jurisdiction of various tribes. Civil affairs were settled by a general council to which deputies were sent from the various petty kingdoms. First was the family, next the sakima, a petty kingdom ruled over by a sackamaker, sachem, or king. He led the tribe in battle, decided disputes, and acted as spokesman in council. The office was hereditary. Penn writes: "'Tis admirable to consider how powerful the kings are and how they move by the breath of the people." In the case of individual wrong the person offended generally retaliated and thus, as Evans says, "each one was judge and executioner in his own case." Smith says, "Even murder might be atoned for by feasts and presents of wampum. The price of a woman was double that of a man."

The third unit of government was the council. The king sat in the middle of a half moon with the older and wiser braves on either hand, and behind them at a little distance sat the young warriors. Treaties were made on such occasions when each orator representing a tribe stood before the sachem or king and spoke. Their habit was to speak but once, to use few words, and to sit down when through speaking. Strings of wampum were presented at the end of minor discussions and belts of wampum at the close of a major topic. Decisions were arrived at by a majority vote. At the conclusion of a compact, the calumet or peace pipe was passed around and each delegate added to the smoke of the central council fire.

The West Jersey Indians believed in a good and a bad spirit, howitt

manitto, a good god; and manunckus manitto, a bad god. They were mostly concerned with the evil spirit. Through him all ill was visited upon them. They sacrificed the first fruits to him to appease his wrath, and danced, sang, shouted and played instruments to the good god to please him. Penn writes, "Their postures in the dance were very antick and differing but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor but with great appearance of joy." The dance was called a cantico. Dancing was kanticoying. Feasts were observed such as that of the green corn dance. Penn witnessed one of these in which twenty buck deer were served together with hot cakes of new corn, wheat and beans. After eating they fell to kanticoying and continued until each one dropped out through exhaustion. Dances would often carry from sunset until sunrise. So attached were the Lenape to their religious ceremonies that it was almost impossible for the missionaries to induce them to give up their ceremonial practices.

**Colonial Conflicts**—Trade was early established at Bergen Point, Pavonia, and Elizabeth Port by the Dutch. As soon as the Indians became acquainted with the iron tools of the whites, their stone implements were cast aside. Steel hoes, grindstones, and axes were much sought for. Duffel cloth dyed with gay colors, blue, red, green, supplanted the coats of deer, bear and beaver skin. Glass beads, bells, looking glasses, thimbles, copper kettles and the like were purchased at any price. Guns, powder, lead took the place of the bow and arrow, and the old green bottle with its contents of fire water was a priceless article of merchandise to them. Stoneware jugs and blue crockery made strong appeals and bartering was unavoidable wherever the white man appeared.

It was easy to take advantage of this simpleminded, trustful people. The temptation was too great and before the adventurist was aware the trustfulness of a simple faith was changed into an inexpiable hatred and revenge. The Dutch, already trafficking in the slave trade of Africa, were eager to enslave the race of a slightly different hue found here. The Indians' reaction of slavery was even stronger than that of the negro, and murder and rapine followed.

Difficulties were confronted with the Raritans from the beginning. John Coleman with a party of four others on Sunday, September 6, 1609, explored Newark Bay and was probably the first to view the land where Elizabeth is now situated. On his return to the vessel anchored outside of the narrows, he was shot and killed by an arrow from the bow of a Raritan Indian. Peaceful relationship obtained for the first thirty years of the Dutch contact with the Raritans.

Indian hostilities in Pavonia began in the early days of the settlement of Manhattan. About 1630 two Dutchmen caught an Indian trader picking some peaches to eat and killed him in the presence of his son who at the time swore vengeance against the murderers. A number of years later this son came down to the island and after getting drunk made it his business to get even with the Dutch for the murder of his father. A roadamaker or

INDIAN LIFE AMONG THE LENAPES BEFORE 1609

(From Miniature Group by Ned J. Burns in Public Museum, Staten Island)

*Courtesy of Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis.*

tailor became the subject of his vengeance. After killing his subject the Indian escaped to the Wequeskeeks. He and his associates were pursued by one Van Dyke who had some difficulty in following them, and for the time being gave up the task of vindicating the death of the murdered tailor. After the Indians found out the intent of the Dutch, they sued for peace and a period of some years of tranquillity followed.

It appears that the Mohawks had "made women" of the Lenape and Mohegans and were accustomed to collect tribute of them annually. On one of these tribute-collecting incursions in the winter of 1643, difficulties arose and the Wequeskeeks of Dutchess County fled to Manhattan for protection. This embarrassed Kieft, the Governor, and he sent them across to Pavonia, now Jersey City. Here they found shelter with the Hackensacks of the Lenapes, and were kindly bivouacked in peace.

Kieft, considering the treacherous disposition of the Mohegans, determined in spite of sage advice that this was an opportunity to exterminate them. So he dispatched a company of ruffian soldiers across the river to fall on them and deal them a deadly blow. This was done and to the surprise of the Indians those whom they had considered their friends were discovered to be their foes. Eighty Indians were slaughtered at Pavonia and thirty at Corlaershook while sleeping in their huts. Old and young alike fell before their fury. It was a horrible scene. Indians with arms and legs cut off came up to the Dutch soldiers imploring help, thinking that the Mohawks had fallen upon them. This affair was one of the most dastardly ever perpetrated on the Indians of America.

In 1640, a number of Dutch soldiers while passing the Achter Kill stole some pigs from Captain David DeVries who lived at that time on Staten Island. This theft was laid to the account of the Raritan Indians and in consequence an edict went forth offering ten fathoms of wampum for the head of a Raritan and twenty each for those who committed the murder. As a result wanton murder followed and the heads of many Raritans were brought forth for the bounty. Van Tienhoven was later dispatched (1642) with an armed force of fifty soldiers and twenty sailors under Hendrick Garretson to go up the Raritan to Martin's Dock and thence to Piscataway, the principal town of the Raritans at that time. Tienhoven lost all control of his men. Before they had proceeded a mile an Indian was shot and the sachem's brothers were captured and cruelly butchered. They did not stop at this. The Indian town was burned and their corn fields were destroyed. The Indians later collected their forces and made an attack on the "bowerie" of DeVries on Staten Island, set fire to his dwelling and tobacco-house and killed four of his servants. This set back all attempts of settlement for peace for some years.

It seems that the Dutch got along tolerably well with the Indians by a policy of suppression until the year 1647. The Raritans at this time with the Matinekonks of Long Island threatened hostilities but Stuyvesant was

able to pacify them. The next outbreak was in March, 1649, when Simon Vanderbilt was murdered at Achter Kill. Trouble grew until 1655 when the great massacre took place. A band of about 500 Weequaeskecks and Raritans landed in New Amsterdam before daybreak, distributed themselves about the town, broke into houses and committed numerous act of violence. Their objective was to kill Ensign Van Dyke who had shot an Indian woman whom he caught stealing some peaches. They finally located him and he was found toward evening dead with an arrow in his breast. They were then driven to their canoes, leaving three killed by the colonists. After crossing to Hoboken and setting fire to every house in the village all of the men with the exception of Michael Jansen were killed. Thus the colony of Pavonia (Jersey City) was completely destroyed.

They then went to Staten Island where thirteen whites were slain, sixty-nine out of ninety escaped and the rest were taken prisoners. During three days of this outbreak one hundred whites were murdered, one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, more than one hundred were deprived of food and clothing, twenty-eight boweries and several plantations were laid waste, ten thousand bushels of corn were destroyed,, and some five to six hundred head of cattle killed or driven off. Ruin threatened the colony west of the North River. In '59 there was another uprising of the Raritans but no serious consequences followed. Constant effort was made by the Dutch to placate the Indians and in August, 1660, a conference was held at Kingston, a general treaty agreed to, and permanent peace followed. As a nation they were never able to adjust themselves to the ways of the whites.

The Dutch under DeVries met with difficulty also on the Suydt River, the Delaware. He demanded the head of an Indian of a group who removed the arms of the States General set up at Fort Nassau as the badge of Dutch dominion. This provoked the anger of the Indians and the settlement at Hermaomissing on the mouth of the Sassackon (Timber Creek) was wiped out. On the return of DeVries from Holland in December, 1632, there was no vestige left save skulls and bones strewn over the ground. Another treaty was formed, and being short of provisions DeVries bargained for a supply of venison and corn. The Indian treacherously planned to have him sail his vessel up the creek with a hope that the vessel would be grounded and in the helpless position they would massacre the crew and carry away the booty. However, through the mercy of an Indian girl, the plot was disclosed to DeVries and the catastrophe was avoided.

The Swedes came to the river in 1642 and established a colony. Enmity ultimately developed between them and the Dutch and war followed. The Indians became involved and further vindicated their hatred of the Dutch of ravaging and murdering some of the Dutch women. The town of Nassau which had been rebuilt was again destroyed. These two retaliatory moves were the only acts of hostilities exercised by Indians in the southern part of the State so far as history records.

**Influence of Early Settlers**—The natives of Scheyichbi greeted the explorers and early settlers as gods. There is a tradition that certain of the medicine men had received messages from the spirit land, telling them of the coming of the paleface beings from the rising sun. They thought the great Manitto had sent them and implored them not to leave. Every consideration was given them. They fell down before them and worshipped them. They gave them gifts and sent messengers far and wide telling of the wonderful people who had come to their shores. This attitude soon changed for it was found that the white man was hunting for gold and valuable lands. He was ultimately understood as aggressive, self-seeking and exceedingly cruel. Attempts were made to steal the squaws and some of the Indians were imprisoned on the explorer's ships. Love quickly changed to hatred. Repeated attempts were made to drive the invaders off and the settlers found it necessary to be constantly on their guard with arms at hand ready to protect themselves.

1343232

The Lenape quickly observed the advantages of the life of the white man through their weapons of defense, their dress, their food and means of transportation. From the first contacts every effort was made to make exchanges for certain commodities. Trade relations were soon established. The item of merchandise which the white man most desired was the beaver. So extensive became this industry that most articles of commerce were universally valued in terms of beaver pelts. The otter, mink and raccoon were also ardently sought for. The Indians found many objects offered by the whites very attractive to them. First of all were their firearms. The bow and arrow was discarded for the flint lock and the stone knife for the metal blades of the Dutch. We find in the exchange for peltry and lands inventories including: (1) guns, knives, handfulls of powder, bars of lead, hatchets, axes, adzes, fish hooks, grindstones, files, hoes; (2) kettles, frying pans, table knives and forks, basins, plates, bread, bacon, rum, wine, beer; (3) duffel cloth, shrouds (black and white), blankets, shirts, shoes, hats (some tarred), looking glasses, beads, needles, paint, Jews harps, bells, thimbles, ornaments of various kinds, calfskin, buckskin, tobacco, pipes.

Grindstones and files were used in shaping up stone implements. Shrouds and tarred hats were used in ceremonies. Duffel cloth was highly colored and became the article of dress for the Indian instead of hides of deer, elk, bear and beaver. It was no more than a good quality of bag cloth. Needles were used for tattooing; bells and beads for ornamentation and amusement. Thimbles were strung and used for decoration and the dance. It will be observed from this list of articles that the coming of the white man materially affected the life of the Indian.

His contact with the settlers communicated to him diseases of divers sorts. In the main, they were very deadly, Tuberculosis and smallpox had great tolls. Measles was about as fatal. Sexual disorders were communicated and the life of the savage grew more miserable. Fevers spread among them and it was found that the incantations of the medicine man were of little avail

in combatting the distempers of the paleface. In many cases the Indian was hunted as the animals of the forest. In consequence the struggle for existence became too great and we find him falling by the trail leading westward, exhausted, dying.

**Indian Artifacts**—The archæology of New Jersey is exceptionally interesting. There seems to be a type of implement made mainly of argillite that suggests great age. It should be observed that this material weathers much more rapidly than the various varieties of flints found here. Spear heads from three to six inches in length, arrowpoints, knife blades, two to three inches wide and four to six inches long, are found generally throughout the State. They are uniformly much weathered suggesting a distinctive culture of considerable age. Hand hoes or coups de poings are frequently met with both in argillite, quartzite and flint with patination that shows they were fabricated hundreds of years ago. These implements are often left in the field by amateur prospectors. Early archeologists have classified them as rejects. The common material, argillite, is native to New Jersey and in the main is derived from ancient quarries in Hunterdon County near Flemington. It is found in varieties of black, purple and gray. Caches of blades numbering from 50 to 200 in a deposit have been reported from various quarters of the State. Implements of Rhyolite, usually blades from two to six inches in length and from one to four inches wide, are found sparingly distributed from the northern to the southern part over this area. Objects of green flint, though rarely met with, are equally spread. Arrowheads and knives of this material are the prize finds of prospectors. This flint has its origin exclusively in Flint Mine Hill near Coxackie, New York, west of Athens, and is generally referred to as Coxackie flint. Next in rarity is the blue flint of the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and then the red flint from the jasper quarries at Monroe, Pennsylvania, near Reigelsville on the Delaware. Gray Niagara flint is often found especially in the central part of the State. A beautiful pearly gray is sometimes reported worked up into large spearheads. In the northwest corner of the State, fetid quartz is found, especially in the Munsee area at Minisink Island. Specimens of milky quartz are rarely found north of the Sourland and Watchung Mountains. They are sparingly distributed from Trenton and Burlington to the coast. This material is most common in the region about Clementon, Camden County. In the extreme southern area it is uncommon. From Monmouth County southward quartzites are plentiful. They occur in yellow, gray, brown, purple and blue. About the Cohansie rare materials of oolitic quartzite and agate quartzite are found wrought into beautiful arrows, spears, and knives. In the vicinity of Quinton, a very fine grained ferruginous sandstone occurs out of which arrowheads are made. Occasionally an arrow or spear from Flint Ridge, Ohio, is met with, and specimens of obsidian are very, very rare. Limpid quartz arrowheads are exceedingly rare here as elsewhere and rose quartz specimens are especially prized. The most common material is black flint found in the limestone rock in the mountains in the north. Some

specimens are wrought from the flint derived from the "clay dogs" of the clay beds of the State. In general the flint of the State varies from velvety basanite to splintery hornstone. Jasper of a fine quality is of plentiful occurrence throughout the whole area. The main source was the Lehigh Valley and the mountains at Durham Furnace, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. It is usually found in a brown color having an easily controllable concoidal fracture. It occurs in yellow, red, dark brown and moss-agate. Knives, spears, arrows and scrapers are the implements made from this source. New Jersey, without doubt, has a greater range of material than any State in the Union, and in many cases specimens are even suggestive of semi-precious stones.

As to type forms of arrow-heads the northern and southern sections are unique. The triangular arrow is characteristic of the northern section, and was mainly used by the Minsi in warfare against the Iroquois. This point when set on a shaft had pronounced barbs. It is said that the Indians before going to battle would poison these heads with the venom of the rattlesnake in order to make the wound more deadly. The shaft was split in the end and the point was inserted. Then with fish glue and a small thong it was held in place. When the head was buried into the body of the foe the barbs would catch and in an attempt to extricate the arrow, the head because of the barbs would loosen itself and complete its deadly mission. It was on account of this characteristic that Cooper in "The Leather Stocking Tales" speaks of this arrowhead as the "loose arrow." The same results were obtained with the stemmed type that had barbs.

While the triangular type is found in South Jersey it is not the prevailing type. Being protected as the southern part of the State was from inroads excepting from the north, there was less need for the war arrowhead. Instead of this type the lozenge shaped or the almond-pit type predominated. This dart was fastened with fish glue and thong, and since the base was rounded the arrow could be extricated from the body without loosening it from the shaft. This was also true of the stemmed and shouldered type that was not barbed. South Jersey in keeping with its variety of material has a great variety of forms. Unusual among these are the serrated which invariably has a stem notched at the base. This type is also found as often in North Jersey. The rarest forms are the long barbed base with an abbreviated stem, the diamond type, the type with parallel sides and angular point, and the shark tooth type.

The term arrowhead is often used as a misnomer. In fact, when an object of this character is more than two inches in length it is quite likely to be a dagger head, a javelin head, a lance head, a spear head, or a knife blade. Blades of considerable size are more common in South Jersey than in North Jersey. The fish spear prevails in the Delaware Valley and along water courses. The lance head was long and narrow and the javelin head was heavy, with a provision for being well fastened. The dagger and knife blades were generally thicker and had bases of decided width. They usually have a cutting edge and a ripping edge. Rarely is the red paint spear met with in New Jersey; however, the author found a fine specimen at Port Jervis.

Next to the arrowhead the notched stone is most common. This object is invariably spoken of as a sinker. Without doubt most of the heavier types that are crudely wrought were used as such in scoop nets, gill nets, fikes, etc. However, many of them that are neatly fashioned, round, square, triangular and the like, apparently had a different use. What this was no one seems to know. Use as spindle whorls, buttons, pot lids are speculations. The very large notched stones were canoe anchors. In this same class is the pebble of some size with a hole drilled from either side. One thinks of a use of them in connection with a net. However, the old residents of South Jersey call them "mills." None of this type has been reported from North Jersey.

The grooved pebble with the groove around the short axis is common to North Jersey, while the stone grooved about the long axis is confined to South Jersey. It is inferred that these stones were used on the ends of thongs, and that the opposite ends of the thongs of four or six were fastened together. This combination was whirled about the head and thrown into flocks of geese, ducks, and swans with killing effectiveness. The larger sort were, without doubt, war club heads.

Next in frequency are the pitted stones. They are pebbles with a pit on one side, and often there is a pit on both sides opposite each other. At times there are two pits on one side. These pitted stones are met with but occasionally in South Jersey. Large stones of this nature are classified as mortars. The big red sandstone type of mortar is common about Westfield, New Jersey. Specimens are found with concavities on one side but more often on two sides. The flat topped mortar prevails in extreme northern counties. Pestles of stone were used both with wooden and stone mortars. In the cup-shaped mortar the end of the pestle was used to crush the corn. It was operated in the hand or danced up and down from the branch of a tree. This latter method was used especially when a large pestle was employed. The rolling pin type of pestle which was used with flat topped mortars is found also in New Jersey. Pestles are rarely decorated with lines of pitch or tar. There is the stone with the small cannon ball size hole polished in the depression, and the heavy pebble with many holes on one side. Then there is the gritty quartzite with a deeply pitted surface found only in North Jersey.

The implement that next attracts attention beyond arrowheads, notched, grooved and pitted stones, is the one designated as an axe. This item of artifacts has a groove at one end about the short axis. It is most common in the Bordentown area. The country folk are often heard to say, "What an axe to cut down a tree." The fact is they were never used for that purpose. They were an agricultural implement. Their principal use was to girdle trees in order to prepare for planting corn. They were also used as a hoe to loosen up the soil. In the vicinity of Pitman and Glassboro among the Yacomenshackings, there was a unique type. It was long and narrow, about 14 by 4 inches, with a groove close to the blunt end. In the region of Gibbstown the double grooved axe is found. They have been found also in the extreme northern part of New Jersey. Double bitted axes have been reported and rarest of all

are the double grooves and double bits in one specimen. In Sussex an axe with two grooves crossing each other diagonally has been reported. Axes vary greatly according to wedge planes, general shape, size and polish. The highest polished specimens are found in the southern part. Attention should be called to the fact that axes of unusual size are met with along the Millstone River and about New Brunswick. Some of them weigh as much as twenty pounds. The smallest grooved axes are reported from the Haddonfield area.

Closely allied to the axe is the adze, celt-like with one side of the bit rounded and the other flat. Rarely is it found with a groove on one side following the long axis of the specimen, and with a transverse groove around the end, but not on the side grooved lengthwise of the specimen. The bit is well formed and neatly polished. Most adzes have no grooves at all. In the vicinity of Medford the knobbed celt is found. This is more truly an adze, since the one side is much more bevelled than the other. It is said that the area east of Camden is the only place in the United States where this type occurs.

In the northern part of New Jersey the celt or chisel-like stone seems to supplant the grooved axe. The true celt with a bit equally bevelled on both sides is in fact a stone tomahawk head, and was utilized as an implement of warfare. Large celts sometimes polished were used without handles for gouging out charred surfaces in making wooden bowls, mortars and dugout canoes. The adze was a more highly developed implement, was fastened to a handle and used for the same purpose. As the triangular arrow is found less frequently in South Jersey than in North Jersey, so the celt is in like manner scarcer. When the celt is grooved on one side over the long axis it becomes a gouge. These specimens are found sparingly throughout the State. Among the Minsi a small celt with a bit on both ends is rather common. It is made of a thin slab and is usually about three inches long. Celts an inch and a half long often highly polished, are typical to the Unalachtigo region. Thin slabs with polished straight edge bits are found in the Minsi area while the semi-lunar knife, the kitchen knife of the Eskimo, is seldom seen. However, a very few specimens have been reported.

Gorgets and ceremonial stones are more common than in any area of equal size in the United States. The former seem to be equally distributed. These are tablet-like stones with two holes bored from both sides. Invariably they are polished and rectangular in shape. A few are pointed at the ends while others have the corners of the rectangle cut away, giving them the appearance of a bow-tie or old-fashioned shoe buckle. Complete specimens are considered rare. Most often one surface is inscribed with faint etchings, others have prominent outlines. Probably the most remarkable specimen in the State is in the possession of Paul S. Tooker of Westfield. This specimen was found near Mamakating, Sussex County. It has on one side five wigwams, a snowshoe and two quivers of arrows. The usual notches are found about the edges. The reverse side is plain. Harrington reports that the Delawares in Ontario utilize these stones in dressing the hair, somewhat as a barrette is used.

Pendants are of a similar nature and were suspended from the neck for decoration on the breast. Some reach a foot in length. They have the etchings less frequent and are not so common as the gorget. Small pendants were worn from the ears and nose.

The ceremonial has two main types; the butterfly design and the trapezoidal form. The former seems equally distributed throughout the State but the latter is limited to the southern part. They are inscribed, polished and perforated edgewise in the middle through the short axis. The trapezoidal type is perforated edgewise through the long axis. Specimens of a pick shape character are found in the Musconetcong region. These are made of "verdolite," a variety of serpentine rock that comes from the Delaware Valley just north of Easton, Pennsylvania.

Bird stones and boat stones are exceedingly rare, especially the latter. About a dozen of the former and a half dozen of the latter have been reported. Stone faces are also among the great rarities. Plummets are found south of Trenton on the river and biscuit stones with a marginal hole off center are most unusual. Discoidal stones have been found and one genticulate form has been deposited in the New Jersey Historical Society Cabinet. Besides these, mauls, flakes, grooved stones, abraders, hoe blades, scrapers, drills and may problematic pieces are found in the area.

Tobacco was first cultivated by the Indians and on the advent of the white man smoking was a common practice. Originally it was held as sacred weed and was used only on ceremonial occasions. Glacanican (tobacco) kept away the evil spirit. Pipes were made of clay and stone, soapstone and sandstone. At first they were straight like a cigar-holder, and later as the habit became more established, as an amusement the bowls were turned at an angle until they ultimately stood at right angles with the stems. The corncob pipe is apparently an Indian invention. Tobacco pipes are unearthed from time to time in every quarter of the State. The medicine man's tube made of soapstone and of a natural fire clay found near Lockhaven, Pennsylvania, should not be confused with the tobacco pipe. These were used in case of illness. Handsome specimens have been found at Gloucester and Paulsboro, New Jersey.

The Indian pottery of the State affords a delightful study. Earthen vessels of steatite (soapstone) and of clay are generally spread over the area, especially along water courses and in rock shelters. Potsherds are the first index of an Indian abode. The Lenape developed considerable skill in the ceramic art; however, he never reached the point of glazing his ware. Clay was selected and then permeated with a mixing medium of crushed flint, coal, shells, soapstone, cedar chips and the like. The vessel was usually shaped in a basket-like mold and progress was made by a coiling process. When it was completed it was a common practice to enhance the work by outside surface decorations. These were always the results of combinations of straight lines. Curved lines were never used. After the pots were finally burned they were ready for use. The two most common uses were cooking

MONUMENT TO THE INDIAN CHIEF, TUCCAMIRGAN
(DIED 1750)
Erected by Citizens of Flemington Over His Grave, in 1895

*Courtesy of New Jersey Historical Society*

and storage. The bottoms were always egg-shaped. This facilitated setting them in a hole in the sand that a fire might be built around them. Holes were dug deep in the ground and charred corn, beans, dried squash and pumpkin seeds were placed in vessels made for storage purposes. These pots were often large enough to hold from twelve to fifty quarts. C. C. Abbott found a pot at Trenton that was as large as a quarter barrel. The writer has one from the Delaware River, five miles south of Port Jervis, that holds fourteen quarts. Cooking pots were much smaller, being from two to six or eight quarts in size. The pots of South Jersey differ decidedly from those of the northern part. From the enlargement of the base they are of the same diameter all the way up. There is sometimes a convergence toward the rim. Among the Minsi, Iroquois influence crept in and the Lenape type in the north is modified. The top is constricted and a collar of fine proportions has been developed. At times the Iroquois type is found in Minsi territory.

Fragments of soapstone vessels are sparsely deposited throughout the whole area. The source of material in the southern regions was the District of Columbia and for the northern part, Rhode Island and Vermont. Many fragments of considerable size have been found in the Maurice River Valley south of Millville. Whole pots are very rare. There are two or three in the museum in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Fragments of pots were worked up into ornaments of elaborate character and in bead-like rings. Among the Unalachtigos in Cumberland and Cape May small pieces from an inch to three inches are found shaped up with a groove around the edge. What use was made of them is not known.

Few objects of wood and bone have persisted to this day. Dugout canoes have been unearthed here and there. One found in Hackensack is probably the best specimen in the United States. Others have been brought to light in Cape May County, Ocean County, Cumberland County and Middlesex County. From time to time old burl bowls of Indian manufacture are found in attics. These were burned and grubbed out in the same way as were the canoes. Spoons, ladles, plates, wooden mortars, and pestles are among utensils in this field. The woods used were black ash, white oak, hickory, and maple. Basket-making by means of the shaved split is without doubt of Indian origin. The last Indian in the State at Indians Mills, Burlington County, Ann Roberts, was a basket-maker. Splits of white oak and poplar (tulip tree) were used. Various sizes and shapes are found. Some have rather elaborate designs stained on the staves. Then too, they made very useful mats of splits about two inches wide and of a heavy character. These were spread on the ground in the wikwams in which they lived. The fike was constructed of splits also. Mats and shoes of corn husks were Indian inventions.

Objects of shell and bone are even rarer than those of wood. Combs, awls, spreaders, sinew dressers, cups from the large bones and skulls of the elk, bear, etc., and occasionally an arrowhead are in this class. Antlers were used for arrow and spear heads and also for the final flaking of stone imple-

ments. Wampum, beads, and ornaments are found in the coastal area and often long distances from the shore. Shells were used as spoons and sometimes a beautiful univalve would be mounted on the head as an ornament. Implements and ornaments of native copper have been found. An axe was dug up in Sussex by Dalrymple, a turtle totem in Passaic by Ronck and a spear head in Warren. Abbott reports copper arrowheads. Then, too, beads of copper have been unearthed from graves.

**Wampum of the Lenape**—The word wampum is a contraction of the term, wampumpeak or wampumpeage. It was used by the New England Algonkins for beads made both of wood and of shell. Loskiel says, "Before the Europeans came to North America the Indians used to make their strings of wampum chiefly of small pieces of wood of equal size stained either white or black." Few were made of muscles which were esteemed very valuable and difficult to make." The word wampumpeage is derived from wompi meaning collective white beads, and peag meaning currency. Ompeag or ompeke signifies that which pays tribute. Peag or peke were used on account of the meaning for beads when referred to as currency, and wampum with the same significance as a contracted form. Among the Minsi Lenape in Ontario, Canada, today the word Keekg is used. A common word for wampum among the Lenape in the prehistoric times was gock. A string of wampum was called schejek (sha yek). This word is closely related to schey ichbi (sha-ik bi) the Lenape name for New Jersey. Ochquaso signified a belt of wampum. Meteauhock was used to designate white beads, and suckauhock as the designation for black beads. The white wampum was made from the stem or stock of the periwinkle, pyrula carica or pyrula canaliculata. The core of the buccinium and the lip of the conch strombas gigas were also used. The black or violet colored wampum was made from the black eyes of the quahaug, *venus mercenaria*. The Europeans early appreciated the value the Indians placed on shell wampum and began at once to make a much better product than that which the Indians manufactured. It soon came about that the improved wampum of the colonists was ardently sought for by the aborigines and was commonly obtained in exchange for beaver skins.

Wampum made of wood soon fell into disuse. Its disappearance was so sudden and complete that even museum specimens are not to be found, and rarely shell wampum of prehistoric Indian manufacture is met with. There are four specimens of this variety in the collection of the writer, made of conch shell. They were found in a grave at Penns Grove, Gloucester County, New Jersey. They are cylindrical in shape, three quarters of an inch in length and three-eighths of an inch in diameter. They are drilled from both ends, and the holes meet exactly in the center. The drill holes are three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter and show that a tapering drill with irregular edges was used. Originally the surface of the bead had been reasonably smooth. The beads are evidently very old and of Indian manufacture. There is every indication of aboriginal stone drills being used in their making,

and the outside finish suggests the use of stone implements. Throughout the southern part of New Jersey specimens of grooved sandstone are found, suggesting that wampum of this character was worked down by means of the gritty surface of these grooved stones. On applying these specimens to the grooves of a number of stones from South Jersey, it was found that the beads fit the grooves exactly.

The wampum industry developed rapidly in the colonies and in many points along the Atlantic Coast settlers gathered up the hen clam or quahaug for purple wampum and imported the conch for the manufacture of white wampum. Babylon and Oyster Bay, Long Island, Pascack near Hackensack, and Egg Harbor in New Jersey were notable for their wampum manufactories.

Wampum was admired by the Indians mainly for its decorative use. The colonists took advantage of it as a medium of exchange, and in this respect it soon became the universal currency in America. It was threaded on strings ordinarily about twelve inches in length. These in turn were tied together into bundles, bunches, branches or sheaves of strings. They were first strung on skin or sinew and later on strong thread. Belts were made in the form of scarfs or sashes, and would oftentimes contain many thousands of beads.

Strings and belts were presented at public affairs as mementos or reminders of the import of the occasion. They usually accompanied an official communication signifying good faith. In their ceremonies strings and belts were a necessary part of the ritualistic performance.

The presentation of strings and belts of wampum was the practice in the making of speeches at councils between tribes and with the colonists. For instance, at the treaty of Easton, Teedyuscung, the Unami Lenape spoke of the settlement of differences between him and Governor Bernard of Pennsylvania for their future peace, and to show his good faith a string of wampum was presented at the close of this topic. Tayashata, the Seneca chief, speaking in behalf of Teedyuscung to the end that he removed the hatchet from the head of the English, that it was buried under ground and that the Delawares would never take it up again against the English, gave at the end of his speech as a pledge a belt of wampum. In general, strings of wampum were given as an expression of sincerity of statement in a speech, and belts as a pledge in an agreement or treaty.

At times when wampum was scarce, unpolished wampum was put into circulation, likewise unstrung wampum and rough wampum found its place on the market. Therefore, there were, besides black and white wampum, polished and unpolished, strung and unstrung, rough and smooth. The Dutch used the word seawan for wampum, and an extra effort was put forth to have a good quality of seawan circulated from Manhattan. Consequently, extra fine wampum grew to be known as Manhattan seawan.

The word zeewant or seawan is derived from the Dutch language. Zee means sea and wan means a fan, consequently sea fan or shell. The coast of

New Jersey was called Seawanhacky. The ending hacky signifies place where. Hence Seawanhacky is the name of the place where sea fans or shells are found.

> Their money consists of zeawant (wampum) which is nothing more than the inside little pillars of the conckshells which the sea casts up twice a year. These pillars they polish smooth; drill a hole through the center; reduce it to a certain size and string the pieces on threads. The strings fill the place of gold, silver and copper coins. (Montanus 1671.)

In the measure of wampum many standards were used. There were units of length, bulk, weight, value and number. In the field of length we find an equivalent of the cubit, the inch, foot, span, yard, Flemish ell and most common of all, the fathom. Among the Iroquois there was a custom of measuring wampum similar to the measure of the cubit. The string was grasped by the thumb at the first joint of the little finger of the left hand with the palm upward. With the right hand the string was drawn off to the elbow joint of the left arm with the right arm bent upward at the elbow. The point from which to measure was then caught with the thumb and little finger. The first cubit of about 18 inches in length was left hanging downward from the measuring finger, and the second unit was drawn off to the elbow. This was repeated a sufficient number of times to measure the string in question. The Egyptian cubit was 20.63 inches in length and was measured somewhat the same way.

In Smith's "History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania," the statement is made (1648) that "Every fathom of seawant amounts to three ells sometimes one sixteenth less" referring to Flemish ells. The Flemish ell was three-quarters of a yard or 27 inches. The fathom had various interpretations. Quoting again from Smith, we find the following statement, "We are compelled to give two fathoms white and one of black seawant (wampum) for one beaver." We find, about 1640, white wampum was valued at nine pence per yard and black eighteen pence. At the same time six white and three black were current for a penny. The equivalent of an English penny was one Dutch stiver or .02 of a dollar in United States coinage. In New Sweden (South Jersey) one white wampum bead was worth one-sixth of a stiver, a red one one-third and a black one still more. They were usually strung on a hempen string one foot in length and five black or ten white were sold for twelve and a half cents. The unit of length was the same for both black and white wampum. The standard unit for each piece was one-quarter of an inch. This varied sometimes to a third of an inch. Six pieces equalled one and one-half inches, which was interpreted as the distance from the end of the thumb-nail to the first joint.

On April 11, 1641, measures were taken to prevent the deterioration of "the good splendid seawan" usually called Manhattan seawan, four beads of which were equal to one stiver. But now "nasty rough seawan fifty

per cent. cheaper" was surreptitiously introduced from foreign places. This drove, according to the laws of currency, the better sort out of circulation, nay, threatened "the ruin of the country." This inferior article was, therefore, condemned to pass at five for one stiver during the following month, and afterwards at six, at which rate, subsequently, the loose unstrung wampum circulated and served the community as change. (Albany Records, II, 108-11, 118, 119, Van Tienhoven.)

In the days of Governor Winthrop (1630-49) "hens," black wampum, poquahock, was valued three for a penny and five shillings for a fathom. The fathom, a quittompeg, signified a count or enumeration of beads. Consequently a fathom of white beads was always twice the length of a fathom of black beads. The fathom fluctuated in value. In 1643, with Roger Williams it was rated at five shillings. A few years before it was worth nine or ten shillings. In New Sweden (South Jersey) in wholesale transactions a fathom of wampum passed current for five Dutch guilders ($2.00). At Narraganset in 1647 one hundred seven fathoms of wampum sold for four pounds, four shillings and six pence, or at the rate of five shillings and seven, three-fifths pence per fathom.

On November 24, 1665, at Elizabethtown, in settlement for 180 guilders, that were behind for the payment of Luke Watson's oxen that were killed by the Indians, seventy fathoms of wampum. This transaction set the rate at two and four-sevenths guilders per fathom. At forty cents per guilder the value of a fathom was $1.03.

The Delaware Company in Pennsylvania in 1648 established the following standards: two fathoms of white wampum, or one fathom of black, was the equivalent of one beaver. A fathom was also interpreted as three Flemish ells, eleven feet three inches, sometimes one-sixteenth less. With the Dutch a fathom was equal to five guilders and with the English five shillings. The value varied in 1672 from five shillings in New England to four guilders, $1.665, in New York. When purchased by the yard in Virginia, dark wampum was worth eighteen pence, white, nine pence. It was a common custom in New Jersey to string either the black or white separately on hempen cords one foot in length. A string of white wampum was valued at twelve and one-half cents. Loskiel says that four to six strings joined in one breadth and fastened to each other laterally with a fine thread made a belt of wampum. Belts varied from three to four inches in width and were generally about three feet in length. A belt ordinarily contained from four to eight or twelve fathoms of wampum. We find that in 1748 a memorandum by Conrad Weiser gives the size of a certain large belt as 2,000 grains. Here I believe grain refers to one piece of wampum.

The complete memorandum of Conrad Weiser is as follows:

One large black belt, 2,000 grains.
A string of black and white, 256 grains.
A string of black and white, 600 grains.
A string of white, 150 grains.

A belt of white and a few black, 900 grains.
A string of white, 300 grains
A string of white, 185 grains.
Another string of white wampum, 212 grains.
(Penn Archives, Vol. II, p. 17.)

Another reference speaks of a belt of eleven strands having 180 beads each. This would make 1,980 beads in the belt. It is further added that some belts are so large as to contain 6,000 to 7,000 beads. The passing of a belt had binding significance, and was confined in the main to transactions of considerable import.

In connecticut, in 1638, payment was made with corn worth six shillings, per bushel, in wampum at three a penny or in beaver at nine shillings per pound in wampum. If the payment had been in silver it was the practice to figure one-third the value. When the color was not designated it was understood that white wampum was referred to.

It was a common practice to evaluate wampum in terms of the commodity purchased thereby. With the Hudson Bay Company in 1670 a beaver was valued at one-half pound.

In 1673 wampum increased one-third in value making six white beads for a stiver, twenty of which made a guilder (.40 of a dollar) or four pence sterling.

The schoolmaster in Flatbush, New York, was paid his salary in 1683 in wheat "wampum value." He was to provide a basin of water for the purpose of baptism. On each occasion he received twelve stivers in wampum. In 1693 ferriage from New York to Brooklyn was eight stivers in wampum or a silver two pence.

Wampum was sometimes figured by the pound. On June 20, 1672, the squa-sachem Awashunckes stood indebted to Mr. John Almey of Plymouth to the sum of 25 pounds sterling to be paid in pork at three pence a pound or in peage at 16 penny a pound of wampum. Therefore the debt could have been paid with 2,000 pounds of pork or with 375 pounds of wampum, presumably black wampum.

Wampum ceased to be legal currency in New Netherlands about 1680. It continued for sometime to be used as change; but from the beginning of the eighteenth century as currency it was completely supplanted by gold and silver coin. Indian beads resolved themselves again into articles of decoration, and today a necklace of tubular wampum is a valuable item of jewelry.

TABLE OF SUNDRY VALUES OF WAMPUM.

Three beads of equal length made up the distance from the top of the thumb to the first joint.
One fathom equalled 5 shillings 7 3-5 pence by the Narragansets in 1647.
One fathom was 60 pence, or 360 beads when 6 white equalled a penny.
One fathom was equal to three Flemish ells, 11 feet and 3 inches, sometimes 1-16 less in 1648.
Two fathoms white were valued at one beaver in 1648.
One fathom black was valued at one beaver in 1648.
One half pound of beads were valued at one beaver skin in 1670.
One fathom was worth five English shillings in 1672 in New England.

One fathom was worth five guilders in 1672 in New York.
One yard equalled 18 pence wampum in Virginia.
One cubit of wampum was the distance from thumb and first finger to the elbow.
One stiver or penny varied in value from 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12 black beads.
One stiver or penny varied in value from 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 20, 24 white beads.
One foot of black wampum at Pascack manufactory in New Jersey was valued at 12½ cents.
Wampum was variously measured by the pound, quart, and was valued in corn, pork, beaver, skins, etc.
It varied in value according to the following tabulation:
In New England:
1637—4 white and 2 black for a penny ($.02)
1640—6 white and 3 black for a penny.
1648—8 white and 4 black for a penny.
In 1649 wampum was forbidden by the Legislature for taxes or "to country rate."
In New Netherlands:
1641— 8 white and 4 black for a styver or
10 white and 5 black unpolished for a styver.
1650— 6 white and 3 black for a styver.
1660—12 white and 6 black to
16 white and 8 black for a styver.
1662—24 white and 12 black for a styver.
Later fine wampum became scarce and the price went up.
1664— 6 white and 3 black for a penny.
Three times the value was required in exchange for silver.
1670— 8 white and 4 black for a penny.
1673— 6 white and 3 black for a penny.

Wampum ceased to be legal currency in Massachusetts in 1661-62. We find it in practical use as change, and as currency with silver in Connecticut until 1704. It continued as currency in Manhattan until about 1680.

**Indian Words From Minsi and Unami Dialects**—Much might be written on the significance of Indian names and their derivation. If information were to be had, every Indian name would tell a significant story, but with all we have but limited vocabularies of the two Lenape dialects extant, and consequently the element of speculation must enter in. The Unami and Minsi dialects did not have an r, consequently words seemingly Indian that have r's in them are not strictly Lenape. The Dutch materially influenced many words and in consequence r's were often substituted for l's, n's, and w's. For example, the word Wahway was changed to Rahway, Nalitacong to Rarritacong. Some words that are thought of as Indian are Dutch. For example, vlakte used on the Delaware in the Minisink Country is not Indian as most people think, but rather a Dutch word meaning a plain. Some words are a combination of Dutch and Indian. There are those who think of the name Seewanhacky as the Indian name for the Jersey coast. The fact is, it is Dutch-Indian.

The beautiful significance of a Lenape vocabulary may be pointed out by giving the interpretation of a few Unami words. Matanike is the name of a hidden island in the Raritan near Somerville. It is derived from ma, there it is, and taneek, perhaps I don't know. Hence we have Matanike, perhaps I don't know where it is. Likewise there is Peapack with pee meaning water, and pack meaning a root, signifying the place where water roots are found. Allamatunk means the river that flows under the hill. The village at Rock-

town, Mercer County, is called Wissamoncie which has its origin in Wisu meaning fat and Munsee meaning Minsi. Hence we have fat Minsi. There is Watchung meaning high hill. Succasunna is derived from Sukeu, black and achsin, stone, meaning black stone. Menantico comes from Menantachk, a swamp with trees meeting above. Metuchen is derived from Metachan meaning firewood. Alloway is from Allowat meaning strong, mighty. Alanatka, the name of a branch of the Mullica River, is one of the most beautiful Indian words found in the lower part of the State. It is derived from Allanque meaning a star. It may be interpreted, creek of the star. Then there is Tulepehauken from tulpe, meaning turtle or turtle creek.

The name of the great chieftain in Cape May, Nummee, is related to Nummahauwan, to be aware of some one. An interpretation is, he who has forebodings.

In the central part of the State there are many words of great length. One that tops the list is found in Hunterdon County. It was given by John Reading in his journal of 1715. His spelling is Essakauque"amenshehic'kon, and is interpreted, a place bounded by a stubbornly stony country.

It will be concluded from the words presented with their meanings that the language was delightfully euphonious and brimful of meaning.

**Indian Trails in Scheyichbi**—While there was a veritable network of Indian paths over the land of Scheyichbi, probably the most notable is that known as The Minisink Trail. It can hardly be said that there was but one path to which this name applied, for each of the main arteries that led ultimately to the great Indian village of Minisink, together with the smaller paths that joined with them, might be known locally as The Minisink Path. The term Minisink Crossing likewise was used also for a great many of the fords of streams en route to Minisink.

Among the "Alexander Papers" in the New York Historical Library is an original map that locates The Minisink Path. It connects the body of water at Shrewsbury Inlet on the Atlantic Coast with Minisink Island. Minisink Island lies in the Delaware, four miles south of Milford, Pennsylvania. From this point the trail crossed the mountain over the present driftway to the valley of the Little Flat Brook at Hainesville. From thence it follows the old road directly south over the hill to the Big Flat Brook, and across the mountain to Culver's Lake. It is probable that it followed up the hill along the branch of the Big Flat Brook known as Stony Brook. The trail went north of Culver's Lake and crossed the marsh and corner of the lake where the water is shallow. The course was directly to Branchville. At Augusta there were rock shelters and camp sites, and at Newton (Tock-hocknock) extensive evidence of Indian occupation still exists along this route.

From Newton the path probably crossed over a zigzag course to Iliff's Pond, and thence east of Long Pond and Hewitt's Pond to Andover. From this point the route was by Panther Pond, Cranberry Lake and Cat Swamp over the general course of the present thoroughfare to Stanhope.

INTERIOR OF WAMPUM MINT AT PASCACK SHOWING THE FOUR CAMPBELL BROTHERS.

*Courtesy of Bergen County Historical Society, Hackensack.*

Lake Hopatcong was touched at the Landing. Here the path followed the glacial terminal moraine to the Rockaway River, north of the town Rockaway. The course of this stream was followed to Denville. At this point there was probably a division of the trail, one way going by Morristown and the other to Parsippany, Whippany, and north of Black Meadows to Hanover; thence across the Passaic over the Watchungs down through the Orange Reservation to Milburn and Springfield.

Here the main path was joined by the one coming through Morristown, Madison, Chatham and Summit. The ford at Chatham was known in the early days as the Minisink Crossing. The path followed the river to Stanley and thence over the summit of the mountain and through by Baltus Roll to the Rahway River Valley.

The trail ran to the westward of the Rahway River, crossed the Nomahiggin at Branch Mills, touched Westfield east of Fairview Cemetery and kept to the eastward of the famous Ash Swamp (Indian name, Tamaques); thence through Metuchen to the Raritan at Kents Neck opposite Sayreville. On the north side of the river at this point was the camp of Matochshegan.

The trail went on from Sayreville to Morgan, where it crossed the Cheesequake Creek (Indian, Ches-na-quack). Here was a great council fire. The course was thence to Matawan, Wickatunk and south of Swimming River to Shrewsbury and Navesink rivers at Claypit Creek.

It will be noted that the path holds closely to the terminal moraine of the glacier from Perth Amboy to Springfield. At this point a path that was used a great deal branched off of the main artery and followed the terminal moraine to Denville, where the main path covered the glacial moraine to Netcong. From Netcong another path followed the Musconetcong to Hackettstown, where, keeping to the moranic drift, it crossed the hill to the Great Meadows, and thence passed down the Pequest to the Indian village of Manungkachungh on the Delaware River north of Belvidere.

In the vicinity of Metuchen a trail branched off and led up to the Forks of the Delaware at Easton. This path went through New Market, Bound Brook, Somerville, Whitehouse, High Bridge, Hampton and thence to Phillipsburg. Here we still have the names with the ending "cong," such as Lopatcong, Pohatcong, and Musconetcong. At the other end of the trail along the coast flowing into the Raritan Bay at Keyport is a small stream called Luppatcong. This suggests that there was a line of communication between the two streams, with names so much alike as Lopatcong and Luppatcong.

Names of Indian origin along these trails that still persist are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minisink | Parsippany | Metuchen |
| Pequest | Passaic | Raritan |
| Musconetcong | Canoe Brook | Cheesequake |
| Hopatcong | Watchung | Matawan |
| Rockaway | Rahway | Wickatunk |
| Whippany | Nomahiggin | Navesink |

In the Delaware north of Milford, Pennsylvania, an island in the river carries a name with the same ending. I refer to Mishipacong Island. Endings such as -ung, -onck, -ong, -ing, -inny, -ink, and -unk, are found at the northern end of the trail: Minisink at the north and at the south Neversink; Shawangunk against Wickatunk; Wequashes, the name of Everett's Island, adjacent to Minisink Island against Wequahic; Namanonck, against Koneskonck, etc. It would appear that almost one and the same people inhabited the termini of this ancient highway.

The trail was, in so far as it can be determined, a winding, well beaten path, some two to three feet wide. Its course was determined by lines of least resistance, such as dry land in wet weather, absence of rocks and stones, levelness of terrain, and had outlooks, fishing points, game forests and swamps, springs, camping sites, river courses, nuts, roots, berries, quarries, and rock shelters along its way.

Groups of Indians would travel over this path throughout the whole year. They were in the habit of proceeding single file some ten feet apart. The unincumbered warrior or hunter kept up a "dog trot." The burden-carrying squaws came moping along far behind at a slow rate, taking plenty of time.

Probably the main purpose of this trail was for frequenting the shell fisheries of the coast. Oysters, clams, scallops, whelks, sea snails, mussels, crabs and fish were highly relished by the Indians. The many shell heaps of Monmouth County about the mouth of the Raritan, and Shrewsbury Inlet are evidence of the extensive use of sea foods. Shell heaps forty to sixty feet in diameter and ten feet deep are not uncommon. In these shell piles are found ash beds, fragments of pottery, stone implements and animal bones. In some piles bone awls are met with occasionally. This indicates that such localities were drying stations. The awls were used in stringing the dried shell-fish product, which was transported to their mountain fastnesses for winter use. Drying and smoking was the most common means of preserving food. It is not uncommon to find burials beneath shell heaps.

The dead were carried over this path for interment in the Munsee Cemetery. When an Indian died in winter the body was put in an out-of-the-way place. After the flesh had decayed from the bones, the skeletons were often taken long distances for burial. When Indians changed their hunting grounds they would frequently disinter their dead, bundle them up in skins and carry them along with them.

Heckewelder refers to a procession of the Lenape passing through Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in the late sixteen hundreds. His comment is to the effect that the stench was so great the people had to leave the town when the Indians dropped their burdens and settled down near the village for the night.

The Minisink Trail was used by the Indians as late as 1820. A story was told by Mr. Washington Bond of Chatham, that his father remembered a group of Indians coming down over the trail by his father's house in that

year. They asked to stay over night and were permitted to sleep in the barn. The next morning they paid for their lodging by giving a war dance for the amusement of Mr. Bond and his neighbors. This was the last of the Munsees, in so far as is known, to use the trail, once so great a thoroughfare for the Indians of our State.

The description of the Minisink Path gives a general picture of a typical trail in the State. This was duplicated many times over. A prominent one came down the Hudson via Tappan to Hackensack thence to Newark, Elizabeth, joining the Minisink Trail at Metuchen. From Hackensack there was a trail through Pompton to the Minisink sometimes called The Minisink Trail. From Metuchen there was a path that ran through New Brunswick via Cranberry to Crosswicks. This was called the Lower Path in contradistinction to the Upper Path that led to Trenton by the Millstone Valley, Rocky Hill and Stony Brook.

Next in importance to the Minisink Trail was the trail from Camden to Keyport called the Navesink Trail. Over this the Southern Indians traveled to the shore and met their brothers from the North. Coming in from the Forks of the Delaware was the path to Ampoge (Amboy) and Staten Island. It was by this route that the Raritans visited the jasper quarries of the Lehigh Valley. From Raritan to Lambertville ran the Tuckaramahacking Trail by the Forks of the Raritan over which argillite was carried from Essaquaqueamenshehickon, the place where the stones jingle under your feet, to Indian villages across from Manhattan where trade in this commodity was carried on. Pilgrimages every spring were made via this route to the coast for shell fish. The shell piles that litter the shore from Cape May to Sandy Hook are telltale evidence of savage fondness for oysters and clams. The most notable of these is the Hummock at Tuckerton. This is a great shell heap a mile out on the marsh from the Ridgeway Farm. It is accepted as the largest shell pile on the Atlantic Coast. It measures more than one hundred feet in length, twenty-five feet across and twelve feet high. On it are growing six venerable cedars at least two centuries old. At this point on the coast there were some six or eight villages which were the terminus of the Manahawkin Trail. This path entered the State at Camden, ran north of Coopers Creek to Medford, thence to Shamong, Washington, McCartyville, Bass River and thence to Tuckerton. On the western end branches ran into this trail from Burlington and Pensaukin. This was the greatest highway to the coast in South Jersey. Another path went by way of Atco, Atsion, and Batsto, to Leeds Point. There was also a trail from Burlington via New Egypt to Toms River. The Burlington Path ran from Burlington to Pemberton, Shamong, Batsto, Weymouth, Mays Landing, Tuckahoe and thence to Cape May. This route from the cape was called the Path to Shamong. On the western side of the State was a line of communication to the Cohansie. This trail ran from Gloucester to Swedesboro, thence to Woodstown, Alloway and Bridgeton. From Fairton this path continued by way of Cedarville to a point on the Maurice River north of Port Elizabeth where it crossed and

took the route of the old Cape May Road, now vacated, to the Point. There was also a path that connected the Cohansie with Somers Point via Millville.

These are but a few of the Indian Trails that may be mentioned. There are the Malayelick Trail from Trenton to Phillipsburg, the Peapack Path leading from the Raritan to the Minisink, the Ramapo Path from Montclair via Pompton to Suffern, the Innskip Ford Path crossing the Great Egg Harbor River, and the Crosswicks Path from Crosswicks via Mount Holly, Moorestown and Haddonfield to the southward with many, many others connecting one path with another crossing and re-crossing until there is a maze of spiderweb-like lines enmeshing the whole State.

**The Westward Movement of the Lenape**—The Lenape were the dominant tribe in the East until about the year 1720, when the Iroquois took dominion over them, and compelled them to pay an annual tribute. As the white settlers came in the Indian inhabitants were gradually crowded out. The Unalachtigo Delawares were the first to leave the State. They departed about the year 1725 with the Nanticokes of Maryland, stopped for a time in the Juniata Valley, and from thence they removed to the Upper Susquehanna, and finally settled with the Iroquois at Chenango and Owego, New York. They soon left this location and joined other Delawares in Ohio on the Muskingum at Gnadenhutten, and later in Indiana on the White River at Muncie. From this time forth their identity is apparently lost.

The Minsi Delawares left northern New Jersey about 1742 and removed to the Susquehanna in the vicinity of Wyoming and Wyalusing. Their next move was to the head waters of the Allegheny and thence to the Muskingum in Ohio. At this point there was a division because of a quarrel and some crossed Lake Erie and settled on the Thames and Grand rivers, in Ontario, where they still live; and the rest moved westward to the White River, and thence to Kansas at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. In 1867 they removed to Indian Territory and were incorporated with the Cherokees. By this act they lost their identity as the Lenape or Delaware nation.

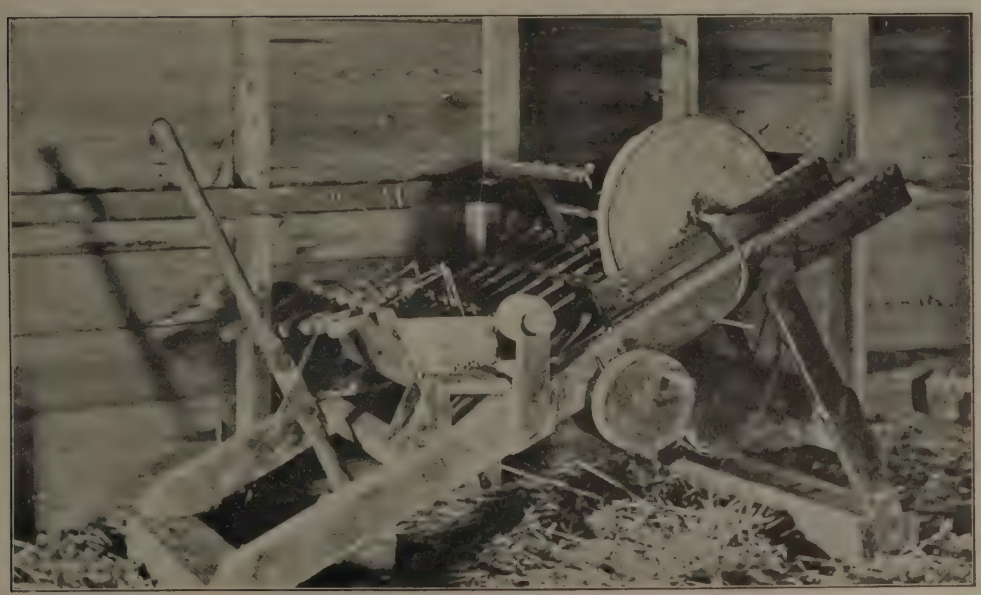
The Brothertons, mainly Unamis, gave up their reservation at Indian Mills in Burlington County in 1802 and went "to sup out of the same dish" with the Stockbridges in Oneida County, New York. In 1822 they removed to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where they still live.

Today there are remnants of the Minsi Lenape in Hagersville, Middlemiss, and Moraviantown, Ontario, Canada, aggregating about 700. There are some 300 Minsis among the Stockbridge Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and about fifty among the Chippewas in Kansas. In Oklahoma on the Caney River near Dewey there are nearly a thousand Unamis and about a hundred at Anadarko. This limits the extant Lenapes or Delawares to about 2,000 Munsis and Unamis. No Unalachtigos are known to exist.

**The Lenape Say Farewell**—In spite of tradition the Lenape yearned to live as the white man lived, but his body, inured to the wind and weather,

CAMPBELL'S OLD WAMPUM FACTORY, 1775-1887, PASCACK.

*Courtesy of Bergen County Historical Society, Hackensack.*



MACHINE FOR MAKING WAMPUM.

*Courtesy of Bergen County Historical Society, Hackensack.*

to the fresh air and hardy food of the forest, could not adjust itself to the new régime; tuberculosis and smallpox made him their victim where liquor and dissipation had prepared the way. To him who escaped death and disease, the distant call of the great out-of-doors beckoned westward, and, although in the year 1801 adequate provision was made for the remnant at Brotherton, that still lingered on their beloved hunting grounds, "they packed up their mats" and went to eat out of the dish of the Manhekunnuk on Oneida Lake, and thus ends the sad tale of the noble Lenape in Scheyichbi.

New Jersey as a State always dealt justly with the Indians native to its soil. At first a reservation was provided at Indian Mills, Edgepillock, for remnants gathered together from all parts of the commonwealth. Because of the diverse character of these Indians they were called Brothertons. After going to Oneida Lake in 1801 they removed to Green Bay and at this time New Jersey appropriated $3,551.23 due them in settlement of Brotherton claims, for the purchase of a new home and for transportation thither. In 1832 a final claim was made through Bartholomew S. Calvin who had been a West Jersey schoolmaster and an interpreter at the Treaty of Easton. Following a personal appeal by Calvin at Trenton on March 12, 1832, the Legislature appropriated $2,000, the sum asked for by the Indians. In consequence a final extinguishment of all claims of the Lenape to lands in New Jersey was made justly and honorably, and they and their representative forever departed in peace.

In acknowledgment to this fair and considerate treatment the following letter was written to the Legislature at Trenton: "Not a drop of our blood have you spilled in battle—not an acre of our land have you taken but by our consent. These facts speak for themselves and need no comment. They place the character of New Jersey in bold relief, a bright example to those states within whose territorial limits our brethren still remain. Nothing save benisons can fall upon her from the lips of a Lenno Lenape."

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

By Hugh McD. Clokie, M. A.,

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Rutgers University.

Chapters III-IX, Inclusive.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW JERSEY—DUTCH, SWEDES AND ENGLISH.

**Introduction**—The late exploration and settlement of the middle colonies gave no promise of their future importance and prosperity. Situated in the very center of the Atlantic seaboard, severing the northern and southern regions of English colonization, it might have been thought perhaps prophetic of a dull and insignificant future, or at least of unfavorable location, that there should elapse three-quarters of a century between the founding of the adjoining colonies and the opening of this middle region to English enterprise and settlement. The explanation of this inauspicious beginning is to be found in the geographical features which so largely shape the human history of any country, and which still more definitely control the accessibility of new areas.

A glance at an atlas, especially a map showing the first voyages of discovery across the Atlantic, will reveal the significant fact that two trans-Atlantic routes stand out as fore-ordained. An historical map will also show that for two centuries exploration to America followed these same two routes. One course of passage lay in the south from Spain or Portugal to the Madeira, Canary, and Gomera Islands, thence west or southwest to the West Indies, Bahamas or Bermudas, and finally by turning north or northwest (according as the preceding course had been southwest or west) the mainland would be attained and Virginia first at hand. This was in general the course of Columbus and of Vespucius. The other route lay directly westward from the English, French and Dutch ports to Newfoundland, a parting of the ways, north to Labrador, south to Nova Scotia and the New England coast. The Cabots and Cartier followed this line of exploration.

These two routes remain the chief courses of commercial navigation. Especially were they the natural traffic lines for sailing vessels as upon them are found the most favorable tides and winds. It was logical then that with such assistance of nature the first discoveries should have been along the northern and southern regions of the Atlantic Coast. And it was equally certain that as regularity of intercourse is essential to successful colonization these sections would be the first brought under control.

It might be thought however that a central position upon the Atlantic Coast and thus an accessibility from either route would operate in abatement of this primary disadvantage. Unfortunately the characteristic conformation of the shore for a time served to conceal the country and the entrances. The land falls away from the north so rapidly and is so low that vessels passing south from Cape Cod might very easily be unaware of its existence. Greater chance of discovery lay in the way of vessels sailing north from the southern route, since the bays and rivers open to the sea in that direction. Such in

fact was the case for both claimants to the discovery of this region approached it from the south.

There is one other geographic factor which must be mentioned here. Of all the middle states New Jersey is the most central, occupying her place between New York on the one hand and Pennsylvania and Delaware on the other. The only one of the original thirteen states whose political boundaries follow natural frontiers, New Jersey is a peninsula with a narrow land-connection along the northern (New York) border. Bounded on the east by the ocean, and on three sides by broad rivers, she has been cut off from further territorial expansion, and has pursued what at first sight may be mistaken for her inevitable destiny as a self-contained unit. But we must be careful in tracing the sequence of events to avoid the common error of regarding the actual development as the only one possible. Colonization and the political origin of new lands have rarely followed what appear in retrospect as the logical geographical unities. Other factors than climate, water, flora and fauna enter at strategic moments to give changed direction to the course of history. For example between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays a similarly distinct peninsula is found but which is today divided between two states, Maryland and Delaware. That the New Jersey peninsula has retained political unity is due to a series of turns in her history. Three times in the first century of her existence was she threatened by permanent division; three times did chance restore her unity.

New Jersey's difficulty lay in her coast-line. Her shore is a line of breakers with dangerous shoal inlets. There are few harbors opening directly to the sea. Vast mosquito-infested salt marshes and low sandy shores make a treacherous approach to an apparently desolate region. But once the entrances were discovered, the progress of settlement might be rapid; though easy transportation must of necessity be slow in developing. The interior revealed in the south a level, heavily-forested, sandy and swampy country, while in the north and northwest was found a rougher, more mountainous region. Early transportation of necessity follows water; for rivers, lakes and seas are the most natural highways; while natural barriers are found in mountain and marsh. With the seacoast thus rendered almost inaccessible on account of the treacherous shifty sand bars, there were but two entrances left by which settlement in New Jersey could proceed. One was by way of the Delaware, the other through New York Bay and Raritan Bay. The former was somewhat late in development because the entrance to Delaware Bay was studded with shoals, but once entered permitted access to the well-watered southern and western region extending all the way from Cape May to the Falls at Trenton. The other entrance became more prominent, the Lower New York Bay entered between Sandy Hook and Long Island being the gate-way not only to Northern New Jersey, but also to Manhattan and the Hudson. From this the open meadows and marshes about Newark Bay, along the Passaic, Hackensack, and Raritan rivers were easily reached, forming the center of settlement in Eastern Jersey. Now though these two regions were but sixty

miles apart at their closest points (Trenton and Newark) the difficulty of communication overland was sufficiently great as to sever these into two apparent unrelated halves. For many long years the two provinces were more closely connected with the settlement on the other sides of their respective rivers and bays, than with each other. The Delaware and Hudson appeared more like highways, the shores of each forming a closer unit than the east and west halves of the province could ever be. It is no wonder then that at least a century was to elapse before it should be decided that East Jersey and West Jersey should not be drawn definitely into New York and Pennsylvania, respectively, but should form one State.

For the time being, therefore, we must treat of New Jersey as a part of the larger group of Middle Colonies. Bearing this in mind, we shall have less difficulty in following the rather complicated course of settlement. New Jersey received in colonial times its residents in five main streams. First, there were the Dutch scattering along the west bank of the Hudson and gradually penetrating inland along the Raritan River Valley. Second, the Swedes clinging half-heartedly to the Jersey shore of the Delaware, never very numerous, and within a century quite absorbed and submerged. Then came the rapidly multiplying New Englanders, pushing down from Long Island into Monmouth County, Elizabeth and Newark on the second leg of their great westward movement. Next the great migration of Quakers largely sponsored by William Penn, filling up the vacant places upon both sides of the Delaware, a movement which was to give to Jersey and Pennsylvania a special significance as a religious experiment. And finally the Scots, many of them Quakers, pressing in among the New Englanders of East Jersey along the coast and in the north interior.

It is from these diverse strains that the early New Jersey colonist emerges. But as the colony attains maturity and evolves into a State there are added yet other stocks to accentuate the heterogeneity of racial and religious origin. In the eighteenth century came German, Moravian, and French Huguenot. Later Catholic Irish and Presbyterian Ulsterite began to move in. And before these are absorbed the nineteenth century sees the immigration of the later groups of Italians, Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, Poles and Jews, in such numbers as to constitute almost a new colonization.

Our first task then is to follow the discovery of New Jersey, to observe the progress of its exploitation, and to see how it fares at the hands of the various occupants.

**Henry Hudson**—Although the English claims to the North American Continent have been based upon the voyages of the Cabots in the five or six years following the discovery of the new continent by Columbus, there has been considerable controversy as to the distribution of credit for the further and more detailed exploration of the Atlantic seaboard. With the loss of hopes of a western passage to India and Cathay, and with the more definite knowledge of the Newfoundland codfisheries, the urge to explore waned for a time. It seems certain that annually numbers of fishermen of various races

were drawn after the year 1500 to the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador, their purpose being the prosaic and profitable industry of codfishing. No further excursions into the new lands were made than were necessary for the proper prosecution of their livelihood.

It was not until 1524 that the next explorer appears. In that year Giovanni de Verrazano, a Florentine, set sail under the French flag, again lured by the prospect of a western route to China. He coasted north perhaps from Cape Fear along the Jersey coast, probably anchoring in the Delaware Bay and later inside Sandy Hook, and so up along the New England coast, then back to France. This, his only voyage, is but vaguely reported, and in the past it was customary for geographers to discredit the validity of Verrazano's claim as the first discoverer. But in the last fifty years the general consensus seems to award him this distinction. In any case, from this time on French exploration was confined for three-quarters of a century to the New England coast, Acadia, and the great Canadian waterways. And while it is possible that French traders may have frequented the river Hudson and perhaps have established a trading post at the modern Albany, as some suggest, yet in Channing's words "the recorded history of the river begins with Hudson's voyage of 1609."

The career of Henry Hudson well illustrates the haphazard nature of American discovery. This famous English navigator came into view unheralded out of an obscure past, and disappeared "unhonored and unsung," marooned by a mutinous crew in the greatest of all his discoveries, Hudson Bay, five years after we first hear of him. His first two voyages had been on behalf of the English Muscovy Company seeking a passage by the northeast to Çathay and the "Islands of spicery." Undeterred by his failures he had his services accepted in 1609 by the Amsterdam Board of the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602. For them he was to make another attempt to find the northeast passage. Accordingly he left Amsterdam on April 14, 1609, in the yacht "Half Moon," with a mixed crew of eighteen or twenty Dutch and English sailors. Fog, ice and cold weather led to dissension and incipient mutiny, which, we are told by a contemporary writer, forced him to abandon the northern route and propose a search for a passage in the west. This project he is said to have attempted upon representations and maps sent him some time before by Captain John Smith, indicating a sea about the latitude of forty degrees, leading into the western ocean.

Hudson turned westward and after a long voyage finally sighted Newfoundland, whereupon the course was set southwest, along the shores of Maine, round Cape Cod and south to Virginia. As this was not what was desired he turned about, and left to the south "the King's river in Virginia where our Englishmen are." Soon afterwards, they entered Delaware Bay, but disliking the treacherous and shoal entrance, he tarried no longer than necessary, but proceeded slowly and carefully, with much use of the leadline, along the New Jersey coast, till he came within Sandy Hook.

The narrative as told by Juet, mate of the "Half Moon," illustrates the

HENRY HUDSON

difficulties due to the concealed nature of the entrance to New York Bay and the Hudson River. He tells how they left the ship outside while they carefully explored the "Narrows" round Staten Island, and prospected into the upper bay by boat before taking the yacht up. It appears that the Indians had already had experience with white traders, for on every possible occasion those at the river mouth or upon the shore attacked the newcomers. It was here too that the first white man is recorded as having met his death at the hands of the natives. The story is of their first sight of Arthur Kill and Kill van Kull. On the sixth of September, "in the morning was faire weather, and our master sent John Colman, with foure other men in our boate, over to the north side to sound the other River being foure leagues from us. They found by the way shoald water, two fathoms; but at the North of the River eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for ships; and a narrow River to the Westward, (that is Kill Van Kull) betweene two Ilands. The Lands they told us were as pleasant with Grasse and Flowers and goodly Trees as ever they had seene, and very sweete smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open Sea (probably Arthur Kill), and returned; and as they came backe, they were set upon by two Canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteene men. The night came on and it began to rayne, so that their Match went out; and they had one man slayne in the fight, which was an Englishman, named John Colman, with an arrow shot into his throat and two more hurt. It grew so darke that they could not find the ship that night, but labored to and fro on their oares." Next day they got back to the ship with the dead man, "whom we carried on land and named the point after his name, Colmans Point" (presumably Sandy Hook).

Proceeding up the bay Hudson came into "as faire a river as can be found, wide and deep, with good anchoring ground on both sides"—the river which now bears his name. Still thinking that perhaps it was the route to the western sea he sailed up for eleven days—past the Palisades, beyond Catskills till just above the site of the present Albany. There the increase of shoals convinced him that there was no western sea that way. The upper river Indians were quite friendly. "The people of the countrie came flocking aboard, and brought us grapes and pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us Bever Skinnes which wee bought for Beades, Knives and Hatchets." The natives were introduced for the first time, it appears, to the white man's fire-water. Some Indians on board were treated to "so much wine and *Aqua vitae* that they were all merrie, . . . . and in the end one of them was Drunke, which had beene aboard of our ship all the time that we had been there; and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it." For two hundred years the Mohawks are said to have preserved the account of the revelling at the first coming of the whites. Finally, however, Hudson turned his vessel's prow homeward, and began to drop gently down the river. He found it necessary to take constant precautions against ambush and attack from the lower river Indians.

Back in European waters the "Half Moon" put in at Dartmouth, Eng-

land, before proceeding to the port of departure, Amsterdam, Holland. But before they could leave, Hudson and other Englishmen of the party were forbidden to depart and commanded to "serve their own country." Many persons, wrote a contemporary, thought it strange that captains should thus be prevented from laying their accounts and reports before their employers, especially when they had set out in the interest of navigation in general. It was therefore expected that the English would follow up this discovery by more detailed exploration. Hudson, however, paid no more attention to this region and the next years saw him attempting the northwest passage, which ended in his death in the Hudson's Bay, having made in these two short voyages an imperishable name for himself.

**European Background**—To whom then did this new land belong by right of discovery?

In all justice the question should not have arisen for a country already inhabited; but in those days—and perhaps even today—the law of nations did not recognize the inherent right of aboriginals to their lands. Countries occupied by pagan and uncivilized races, by semi-barbarous non-Christian tribes were regarded as coming under the dominion of the prince under whose auspices the discovery was made; and this right of jurisdiction was admitted to the exclusion of all other Christian nations. There was much conflict of theory and practice about the rights acquired by the discoverer over the land, property and persons of the natives. In some cases the natives were regarded as having entirely forfeited their rights on conquest. The better policy, and that pursued in the Middle Atlantic Colonies, was to acquire the desired rights by purchase.

The right to exclude other European nations was therefore of considerable importance in theory. What constitutes a prior right of discovery? Is a general discovery of a continent such as that of America by Columbus sufficient to give exclusive rights? Would the vague discoveries of the Cabots give England the whole coast or must it be followed by more detailed exploration? More difficult than either of these questions were those concerning the mainland. Does the discovery of a coast entitle the discoverer to the entire continent? And conversely do overland explorations entitle one to the coast?

Many of the original documents upon which the Dutch might found their claim have been lost; many have been the subjects of official juggling. Not that this practice was confined to the Dutch—witness the English tradition which crept into many apparently authoritative books, that the Dutch had merely purchased the maps of Hudson's discoveries. Another of these stories was that in 1612, when the English Virginia Company employed Captain Thomas Argall to dispossess intruders from the coast, he secured from the Dutch traders at Manhattan an admission of English claims.

A further difficulty in the way of clear title for either Dutch or English arose from the fact that Champlain in his explorations in the region south

of the lake which bears his name was almost at the source of the Hudson some weeks before the "Half Moon" ascended the river. Did this entitle France to the surrounding territory? Under such circumstances it must be clear that any assertion of absolute priority of claim either as for equity or of chronological order cannot be fully established. The right to the possessions of the new world was less important than the fact of effective control which certain nations were able to establish.

A more fundamental problem therefore is that of the causes which induced Europeans to look out over the western ocean in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. And the answer to this will prove also the explanation of the success or failure the nations would meet in their enterprises. For the successful exploitation of America did not depend upon prior rights of discovery, but upon certain economic religious and political factors.

The first and most obvious reason for undertaking exploration by sea was the need of finding new routes for an uninterrupted trade with the Far East. "Mediaeval Europe was dependent for her luxuries on Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, and Persia, India and the Spice Islands, China and Japan. Precious stones and fabrics, dyes and perfumes, drugs and medicaments, wood, gums, and spices reached Europe by many and devious, obscure routes but all from the eastward."[1] But between the years 1200 and 1450 the Turks had expanded as a conquering power from being a small tribe in Asia Minor, till they had overrun their continent from the Red Sea to the Ægean and Black seas. In 1453 Constantinople, the capital of the Christian empire of the East, fell into their hands, placing the eastern basin of the Mediterranean entirely in Turkish control. By thus cutting across the ancient overland route between the Orient and Europe the Ottoman Turks not only interrupted a trade conducted upon that highway from greatest antiquity but upset the balance of the time-honored centers of civilization. The Mediterranean could not longer be the heart of Christendom. The Greek classics and the Greek New Testament were carried and transferred to the outlying nations of Northwestern Europe. Commerce also was driven out of the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, seeking fresh outlets on the Baltic, along the coasts of Africa and in the west.

The interruption of the oriental trade came at a singularly inauspicious time. Europe was then undergoing the transition from feudalism to the nationalism which distinguishes the modern era from the medieval. The ancient self-sufficing village community, with its lord of the manor and vassals, seigneur and serfs, was breaking down. Growth of population upset the agricultural balance, concentration of handicraft industries in towns induced a production beyond local demand. So that foreign trade must be found to absorb the surplus goods of these towns, and to supply the feudal baron and city burgher with the luxuries to which they were becomnig accustomed.

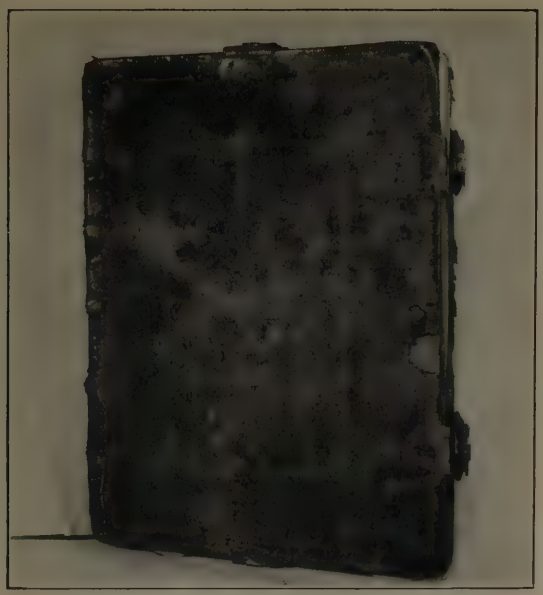
---

[1] Cheyney: *European Background of American History*, p. 9-10.

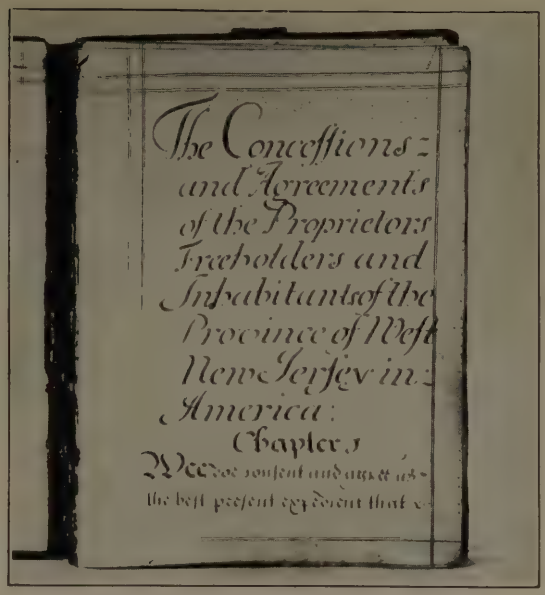
Voyages in all directions into unknown seas, but particularly seeking the illusive westward passage, became more frequent in the years following the discoveries of Christopher Columbus. Magellan did in fact circumnavigate the globe by the southwest. Spain and Portugal as first claimants partitioned the new world between them. And having been the first nations to exploit the possibilities in the Atlantic these two countries drew to themselves the carrying trade formerly an Italian monopoly. Then with the conquest of Mexico and the opening up of South America to European exploitation, they first aroused the envy and the cupidity of the world at the fabulous wealth, the constant stream of gold and untold riches which began to pour into the Iberian Peninsula from the Oriental trade and the mines of America. Their navigators had won for Spain and Portugal by the middle of the sixteenth century not only a monopoly of trade with the East, but an exclusive dominion for them in the new lands in the southwest. Yet in spite of all this the perennial search for the western passage to Cathay and the Indies was continued and for long after sailors felt that the "American continent itself was merely an unwelcome barrier, save the Spanish possessions in the south, with which as yet no other nation had thought of meddling."

But early in the sixteenth century, however, a new and important element had been added to the European situation. Between 1514 and 1534 Luther had nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the Wittenberg Cathedral; Zwingli had propounded his sixty-seven theses at Geneva; Calvin had enunciated his heresies in France; and more to the point, Henry VIII had secured his divorce by separating the English Church from Rome. The religious Reformation which was thus instituted had divided the nations of Christendom into two hostile camps. This division into Catholic and Protestant was a somewhat fluctuating grouping, for it was superimposed upon other "natural enmities," and thus sometimes coincided with, and sometimes cut across, national antipathies. Of the powers with which we are concerned Spain (having absorbed Portugal in 1584) represented the Catholic tradition; France was torn by sectarian and sectional dissension; while England, Scotland and many of the north European countries appeared incurably Protestant. Thus while Spain was apparently at the height of her power new opposing forces were already accumulating strength and the desire to oppose her. And needless to say the division of the world between two Catholic powers by the Pope was no longer regarded with awe by the Protestant interlopers. It was in this period that English sea-power gradually developed through the distant piratical expeditions of Hawkins, Drake, and the sea-dogs who harried the rich homeward-bound galleons from the Spanish Main. Then in the Netherlands the Dutch Protestants raised the standard of revolt from Spanish rule in 1580 and issued the first democratic Declaration of Independence. National sentiment in England, too, forced Elizabeth's hand, and in the resulting semi-religious war the Spanish power was broken by the defeat of the Armada in 1588.

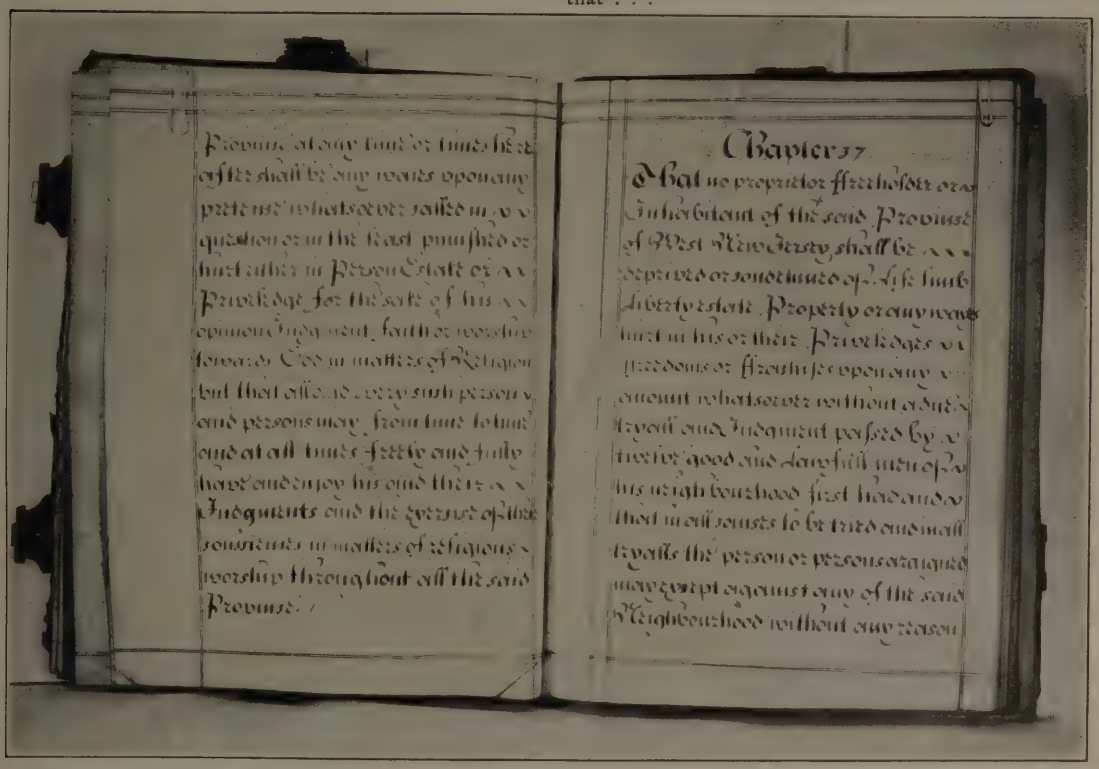
The seas were thus at the close of the sixteenth century open to all



THE BOUND VOLUME WHEN CLOSED




TITLE PAGE AND BEGINNING OF CHAPTER I
"We do consent and agree, as the best present expedient, that . . ."




Chapter 16, on the left hand page, contains the grant of religious liberty. The chapter reads as follows, the words italicized being on the page ahead of the one shown in the illustration: "*That no men, nor number of men on earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters, therefore it is consented, agreed and ordained, that no person whatsoever within the said* Province, at any time or times hereafter, shall be any ways upon any pretense whatsoever, called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, estate, or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith or worship towards God in matters of religion. But that all and every such person, and persons, may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully have, and enjoy his and their judgments, and the exercises of their consciences in matters of religious worship throughout all the said Province."

Chapter 17, on the right hand page, proclaims the right to trial by jury in these words, italicized words being those that complete the chapter on the succeeding page: "That no Proprietor, freeholder or inhabitant of the said Province of West New Jersey, shall be deprived or condemned of life, limb, liberty, estate, property or any ways hurt in his or their privileges, freedoms or franchises, upon any account whatsoever, without a due trial, and judgment passed by twelve good and lawful men of his neighborhood first had: And that in all causes to be tried, and in all trials, the person or persons, arraigned may except against any of the said neighborhood, without any reason rendered, (*not exceeding thirty five*) *and in case of any valid reason alleged, against every person nominated for that service.*"

comers. It has been estimated that within four years after the Armada over eight hundred Spanish vessels were taken by her enemies. There quickly followed, as might be expected, a rapid rise of English, Dutch and French maritime ambitions. It must never be forgotten that the struggle which now ensued and which extended over two centuries was upon a world scale. It was waged in Africa, Europe, West and East Indies as well as in America. Imperial supremacy was at stake—and though the tendency of local historians is to view all events as centering upon their own localities and significant only as affecting local problems, one must not lose sight for a moment of the magnitude of the conflict; nor forget that usually the participants and spectators saw it as a world struggle.

In this war for empire, who first secured definite foothold in that part of America which is now New Jersey?

**First Dutch Occupants**—The scheme of striking at Spain through her American trade seems to have been widely held in the years from 1575 to 1626. Hakluyt, than whom no one knew more of English colonial trade and navigation, had written in 1586, that if the object was to humble Spain "if you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure, his *neruus belli*, and which he had almost out of his West Indies, his bandes of souldiers will soon be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed." So, too, the States General of Holland had resolved just prior to Hudson's voyage "that by carrying the war over into America the Spaniards be attacked there, where their weakest point was, but whence they derive most of their revenues."

Among those who kept this constantly in mind was a Belgian fugitive from the Spanish occupation, William Usselinx, a merchant of Antwerp. Not content with fighting Spain in Europe as had done the Prince of Orange, Usselinx had urged for some forty years the formation of privateering enterprises. As early as 1592 he had proposed a Dutch West India Company to fight and trade within the Spanish preserves. His motives were of course both profit and spoil as well as the weakening of the arch-enemy till she should be forced to withdraw and accept Belgian as well as Dutch independence. But there had always been a strong peace party opposed in general to such hostilities, and for many years it was able to prevent the formation of such a company. Local provincial jealousies, political rivalries and the coming of peace with Spain in 1609 combined to postpone the official action. A similar reaction was taking place in England, for on the accession of James I, peace was made with Spain in 1604. Hudson's discoveries were thus made in a period of peace, and after the recognition of the independence of the United Netherlands.

Several private Dutch enterprises followed the glowing reports brought back on Hudson's return, of the plentiful supply of beaver and otter furs. An impetus to further exploration was given in 1614 by a decree of the

States General of Holland conferring a monopoly of trade for four voyages upon any individuals who should discover and report "Courses, Havens, Countries, or Places."[2] Amsterdam merchants immediately prepared to send out five vessels to take advantage of these privileges, and placed them under three noted commanders, Adrian Block, Hendrick Christiaensen, and Cornelis Jacobsen Mey. Captain Block, after losing his vessel by fire off Manhattan, built a new one christened the "Onrust" and sailed about the eastern regions from Manhattan, exploring Long Island, the mouth of the Connecticut, called by the Dutch Fresh River. Upon meeting Christiaensen in Narragansett Bay they sailed homeward to Holland, after leaving the "Onrust" behind under the command of Captain Hendricksen for further explorations. Meanwhile Captain Mey had sailed south from Sandy Hook along the New Jersey coast till he came to Delaware Bay. His name, spelled later "May," has been given to the southern point of New Jersey. The opposite cape on the Delaware side he named Henlopen, after a town in Friesland. Mey's explorations in Delaware Bay were followed by those of Hendricksen who proceeded up the river, generally called South River by the Netherlanders as distinguished from the North (Hudson) River, as far as the Schuylkill in the "Onrust" before returning to Holland (1616). Upon receiving the reports of these voyages the backers, now organized as the United New Netherland Company, secured confirmation of their exclusive rights for four voyages within three years "to visit and navigate the above described lands, situate in America between New France and Virginia, the sea-coasts of which lie between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, and which are now named New Netherland."[3] Manhattan seems to have served as the center of this trade with the coast and river natives, and a post may even have been established as early as 1612 or 1613.[4]

At length when this monopoly had expired William Usselinx was successful in obtaining the necessary financial and political support for his projected West India Company. In 1618 the war party was in complete control, Oldenbarnevelt, the leader of the peace advocates was not only discredited but himself thrown into prison, and war with Spain renewed. The West India Company was officially chartered in 1621 and within its constitution were incorporated the two objects of its existence—despoiling the homeward bound gold-laden galleons from the Spanish Main; and the

---

[2] O'Callaghan: *History of New Netherland,* I, p. 70-71.

[3] O'Callaghan: *Idem,* I, p. 75.

[4] "Authorities differ in their opinions, and set the date of the settling of New York from 1610 to 1626, when the island of Manhattan was bought by Governor Peter Minuit for merchandise worth about $24. A. J. Wall, Librarian of the New York Historical Society, says there were settlers on Manhattan Island in 1610; James Sullivan, State Historian, holds that settlers started for Manhattan in 1623 and 1624; Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historic Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, states that 1624 was the date of settlement; Professor William R. Shepherd of the History Department of Columbia University, insists that the date was 1623; Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer says that 1614 is the correct date, while J. H. Innes and Dingman Versteeg agree on 1610." Quoted from New York *Times* discussion of date of New York City's 300th anniversary, *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings,* New Series, VIII, p. 235.

fur trade with the Indians. Formal possession was therefore taken of the country in 1623. Little attempt was made to settle the country. At first there were but three or four trading stations; two on the North (Hudson) River, at New Amsterdam and at Orange; one at Sankikan (Trenton); and another unlocated, Fort Nassau, a few miles below Philadelphia on the South (Delaware) River, or perhaps on the Jersey side at Timmer Kill. Other posts were placed at convenient places as occasion arose, at Henlopen, at Oplandt (now Chester), but for the most part they were irregularly occupied, perhaps manned only during the fur-trading season. The reason for this apparent neglect is, that although the bounty of nature in many ways astonished the Europeans by the plenteous variety and supply of fish, fowl and game, yet as traders they were chiefly interested in the profitable business of buying valuable beaver and otter skins from the natives in exchange for trinkets of no value in Europe. New Netherland was in fact during its first years nothing more than a great fur-trading outpost of the West India Company—the director-general being really their business manager, the treasurers really bookkeepers, and the secretaries but clerks. Under the third director-general, Peter Minuit, an innovation was made in 1626 in the form of land purchases from the Indians. Manhattan Island was bought from the natives, and the practice thus inaugurated first for smaller areas such as the modern Hoboken, Jersey City and strips of land on the southern shores, was extended to embrace much larger purchases and ultimately became the mode of acquiring all land from the aborigines.

But by this time it was becoming evident that New Netherland as a fur reservoir was scarcely paying its way. The value of furs exported annually to Holland was estimated at sixty thousand guilders, as compared with the value of the plunder secured from the Spanish shipping, some sixty million guilders annually. The company had apparently gone over so whole-heartedly to the war party that in a remonstrance to the States General against peace with Spain they declared that no longer was their object this "trifling trade with the Indians nor the tardy cultivation of the uninhabited regions" but "acts of hostility against the ships and prosperity of the King of Spain and his subjects."[5]

The growing proximity of the New Englanders, coupled with the protests through diplomatic channels from the English Government, made it imperative that if the country was to be maintained, some attention should be paid to the more prosaic and arduous task of colonization. There were, for instance, only two hundred and seventy-eight Dutch in the province in 1628. Accordingly in 1629 a definite change of policy was made, accompanied by a formal declaration of the new intentions. There was issued a "Charter of Privileges to Patroons" with the avowed purpose of encouraging attention to agriculture and permanent occupation of the land. In order to do this they attempted to introduce into New Netherland a feudal aristocracy and proprietary system. A private investor became entitled to a grant of land

[5] Brodhead: *N. Y. Documents*, I, p. 62.

upon transporting to the colony at his own expense fifty emigrants within four years. Such a capitalist might then receive a tract extending sixteen miles along either bank of any navigable stream and extending indefinitely into the interior. The landlords, to be called "patroons," were to be both proprietors and magistrates in good mediæval style, and were to have political as well as economic control over their tenants. The charter of privileges was thus a charter of "freedoms and exemptions" only for these "patroons." For the settlers it was a charter of feudal and antiquated bondage.

Certain elements of conflict arose directly out of the "Charter." The relationship of the trading privileges of the patroons and the monopoly held by the company was but vaguely defined, and there was soon occasion for rivalries and factions within the colony. There had been an immediate scramble on the part of the directors of the company and their friends to secure grants of the choicest lands. For example, the Renselaerswyck grant about Fort Orange was so scandalously large that it had to be sub-divided later into five smaller parts. Perhaps the chief defect of the new régime was the lack of central control, and the creation of a variety of conflicting interests. As there was no controlling central authority (though each patroon or community was entitled to one representative upon the director-general's council, a powerless body) it was possible that the individual communities might pursue their own private interests without regard to the general well-being of the whole. The worst features of decentralization and disintegration were thus brought in, with none of the advantages. Instead of individual initiative pursuing the public benefit through private gain, the colony became more than ever the seat of violent and bitter personal discord.

One of the most interesting of the early patroons was a Captain David Pieterszoon de Vries who has left written accounts of his voyages, settlements in America and of New Amsterdam affairs as he viewed them. With nine others he had secured a great grant to be known as Swanendael, on South Bay or Delaware Bay, embracing the modern Essex and Kent counties of the State of Delaware and also extending to Cape May County in South Jersey. They hoped, we read, that their settlers would engage profitably in the fur-trade, agriculture, and "conduct the whale fishing," ever an attraction at this time in descriptions of the Delaware. Accordingly in 1630 they sent out two vessels, only one of which however got out of European waters, and planted some thirty-three settlers on their domain at Hoerekill (Lewes Creek).

When de Vries arrived two years later with great anticipations, he found the settlement at Hoerekill in ruins and all the settlers dead. From the natives they learned the story. One day a native chieftain had in ignorance taken down the Dutch arms, which were painted upon a tin plate, and which he intended melting into tobacco pipes. "Those in command at the house made such an ado about it, that the Indians not knowing how it was, went away and slew the chief who had done it." The kin of the murdered chief incited their friends to plot vengeance, "as they are a people like the Italians who

are very revengeful."[6] On a set day, all the whites being out in the fields but one sick man, and a mastiff chained, three Indians came with a lot of beaver-skins to barter with the man in charge. "When he went down the loft where the stores lay . . . . one of the Indians seized an axe and cleft his head." Then they slaughtered the colonists individually in the fields.

De Vries sought for some reason or other to placate the Indians with gifts of the cheap articles they valued so highly. Yet he himself had a narrow escape from a similar fate at the hands of the Jersey Indians. They had decoyed de Vries and his vessel into Timmer Kill planning to take it by surprise. He was fortunately preserved by an Indian girl revealing the plan to him before it was too late. This was therefore the end of the Swanendael colony, and though reporting the whaling possibilities as good, if fished from a closer base, such as New Amsterdam, he and his fellow patroons very soon sold out to the West India Company.

The company was now in the height of its prosperity and success, sharing in and being partly instrumental in creating Holland's maritime supremacy. The Dutch colonial empire at this time extended from Java in the east to Brazil in the west hemisphere. Trade with half of this great domain was restricted to the one company, which in 1626 had a fleet of seventy-three vessels, claiming or occupying besides New Netherlands, the West Indies and Brazil in the heart of the Spanish possessions.

A new Governor appeared in 1632 to replace Minuit. Wouter van Twiller attempted to introduce an era of expansion suited to the greatness of the company he represented. This is no other than the redoubtable Walter the Doubter, so amusingly caricatured by Washington Irving. Indeed by many of his contemporaries he was, one might say, taken seriously as a joke. One of these was de Vries, already out of sorts with New Netherlands as result of the failure of his projected Swanendael colony, whose indisposition was now aggravated by conflicts with Van Twiller regarding the privileges of a patroon and who provided much of the criticism and ridicule upon which the exaggerations of the "Knickerbocker History" are based. De Vries records the arrival on April the 18, 1633, of an English ship, the captain of which invited the director-general with some of his officials to visit him. De Vries also attended and tells how the party became intoxicated and led to high words, so that the Englishmen could not understand how a Governor permitted such insubordination, and had so little control over his officers. But the prize example he gives is the narrative of the departure of the vessel up the Hudson, contrary to the Governor's orders; how "Van Twiller assembled all his forces before his door, had a cask of wine brought out, filled a bumper, and cried out for all who loved the Prince of Orange and him, to do the same as he did, and protect him from the outrage of the Englishman, who was already out of sight sailing up the river. The people all began to laugh at him; for they understood too well how to drink dry the cask, as it was

[6] De Vries: *Korte Historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge*, 1655, in Myers: *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, Western New Jersey and Delaware*, p. 17.

just the thing they wanted, even if there had been six casks, and did not wish to trouble the Englishman, saying they were friends." After which de Vries sets out at length his unsolicited advice and opinions.[7]

However, van Twiller was not entirely idle. Purchasing land upon the Connecticut (or Fresh River) he maintained the Fort of Good Hope in the heart of New England pretensions, where it was soon hemmed in by Yankee settlers. Re-asserting the Dutch claims upon the Delaware he reconditioned Fort Nassau, and built Beeversreede on the Schuylkill. But he overestimated the resources at his disposal. After continued protest from the home authorities against his extravagance, self-seeking, and favoritism he was recalled in 1637.

Matters were much worse under the next director-general, William Kieft. The colony was still running at a loss, and as the settlers pushed out into the hinterland there arose the constant danger of Indian troubles. It is not very difficult to perceive the fundamental cause of the hostilities, regardless of the ostensible pretexts from which they originated. Only the most careful forethought and control of native affairs could have prevented conflict. It was almost inevitable that the peaceful relations of the Dutch and Indians should develop into hostilities as the area of settlement was extended. So long as the outposts of civilization were simply trading stations, bartering firearms, trinkets and liquor for furs, although it may have been creating a dangerous problem for the future, the Indians had no sense of deprivation or loss of their livelihood and ancient hunting-grounds. If anything they felt a satisfaction, when fairly treated, at the goods they received in return for the products of their skill in the chase. But it was unavoidable that as the agriculturalist followed the trader, and as the purchase of lands pushed back the aborigines from their time-honored hunting and trapping grounds they should feel a vague sense of injustice at the loss of their birthright and livelihood. It was but one phase of the age-long conflict between the nomadic hunter and the cultivator of the soil. Very little aggravation was needed to lead to definite warfare.

Though but few settlements had been made upon New Jersey soil, they were sufficient to lead to a series of massacres which resulted in the evacuation of this province by the Dutch for many years. The chief attempts at settlement had been made between the Passaic and Hudson rivers. One, Augustine Hermans, of Bohemia, had a patent for the region west of Arthur Kill (Newark Bay), but does not seem to have taken up his rights. Another of the early grantees was Michael Poulaz (or de Pauw), whose grants included the part of the mainland now covered by Jersey City. De Vries calls this latter Pavonia, a name which may also have been applied to the whole surrounding country. De Vries himself had part of Staten Island since 1640 and a tract at Tappan (Orangetown). Doubt exists as to the extent of settlement, and some have suggested that planters or traders were to be found at Bergen, Communipaw, Hoboken, Weehawken, and Hackensack.

---

[7] De Vries: *Korte Historiael Ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge,* 1655, in Jameson: *Narratives of New Netherland,* p. 187.

In 1641 a settler was murdered by an Indian in settlement of an old feud. Then another took place by accident. "A certain chief named Hacquinsacq," says a contemporary account,[8] "who was considered as heedless even by the savages themselves, having been intoxicated with brandy by our men, being asked whether he was able to make a good use of his bow and arrow when in that state, in reply pointed his arrow at a certain man called Gerrit Yansz, whom he actually killed."

Kieft determined that something drastic must be done. But being unwilling to take full responsibility for the measures he contemplated, he sought to secure popular support for his aggressive plans. He called a meeting of the prominent householders of New Amsterdam and asked their advice. A Council of Twelve was chosen and reluctantly consented to Kieft's scheme for retaliation. Accordingly a force of seventy men under Secretary van Tienhoven was despatched and came down suddenly upon the Indian villages in the neighborhood of Perth Amboy and Woodbridge, killed many of the natives and burnt their houses and standing crops. The Indian revenge was of course four more murdered settlers and the consignment of the de Vries plantation upon Staten Island to the flames. This only spurred on Kieft and his council and they secured as Indian allies the tribes between the Raritan and New Amsterdam, to act as buffer, "and who may stop them in their wild forays, or at least give time by notice of their approach. And in order to encourage them the more and turn them with greater ardour to espouse our cause, we engaged to pay them for every head of a Raritan, ten fathoms of sewant (wampum), and for every head of any of those who murdered our people on Staten Island, twenty fathoms of sewant."

But the greatest tragedy of all took place in 1643. "Our people were again in peace with them—Kieft had visited them on friendly terms some weeks before."[9] But he now sought the entire extermination of the neighboring Indians. "The motives which impelled Kieft to order the cruel massacre of the Wickquaskeek Indians in 1643," writes a recent historian of New York City,[10] "are not fully known but seem to have been in considerable measure, owing to a desire of obtaining easy possession of lands occupied by them." Having failed to get popular support from "The Twelve" representatives of the burghers—who declined to advise him, the Governor decided to act alone. The unfortunate savages had fled from a surprise attack by their stronger Mohawk enemies, and taken refuge in a totally destitute condition in mid-winter within the Dutch claims, on the New Jersey side of the Hudson. On February 25, 1643, Kieft ordered two parties of soldiers to cross the river under cover of night. The expedition was a complete surprise. At midnight the flashing guns gave first notice of the affairs at Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook. For a few minutes, there were loud shrieks, then were heard no more the cries of the Indians. "Worthy indeed of old

---

[8] *Breeden Raedt*, Antwerp, 1649; reprinted in O'Callaghan: *Documentary History of New York*, IV, p. 101, ff.

[9] *Breeden Raedt, op. cit.*

[10] Innes: *New Amsterdam and Its Inhabitants.*

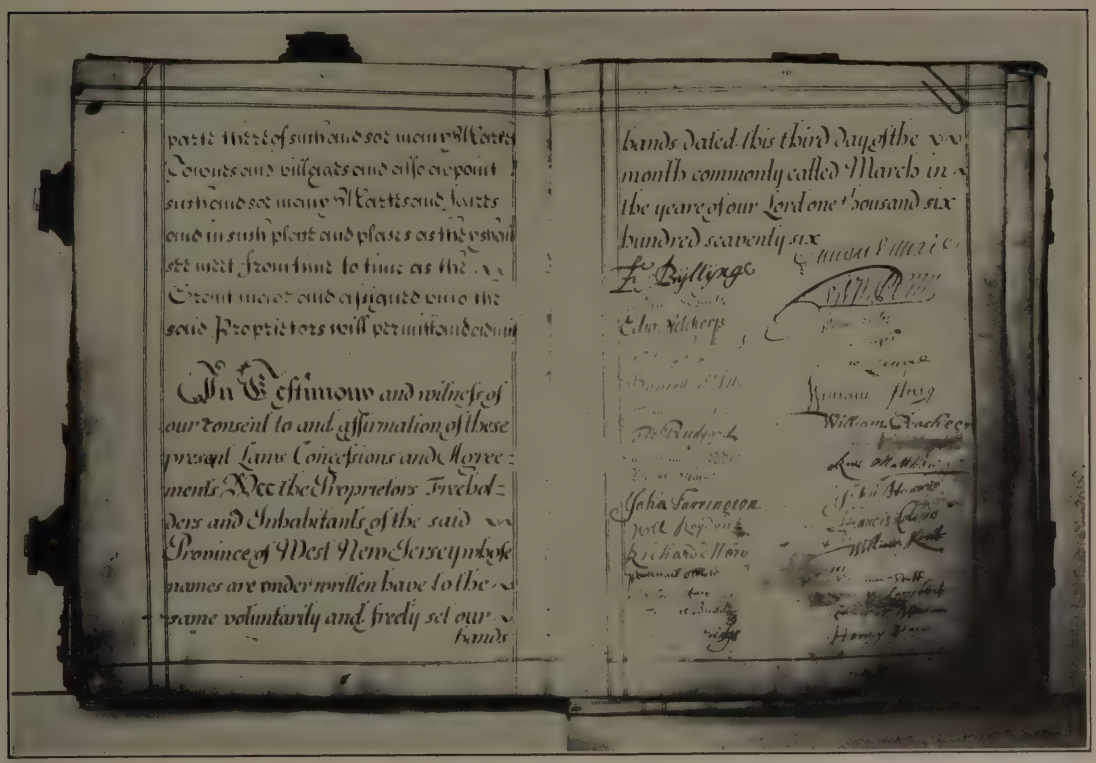
Rome was their victory," de Vries protests,[11] "to massacre a parcel of Indians in their sleep, to take the children from the breasts of the mothers, to butcher them in the presence of their parents, and throw their mangled limbs in the fire or the water. Other sucklings fastened to little boards were in that position cut to pieces." Still more terrible details are given by other writers. There were over a hundred natives annihilated—as they thought by their enemies the Mohawks. It did indeed make the Indians "wipe their chops" as Kieft phrased it. Within a few months most of the outlying farms were devastated and even on Manhattan Island there remained but four or five farm houses unmolested in the upper part. A hasty brush fence was built across the lower end, to which those of the Dutch outside, who escaped death or capture, fled for refuge.

Blame for the whole situation fell upon Kieft. He had dismissed the "Twelve" upon their petitioning for some popular element in the Government, for some more adequate control over the arbitrary conduct of the Governor in matters of taxation, defense, justice and trade. When the great devastation fell upon New Amsterdam Kieft was forced to call again for public consultation in the serious crisis. A council of "Eight" was chosen and were immediately able to take effective measures. One hundred and twenty men were raised and placed under the command of the New England refugee, Captain John Underhill. They proceeded to a systematic extermination of the natives. By a series of surprise attacks several Indian villages were surrounded and burnt with their occupants. So successful was this policy that after some sixteen hundred Indians had been wiped out in this manner, peace was finally restored.

Peace being restored in 1645, the "Eight" now declared that it was Kieft's brutality that had so alienated the natives, and appealed to the company—and at the same time to the States General, complaining of their neglected condition and precarious situation, and threatening in fact to desert to their English neighbors. The colony had reaped to the full the bitter results of their disintegrated settlement and autocratic government, for the years of Indian warfare had wiped out the fur trade and put an end to all thought of agricultural pursuit. Many of the survivors returned to Holland, as did de Vries "because my farms, where I had begun my colonies (meaning Staten Island) were lying in ashes."[12]

In this first attempt to secure a foothold it is evident then that the Dutch had failed to encourage a sufficient attachment to the soil, and their mode of occupation had not been of the type to enable them to withstand the full force of Indian hostilities. As far as Northern New Jersey is concerned, the Dutch settlement was entirely pushed back, Pavonia in ruins, and no firm hold was maintained until after 1660. The control retained by the West India Company, its neglect of the interests of the settlers coupled with the tyranny of its representatives, petty though it may frequently have been,

[11] As above in Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, p. 228.
[12] *Idem*, pp. 233-34.



The text at the top of the left hand page is the last part of Chapter 44 and covers the distribution of the Province into shares, settlement of towns, and general colonization. The last part reads: "In testimony and witness of our consent to and affirmation of these present laws, concessions and agreements, we the Proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the said Province of West New Jersey, whose names are under written, have to the same voluntarily and freely set our hands, dated this third day of the month commonly called March, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and seventy six. E. Byllynge, Richard Smith, Edward Nethorp, John Penford, Daniel Wills, Thomas Ollice, Thomas Rudyard, William Biddle, Robert Stacy, John Farrington, William Roydon, Richard Mew, Percivall Towle, Mahlon Stacy, Thomas Budd, Samuel Jeninns, Gawen Laurie, William Penn, William Emley, Joshua Wright, Nicholas Lucas, William Haig, William Peachee, Richard Mathews, John Haracis, Francis Collins, William Kent, Benjamin Scott, Thomas Lambert, Thomas Hooton, Henry Stacy. *Note:* 120 additional signatures follow on next page of the document.

was quite definitely the cause of the colony's backwardness. An official investigation of the causes of the decline of the plantation, the constant complaints of the settlers against the overbearing attitude of the company's governors, together with the general incompetence and mal-administration of the finances and economics of the colony led the States General in 1647 to make a fundamental change of policy by ending the company's monopoly. The "Journal of New Netherland" records that the province "never began to be settled until every one had liberty to trade with the Indians, inasmuch as up to this time no one calculated to remain there longer than the expiration of his bounden time, and therefore they did not apply themselves to agriculture."[13] When this barrier to progress was removed and freedom to trade with the Indians established, a large influx of traders and settlers of all nations took place. Particularly the "Journal" mentions the English coming as regular settlers or as squatters, whole colonies from New England and Virginia, "forced to quit that place to enjoy freedom of conscience and to escape from the insupportable government of New England."[14] Indentured servants and wealthy immigrants came into New Netherlands to profit by the new order.

William Kieft was superseded in 1645 by Peter Stuyvesant, who did not arrive till 1647. From the standpoint of the settlers it was if anything a change for the worse. But despite the frequent caricatures of Stuyvesant as a tyrant, a fat, one-legged, domineering Governor, he was apparently of sounder morals, if of narrower sympathies, and certainly of far better education than his subjects. He had absolute abhorrence of democratic institutions, and was thus constitutionally and temperamentally unfitted for the task of introducing the necessary representative institutions he was instructed to develop. He was particularly instructed to encourage townships on the New England plan, and attempt a central assembly of deputies from the outlying patroons.

Though well received at first Stuyvesant soon lost the sympathy of his subjects. From the very first he had frowned upon the attempts of the leaders of the anti-Kieft faction to have the former director's conduct investigated. He had imposed heavy penalties upon those who still continued to complain about the past and present administrations. He is reported to have threatened tale-bearers. "It may during my administration be contemplated to appeal (*i. e.* to the home authorities) but if any should do it I will make him a foot shorter and send the pieces to Holland and let him appeal in that way."[15]

But it was not all easy sailing for Stuyvesant. There were factors at work which he could not control by bluster or by slight show of force. Soon there came the war with England under the Commonwealth, when an invasion was planned by Cromwell. Great therefore was the enthusiasm at Man-

[13] *Journal of New Netherland*, 1647, in Jameson: *Original Narratives*, p. 271.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[15] *Representation of New Netherland*, 1650, in Jameson: *Original Narratives*, p. 343.

hattan when peace was signed in 1654. But this did not prevent the continued encroachments upon New Netherland by the New Englanders, and the following years became even more critical for the little colony. Attention was however first directed to invaders in the South.

**The Swedes Upon the Delaware**—Meanwhile upon the Delaware another European nation, Sweden, was preparing to dispute Dutch control. The new claimant, however, secured leadership and information from those who had already participated in New Netherlands and were experienced in such an enterprise. It is not exactly clear why William Usselinx and other Belgians, who had undertaken so many of their projects under Dutch auspices, were led to transfer their allegiance to the Swedish protection. It has been suggested that Usselinx, a founder of the Dutch West India Company, had failed to secure adequate remuneration for his services. It may be that the company had been a disappointment to him, for it had not yet attained that phenomenal success it was soon to experience, nor when he left it in 1624, had it been thus far vigorous in striking at the arch-enemy, Spain.

At any rate it was William Usselinx who first informed the Swedish court of the opportunities upon the Delaware. Under the genius of Gustavus II (Adolphus), King of Sweden from 1611 to 1632, that nation had risen from obscurity to a place in the first rank among northern Protestant countries. Not only had he successfully pushed back Russia but his conflicts with Poland and Denmark had brought Sweden to a position of preeminence on the Baltic. The Swedes underwent a national revival, displayed in the creation of a purified language, and in the keen sense of economic and maritime independence. The military exploits of their famous king made all the more acceptable the dream of world power and dominion overseas in America and Africa.

After conversations with the king and the leading royal advisors, Usselinx aroused sufficient enthusiasm as to make possible the creation of a company. Accordingly a manifesto was issued authorizing the solicitation of funds for an Australian company. In 1626 and 1627 the charter was amended and amplified, the popular name of the company being the South Company. The purposes, although including trade in Asia, Africa, and America, were more particularly devoted to the colonization of and trade in the Delaware. The prospects of gain were so vividly painted and the endorsements so high that subscriptions were made not only by the nobility, army, navy, church and court, but came from all ranks of life.

But disaster met the company from the first. In the very midst of the subscriptions, when the company was just ready to commence operations, the thoughts of the nation were turned from America to Europe by the outbreak of war. In 1629 Gustavus Adolphus was led to intervene in the Thirty Years War on behalf of the German Protestants. In 1632 he met his death at Lützen and although the war was carried to a successful culmination by the Chancellor, Count Axel Oxenstierna, the energies of the Government were turned to other than colonial matters. Of the sixteen vessels controlled

by the company, four had been taken by the Spanish, several were detained in Holland, and the others were successfully employed not in America, but in trade with Russia.

The project so near extinction was restored to life by the accession of a new advocate. In 1626 Peter Minuet, recently returned from New Amsterdam, wrote the Chancellor Oxenstierna offering his services to spread the dominion of the Crown of Sweden, and more particularly to lead an expedition to "the Virginias, New Netherlands, and other regions adjacent, certain places well known to me, with a very good climate, which might be named Nova Swedia."[16] He proposed to share with an associate Bloemerts, a stockholder in the Dutch Company and previously interested with de Vries at Swanendael, the commercial expense if the Government of Sweden would equip a vessel and provide a dozen soldiers. He held out hope of securing "4500 or 6000 beaver skins, thus acquiring a large capital from so small a commencement," not neglecting also the prospect of capture of French and Portuguese vessels.

Accordingly with royal patronage and State assistance Minuit set sail after many delays with the warship "Kalmar Nyckel," and a smaller vessel, "Gripen," on the first expedition of the New Sweden Company to the South River. On arrival in 1638 they first landed at a place they named Paradise Point and pretending to find no traces of the Dutch they called the territory New Sweden. Later they contended that both Fort Oplandt and Fort Nassau, were unoccupied and that the Dutch had abandoned the river. Land purchases were made, it was claimed from Henlopen to Schuylkill, though the records show only from Christien Creek (already named Minquas Creek by the Dutch) to the Schuylkill. And despite Dutch protests and Virginian objections Fort Christina was established as headquarters, being named in honor of the Swedish queen. When this had been accomplished, leaving behind twenty-three men (all but one of whom were Flemings or Walloons), Minuit set out for Europe, and though his ships got home safely in 1639, he himself perished in the West Indies while visiting another ship. This first expedition not having been profitable the Dutch financiers opposed further enterprise, but another effort was put under way and arrived in 1640 just in time to prevent the colonists from going over to New Amsterdam in disgust at their neglect. This time land purchases were made on the west bank as far as Sankikan (opposite Trenton) and for the first time crossing the river they bought from the Indians the country from Cape May to Raccoon Creek.

Despite the apparent enthusiasm of the Swedish Government they found difficulty in persuading Swedes to migrate. The expeditions were inadequately managed; the first expedition, for instance, had been assembled in August but had not sailed until December 31. The cost estimated at 14,000 florins, had proved to amount to 42,800 florins and the proceeds from furs had only been 14,590 florins. Later expeditions were just as poorly ordered. The con-

[16] Minuit's letter quoted in full, Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, p. 445, n. 2.

tractors for butter, herring, beer, supplied smaller quantities and poorer quality than paid for. The same delay took place in sailing; and accommodations not being adequate, on one occasion, over a hundred who had engaged to migrate and had sold their goods were turned adrift for lack of space aboard the vessel.

Emigrants were hard to obtain. In 1645 Sweden had only a population of one million, with a city population of one hundred and twenty-five thousand. Finland, however, might have provided emigrants but the country was too poor. So that in 1640 Dutch were again accepted as emigrants and settled near Christina. Finally when volunteers could not be found the company secured the aid of the Government in sending deserters from the army and their families, being instructed to secure them "quietly so as to prevent tumults." Soon, Finns, who had violated the law by burning forest land, were sent out, but never in great numbers. Even under the aggressive policy pursued by Lieutenant-Colonel John Printz, Governor after 1643, few Swedes were secured as emigrants. And when he purchased the East shore from Mantua Hook to Raccoon Creek in 1646 it was necessary to allow Dutch settlers to plant themselves there under Swedish protection. This was easily arranged for religious freedom and popularly chosen officials as the policy of the Swedish Company. In his instructions Printz found his territory described as embracing from Cape Henlopen to Sankikan and from Cape May to Narraticons Kill. Christina was still the chief trading post though other stations had been established. Among them were Nya Göteborg on Tinnicum Island and Nya Elfsborg on the east side, below Varkens Kill (Salem). The latter was the lowest post on the river and of such a position that it could easily be used to make all vessels strike their colors on passing upstream.

In the first years of the Swedish settlements, although the claims of the Hollanders were still upheld by the New Netherland Government, no attempt was made by either party to eject the other as interlopers. Holland and Sweden were not only at peace but quite friendly, two friendly Protestant nations fighting the Spanish and German Catholic powers. Moreover as we have seen many of the Swedish enterprises were conducted with Dutch money, most of the ships used in settling New Sweden were purchased from the Dutch, and between the years 1636 and 1643 most or at least two-thirds of Swedish commerce on the Baltic was carried in Dutch bottoms. It was quite natural therefore that the local authorities in America should leave the settlement of disputed territories to their respective home governments.

Nevertheless the presence of the Swedes within what were commonly regarded as Dutch bounds constituted a continued source of irritation and provocation. There was needed but the growth of commercial jealousy to make national rivalry supersede religious partisanship and cause the war interests to get the better of prudence and peace. For, while it was true that there was little colonizing rivalry, there was a deep-seated clash of trading interests. Both nations sought to maintain their hold on the Delaware as a

key to the Indian fur trade. And one may follow the struggle for economic control in the establishment of trading posts as they pursued the retreating fur trade. The earliest posts had been those occupied simply at the time of the year when the furs were brought down by the Indians and were then abandoned till the same period the following year. This perhaps is the explanation of the Swedish contention that they found the Delaware deserted on their arrival.

At first there may have been sufficient trade to divide between English, Dutch and Swedes, but as the shores of the Delaware became denuded of the fur-bearing animals it was necessary to push further upstream to secure a continuous supply, and every year meant an increasing competition, necessitating tapping of new sources in place of the exhausted coastal creeks. The first year the Swedes, we are told, secured some thirty thousand skins and though this did not constitute a profitable trade, yet it was evident that such an inroad into Dutch preserves must soon lead to a bitter struggle.

The Dutch Fort Nassau at Big Timber Creek had since 1623 commanded the upper river. The first Swedish post, Fort Christina at Minquas Creek, Christina Creek as the Swedes called it, had been chosen not so much for its value, says Acrelius, the early historian of New Sweden, "but to be out of the way of the Hollanders . . . . a measure of prudence until the arrival of a greater force from Sweden."[17] As the creeks adjacent to the lower Delaware were depleted the source of the fur industry had been driven back from the Schuylkill to the Susquehanna. The whole territory across Pennsylvania was tapped by a great fur trade route approached up the Schuylkill thirty or forty miles, then by a tributary to the divide, and down a small stream to the Susquehanna; then up, and by way of the Juniata to the Alleghany and from this to the Ohio. The Indians of the neighborhood of the Delaware and Chesapeake regions were called the White Minquas, but westward about the Alleghany and Ohio rivers were a much more active tribe, the Black Minquas, who were in fact the dominant trappers and chief source of supply of the beaver and muskrat. And as the trade became more dependent on the west, control of access to these interior Black Minquas by possession of the Delaware basis became more and more important. Thus it became increasingly evident that the position which the Swedes occupied was a strangle hold upon the Dutch. Fort Christina on the west shore, Fort Elfsborg on the east and Nya Göteborg on Tinnicum Island were so spaced that by one of them at least, every vessel ascending the river must pass. The Dutch at Nassau were also cut off from the Indians coming down the Schuylkill. Then the purchase from the natives of the entire west bank from the Falls to Henlopen and on the east from Raccoon Creek to Cape May was intended to prevent the Dutch from cutting in upon Swedish trade in a similar manner.

There ensued a period of non-violent hostility in which neither party

---

[17] *Account of Swedish Churches in New Sweden,* 1759, in Myers: *Original Narratives of Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware,* p. 61.

was reconciled to the situation, but neither side dared or cared to bring the matter to direct issue. The only time, we are told, when the Dutch and Swedes could sink their differences was in the face of a third rival, the English, who now appeared upon the Delaware to the anger of the two contestants. For both governments of New Sweden and New Netherland found it increasingly difficult to prevent the English traders from slipping through to the upper Delaware, just as Kieft and Stuyvesant did to keep them from Connecticut and Long Island. The English were in fact most dangerous rivals. As one contemporary Dutch writer said "if once they got a firm footing it will soon be all over with both Hollanders and Swedes."[18]

In the midst of the attempts by the New Englanders Colonel Printz complains to his home government:[19] "But how heavily the Puritans have lain upon my neck and yet do lay may be seen from the acts which are enclosed here. I believe that I shall have to get rid of them in a peaceful manner, because they have sneaked into the New Netherlands also with their Pharisain practices. Now they are so strong there that they have chased the Hollanders from that place called Fort Rive (Connecticut) and now keep it with violence although it is the land of the Hollanders. And now neither protest nor good words will avail, but if the Hollanders wish to obtain the place again it must be done with other and stronger means." For his own part he says, "I am here alone, and there are hardly thirty men, of all that are here, upon whom I can rely in such cases." But he had little trouble with the English from this time on, although the English at Varken's Kill undoubtedly remained undisturbed by the Swedes.

Many colonies have been smothered by too persistent attention and interference. New Sweden languished and starved from neglect. Two, three, and even six years elapsed between vessels arriving from Sweden. "It is unspeakably hard," as the next Governor Rising reported ten years later (1655), "to supply all this people with food and clothes in a desert, yet if they lack anything they are immediately disposed to run away from here."[20] Few of them were volunteers, many regarded it as serving a term, and most were employed by the company at a salary. Especially was the company failing in its commercial aspect, for tardy arrival of goods, frequently damaged and useless, prevented profitable trade with the Indians. Every report bore witness to the fur trade being drawn off by the Dutch and English. Moreover a great obstacle lay in the fact that "our savages are so poor, so that one can secure from them only little or hardly any sewant (wampum)," which meant that they must buy from New England, Manhattan or Virginia in order to trade for skins with the more active Black Minquas.

In their own minds the sentiment seems to have prevailed that New

---

[18] Quoted by Acrelius from Van der Donck, in Myers: *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, p. 77.

[19] *Report of Governor Printz*, 1644, in Myers: *Idem*, p. 100-01.

[20] *Report* in Myers: *Idem*, p. 160.

Sweden was a failure. The rivalry with the prosperous Dutch company became more and more bitter as the latter drew over the fur trade and supplied the Indians with guns and ammunition. "It is of the utmost necessity," Printz declared, "to see how we can get rid of the Dutch from the river, for they oppose us on every side," then he goes on to describe how they destroy Swedish trade, sell arms contrary to edicts of all Christians, even encourage the Indians to attack the Swedes, "which but for our prudence would have happened" and finally how they lay claim to the entire country, calling it New Netherland and setting up their arms.[21]

But without settlers what could the most energetic Governor do? It was evident to all that the only effective guarantee of final control was by adequate settlement. The Governor had been glad to allow some Dutch settlers to establish themselves upon Mantua Creek, under Swedish sovereignty. But as time went on he became afraid of further encroachments. In 1654 when some Virginians desired to settle, Governor Rising foresaw the consequences of allowing it. To admit others would be dangerous "since we are still weak, for in New Netherland, the English have thus bought and borrowed land from the Hollanders with the result that they have later pressed them out."[22]

In the meantime the friendliness of Holland and Sweden in Europe was waning. A treaty of 1640 had made no mention of the dispute in the New World. But ten years later as the revival of Swedish nationalism began to involve a reinvigorated merchant marine and the restriction of trade to Swedes, the competition gradually turned Holland into an enemy, in the same way that Dutch success led to her wars with England. Accordingly open hostilities broke out on the Delaware. A Swedish party tore down the Dutch arms and insigna at Sankikan. Then to make doubly sure of cutting off Fort Nassau from the Indian trade they built Fort Nya Korsholm in 1647 at Fisher's Island commanding the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware.

But not for long did the course of the struggle favor the Swedes. New Netherlands was just now being revivified by the bombastic, aggressive Stuyvesant and the reforms he brought with him. It was certain that the activity he created on the North River would soon be felt upon the South River. In the name of the States General he laid claim to the whole territory between and on either side of the two rivers. To secure this area he proposed to make legal and official land purchases from the Indians (instead of the previous private purchases) of the area from Raccoon Creek to the Bay, and he actually did secure in this way from Minquas Creek to Bombay Hook on the west shore in 1651. These had been comprised in the earlier Dutch purchases, but were at this time claimed by the Swedes upon Minuit's Indian title of 1638. Stuyvesant concluded that Nassau was so far up the river as to be useless while the Swedes controlled the entrance to

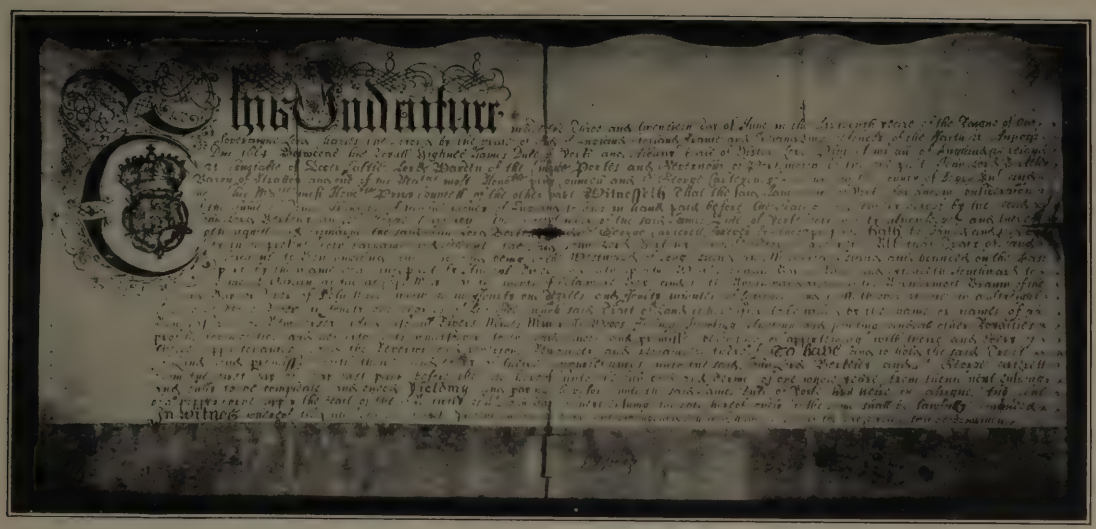
---

21 *Report of 1647*, Myers, *Idem*, p. 123.
22 Rising: *Report of 1654*, Myers: *Idem*, p. 147.

the river. He did not hesitate therefore to abandon it for a more favored location. Marching with one hundred and twenty men across New Jersey from New Amsterdam, he built Fort Casimir upon the new purchase, at Sand Hook (or Sand Point, called by the English Grape Vine Point, now New Castle). This placed him in as strategic a position with respect to entrance to the river as the Swedes had at Christina and Nya Elfsborg.

The fortunes of New Sweden were now at a low ebb. The colony had decreased till now it numbered no more than two hundred. No word had been received from Sweden for six years. When hope had practically been given up, suddenly relief came with a new Governor, Rising, who brought with him in 1654 three hundred immigrants. But most heartening of all was their surprise of Fort Casimir which had been left by Stuyvesant with a garrison of some dozen men. The new accession was renamed Fort Trinity, and considering himself in firm possession of the river, Rising went up to Christina. But it was this pride of his new post which aroused Stuyvesant to final action, and he now determined to put an end to Swedish pretensions. Indeed, a comparison of the few hundred Swedish settlers with the thousands of Dutch settlers left no possible doubt as to the outcome of hostilities. With seven vessels and 600 or 700 men they came into the Delaware. In August, 1655, anchoring before Fort Trinity (Casimir) they speedily secured its peaceful surrender, and also waylaid a small relieving force sent by Rising. Thus when they came before Fort Christina there was no prospect of aid for the Swedes, and the few defenders could see themselves surrounded while the country round about was open to marauders who did not hesitate to help themselves to the cattle and provisions. To this struggle Washington Irving has devoted some of his most famous mock heroics. After describing the marshalling of the New Netherland hosts he goes on, "and now commenced the horrid din, the desperate struggle, the maddening ferocity, the frantic desperation, the confusion and self-abandonment of war. Dutchman and Swede commingled, tugged, panted and blowed. The heavens were darkened with a tempest of missiles. Bang! went the guns—whack! struck the broad-swords—thump! went the cudgels—crash! went the musket-stocks—blows—kicks—cuffs—scratches—black lips and bloody noses, swelling the horrors of the scene! Thwick—thwack,—cut and hack—helter—skelter—higgeldy—piggeldy, hurly—burly, head over heels, rough and tumble! Dunder and blixum! swore the Dutchman—Splitter and splutter! cried the Swedes—Storm the works! shouted the Hard-Koppig Peter—Fire the mine! roared the stout Rising—Tanta-ra-rara! twanged the trumpet of Anthony Van Corlear—until all voice and sound became unintelligible—grunts of pain, yells of fury, and shouts of triumph coming in one hideous clamour. The earth shook as if struck with a paralytic stroke—trees shrunk aghast, and withered at the sight—rocks burrowed in the ground like rabbits, and even Christina Creek turned from its course, and ran up a mountain in breathless terror!"

In actual fact, no acts of violence occurred, for the place was sur-



REPRODUCTION OF A PART OF ORIGINAL LEASE OF NEW JERSEY

This Indenture made the Three and twentieth day of June in the Sixteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. King defender of the faith etc. Annoq. Dm 1664 Between his Royal Highness James Duke of York and Albany Earl of Ulster Lord High Admirall of England and Ireland Constable of Dover Castle Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Governour of Portsmouth of the one part. John Lord Berkley Baron of Stratton and one of his majesty's most Honorable privy council and Sir George Carterett of Saltrum in the county of Devon Knight and one of his most Honorable privy council of the other part. Witnesseth that the said James Duke of York for and in consideration of the sum of Tenne Shillings of lawful money of England to him in hand paid before the Sealing and Delivery hereof by the said John Lord Berkley and Sir George Carterett the receipt whereof the said James Duke of York doth hereby acknowledge and thereof doth aquitt and discharge the said John Lord Berkley and Sir George Carterett forever by these presents Hath bargained and sold and by these presents doth bargain and sell unto the said John Lord Berkley and Sir George Carterett all that Part of Land Adjacent to New England and lying and being to the Westward of Long Island and Manhattas Island and bounded on the East part by the main sea and part by Hudson's River and hath upon the West Delaware Bay or River and extendoth Southward to the Main Ocean as far as Cape May at the mouth of Delaware Bay and to the Northward as far as the Northermost Branch of the said Bay or River of DelaWare which is in Forty one degrees and Forty minutes of latitude and crosseth over thence in a Straight Line to Hudson's River in Forty one degrees of latitude which said Tract of Land is hereafter to be called by the name or names of New Ceasarea or New Jersey. And also all Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Fishings, Hawking, Hunting and Fowling and all other Royalties profits, commodities, Hereditaments whatsoever to the said landes and premises belonging or appertaining with them and every of their appurtenances and the Reversion and reversions Remainder and Remainders thereof To Have and to hold the said tract of land and premises with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said John Lord Berkley and Sir George Carterett from the First day of May last past before the date hereof unto the full end and term of One whole year from thence next ensueing and fully to be terminate and ended Yielding and paying therefor unto the said James Duke of York his heirs or assignes the rent of a pepper corne upon the feast of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist next ensuing the date hereof only if the same shall be lawfully demanded. In Witness thereof the parties aforesaid to this present Indenture have enterchangeably set their hands and Seals the day and year first above written.

rendered by Rising on September 14, 1655, when its ultimate surrender appeared inevitable. The capitulation provided for the restoration of arms, etc., to the Crown of Sweden, transportation of those Swedes who chose to go back to Sweden, "for we held it better that the people should be restored to their Fatherland's service," said Rising, in his report, "than to leave them there in misery, and without the necessities of life, in which case they would have entered the service of the Dutch or English, and never again advantaged their own country."[23] All the officials took advantage of these terms and were in due course repatriated. But most of the humbler sort remained in the land of their adoption, constituting the basic white settlement along the Delaware for many years. On the west bank of the Delaware River the few Swedes were chiefly to be found about Chester; at the confluence of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, and at New Castle. Upon the east bank they seem to have remained at Swedesborough and Burlington. But these places were little more than small collections of huts, for the few hundred settlers dispersed as they were over a great area gave no appearance of number or concentration. Untrained in politics, from which they had been from the first excluded under the absolutism of the Swedish governors, they remained practically untouched by the succeeding political revolutions or military changes. In the ebb and flow of advancing settlement the real pioneers were obscured by the successive waves of immigrants. Few and scattered were the remnants of the ambitious project undertaken by Minuit "to make known the name of the Crown of Sweden in foreign lands," and to prosper by navigation. Even the landmarks on the river have lost their significant Swedish names, under the influence of English, Dutch and Indian nomenclature.

Before returning to New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant reorganized the government of the South River. The seat of authority was removed from Christina to Fort Casimir with Captain Diopck Smith appointed commander. Later, in December, 1655, Jean Paul Jacquet was sent as vice-director to rule with a council under Stuyvesant. He was instructed to settle people in villages of sixteen or twenty families. In the meanwhile the last and twelfth expedition from Sweden arrived in 1656, bringing out eighty-six individuals. Despite orders from Stuyvesant against landing, they were ultimately permitted to do so through fear of an Indian uprising if the Swedes were banished.

In the autumn of 1663 the entire Delaware District was transferred to the city of Amsterdam, with D'Hinogossa as commander. Swedish language and habits were still predominating. But the colony remained a burden financially. And in 1664 the river came under English rule at the fall of New Netherland.

**The English on the Delaware: Plowden and the New Englanders**—Nearly a century elapsed between the origin of English claims to North

[23] *Report of Surrender,* Myers: *Idem,* p. 176.

America and the active attempt to transform them into fact. It was not until Elizabethan days that commercial, national and religious rivalry of England and Spain led the English to experiment with plantations in an endeavor to make good by occupation the vague title of first discoverer. The pioneer was Sir Humphrey Gilbert whose attempts between 1580 and 1583 to found colonies in Norumbega ended with his death. No more successful was his kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, in his similar undertakings in Virginia. The causes of failure seem to have been the scattering of effort, failure to concentrate all energy upon one settlement and keep it in constant communication with England,—and finally it must be observed that the urge for colonization had not yet arisen. Plunder and war drew off all the enterprising spirits. More constant and enduring purposes were required to drive men to the toil of pioneering as planters and settlers. Ideas of corporate enterprise and of bettering one's position economically were not yet sufficiently widespread to create the necessary supply of emigrants in the sixteenth century. Yet the Gilbert and Raleigh expeditions were valuable experiments and familiarized the public with the idea of seeking a livelihood in another hemisphere.

But by the seventeenth century trading companies had operated profitably in every known part of the world; the idea of transplanting people from one region to another—so frightful to an agricultural folk—was familiar after the new colonies in Ireland; the displacement of the rural population in the rise of the mercantile town and its handicraft industry was well under way; and then came religious causes for dissatisfaction with England. Far too much prominence has been given to the religious basis of New England history, say her most recent historians.[24] American history has been written too exclusively from the Puritan point of view, whereas the middle colonies, with their early mixed populations, are far more representative of American development and life.[25] Yet it cannot be denied that the years under the Stuarts were unsettled times for many serious-minded people. The national protestantism of Elizabeth had by this time turned into a sectarian anarchy; man spoke to God in as many tongues as at Babel. Then came the day when the national church began to persecute, not only Roman Catholics, but other dissenting groups—Brownists, independents, anabaptists, millenarians,—and when the church was controlled by Presbyterians, the Anglicans suffered; when it was properly under the Anglicans, the Presbyterians felt the force of proscription.

The relative importance of the religious factors is a highly controversial matter. Let us leave it with the words of the old colonial historian of New Jersey. There is little reason to doubt, he says, but "that views of permanent stability to religious and civil freedom, must have been the inducement to the original adventurers to think of such a voyage . . . . (who as) Protestant dissenters (felt), involved in the general insecurity, that such with reason

[24] e. g. J. T. Adams: *The Founding of New England.*
[25] Woodrow Wilson: *The Course of American History.*

PETER STUYVESANT

apprehended in the reign of King Charles the Second . . . . With the motives above, some of them had no doubt, a distant prospect also of improving their estates, but this could not be the case so much at first as afterwards.

"However smooth the passage may look now, it must be a reasonable supposition, that persons and families who lived well (which was the circumstance of many of the settlers of the province) found it no inconsiderable trial to unsettle and remove 3,000 miles; besides parting with the usual connection of friendship and neighborhood, it was in a great measure an unproved experiment. . . . ."[26]

Whatever the reasons, it remains true that conditions did favor successful colonization under the Stuarts. In 1606 a great grant of territory was made to two Virginia Companies, the London Company receiving as its portion the region between 34 degrees and 41 degrees of latitude, the Plymouth company between 38 degrees and 45 degrees. New Jersey thus fell within both areas, giving her therefore additional chances of settlement. The former company centered its activities upon the Chesapeake Bay, founding Jamestown in 1607; the northern company decided or were led to take New England as their sphere of action after 1619. In the meantime both charters were forfeited. The new boundary of Virginia after 1609 became a line drawn two hundred miles north of Point Comfort, approximately the latitude of Philadelphia, 40 degrees. Then in 1620 all north from 40 degrees to 48 degrees was granted to Lenox and Gorges. Shortly after (1623) Baltimore secured a patent for the neglected southern section, to extend as far as 40 degrees "where New England ended."

But although New Jersey came into many of these conflicting and overlapping land grants, no attention was directed to it for settlement purposes. It is reported that the Pilgrim Fathers had contemplated founding their colony in New Netherland and probably in New Jersey, but were carried out of their way to Plymouth Rock. Certainly the milder climate, more fertile soil and more peaceful Indians might have been effective inducements. One might well speculate on the probable mitigating effect upon Puritan development, had New Jersey become the center of that movement.

English exploration of these regions was first undertaken in 1634. In that year one Captain Thomas Young (or Yong), a Yorkshire sea captain, set out, accompanied by his nephew, Robert Evelyn, a relative of the famous diarist. They bore with them a commission from Charles I to discover, occupy and exploit any parts of America "not actually in the possession of any Christian Prince."[27] They appear to have had the same mission as Hudson twenty-five years before; to investigate the persistent rumor that one of these rivers, perhaps the Delaware, led to an inland sea which by distant connections let out into the western ocean—the elusive and oft-sought "northwest passage." The explorers arrived in New Jersey waters late in July, 1634. The South River was named the Charles in honor of the king, in whose

[26] S. Smith: *History of Colony of New Jersey,* p. 12.
[27] Hazard: *Historical Collections,* I, p. 338.

name they took possession of the whole country. Proceeding up stream they were halted by what is known as the Falls and which they described as the place "where the rockes ranne cleane crosse the River."[28] Failing in two attempts to pass these rapids they turned about, intending to return the following year and build boats above the obstruction.

By this time the Dutch had heard of their arrival and sent a vessel after them to find the purpose of the visit. Young brazenly took the initiative in the cross-examination, according to his story. "I asked them if they had any commission from his Ma^tie^ to trade in the river or no; they answered they had none from the king of England but from the Governour of New Netherland, to which I replyed that I knew no such Governour nor no such place as New Netherland. I told them that this country did belong to the crowne of England as well by ancient discovery as likewise by possession lawfully taken, and that his Ma^tie^ was now pleased to make more ample discovery of this River, and of the other places also, where he would erect Collonies. . . . ."[29]

Nothing further being possible for some time, the skipper sent his nephew back to England to report upon the explorations. It is difficult to say how long Young remained on the Delaware. Robert Evelyn did not return for some two years, and shortly after his return both of them appear to have transferred their efforts to New England and Canada. It is a matter of speculation whether or not Young was instrumental in causing a group of some fifteen Virginian traders to come up and occupy the disused Fort Nassau, from which they were soon ejected by the Dutch.

Two important results followed from the Young explorations. One was the interest which soon developed in New England upon news of the fur supply of the Delaware. This will be dealt with later. The other effect was the impetus given to an English scheme for colonization of New Albion, by Sir Edmund Plowden, lord proprietor.

This latter project, the first attempt to settle New Jersey from England, is one of the most elusive and fantastic undertakings in the whole of American development. Some account of the "County Palatine of New Albion" is necessary, if only to guard against the exaggerations and misconceptions regarding this enterprise. Plowden was a member of an old English family, being a lineal descendant of the famous lawyer, of the same name, in the sixteenth century. He is thought to have transplanted to Ireland under Charles I, being in danger in England as a Roman Catholic. Whether this is so or not, in 1632 we find that together with a number of gentlemen adventurers he petitioned the King for a grant of land in America to be called Syon. At this very time, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, another Roman Catholic, had received Maryland. But apparently Plowden's petition was refused at the Court of St. James, although an Irish patent was issued. No record of the charter is to be found in any official form in London, as it was issued

[28] *A Briefe Relation of a Voyage lately made,* in Myers: *op. cit.,* p. 37.
[29] Young: *Idem,* p. 45.

under the Privy Seal of Ireland, by the Viceroy at Dublin on June 21, 1634. The boundaries of the plantation, which was named New Albion, were drawn in such a manner as to include Long Island, the entire New Jersey coast, and extend westward, embracing most of Delaware and a large part of Pennsylvania. Deaths and withdrawals of patentees soon left the claims to New Albion concentrated in the Plowden family—father and sons.

Nothing came of the enterprise until the reports of the Young expedition came to the ears of the Earl Palatine, as Plowden liked to be called. The crabbed, over-bearing old man had been too occupied by his own domestic troubles, *e. g.,* his wife's claim for alimony; by his lawsuits, brought against him by his tenants; and by his business failures, for he was nearly insolvent. In 1640 or 1641 when Evelyn was in England a second time he was persuaded to write as advertisement an eulogistic "Direction for Adventurers and Description of New Albion." Then for the first time an endeavor was made to enter upon the planting of the colony.

Plowden arrived in America in 1643. If he had started out with many prospective settlers, they soon deserted in Virginia. Misfortune followed his enterprise from the very start. While voyaging from Virginia to his province, his crew mutinied and set him ashore on a deserted island, "without food, clothes and arms, where no people nor other animals except wolves and bears lived." Here he and two pages, who jumped overboard and swam out to him, remained for four days before attracting the attention of a passing vessel. Meanwhile the mutineers had appeared before Fort Elfsborg asking for ships for England. Printz, the Swedish Governor suspected something wrong, and succeeded in getting a confession from one of them, placed them under arrest, sent the vessel to Christina and turned them over to the English. The ringleaders of the mutiny were shot, but it meant indefinite postponement of the colony. Yet Plowden had not given up hope; he remained in America for seven years, it was said; and continued to behave as if he were actually proprietor. "To all ships and barques that come from thence (England) he grants free commission to trade here in the river with the savages; but" says Printz, "I have not yet permitted them to pass, nor shall I do so until I receive order and command to that effect from my most gracious queen, Her Royal Majesty of Sweden."[30]

Failing to make any further progress in his colony, Plowden finally set off for England in 1647 or '48. Governor Winthrop mentions his visit to Boston on his way back, briefly he describes the man's failure, his people scattered and his estate gone and his intention nevertheless "to return and plant the Delaware if he could get sufficient strength to dispossess the Swedes."[31] One might expect the story to end here with the statement that he never did get sufficient backing for the purpose. There is, however, more to it yet, although the rest of the tale is largely fable and surmise.

In 1648 there appeared a pamphlet entitled "A Description of the

[30] *Report,* in Myers: *op. cit.,* p. 124.
[31] Winthrop's *Journal,* June 4, 1648.

Province of New Albion," purporting to have been written by one Beauchamp Plantagenet, whose assumed name is to indicate his ancient and royal lineage. Reprinted in the "Description" is Evelyn's "Directions for Adventurers." Whatever may have been the purpose and whoever the author, this pamphlet has misled many writers in the last three hundred years. On the face of it, it is written by one who has much personal knowledge of the Count Palatine, having "marched, lodged, and cabbined together, among the Indians and in Holland, have seen so many of his Manuscript Books, most excellent Rules and Observations of Law, Justice and Policy." His conversation we are to believe was as "sweet and winning, as grave and sober, enriched with much learning, adorned with six languages" gained in experience of four years in Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, five in Ireland, and seven in America. Innumerable are the subjects treated by Plantagenet: the nature and powers of Count Palatine, Plowden's lineage for twelve hundred years, the number and organization of the Delaware Indians, and of course the proposed type of government.

The "Description" was intended apparently to prepare for another attempt at settlement. It was therefore dedicated not only to the Lord Proprietor, but also "to all other, the Viscounts, Barons, Baronets, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, Adventurers, and Planters of the hopefull company of New Albion, in all forty-four undertakers and subscribers bound by indenture to bring and settle three thousand able trained men in our said several plantations or the said province." The boundaries as he describes them are ridiculously erroneous; as in fact are many if not all of his facts, *e. g.,* the statement that there are eight hundred thousand English in Virginia, being in excess, as one writer sarcastically remarks, "by about seven hundred and seventy-five thousand."[32] The resources of the country are painted in terms not excelled by modern Florida estate agents. The land is pictured as an American Lombardy, "with a rich fat soil, plain, and having 34 rivers on the main land, 17 great isles. . . . ." All kinds of woods are found there; all berries in the greatest profusion; meadows for cattle; corn, rice, flax; five kinds of deer and elk, turkeys weighing forty-six pounds, while by sea are whale, grampus and other fish.

Concerning the government to be instituted, Plantagenet let his imagination run wild. He drew upon heraldic ceremonial, *e. g.,* the pretentious "Order Medall and Ribon of the Albion Knights of the Conversion of Twenty Three Kings," and upon an antiquated feudal system of manors to be created (for adventures of £500 who settle 50 men upon a manor of 5000 acres, reserving a rental royalty at 5/-). Authority was to be vested in the Lord Proprietor or deputy, a Secretary of Estate or Seal Keeper, and two of the Council. There was also to be an assembly of thirty burgesses—"once a year these meet, as at a Parliament or Grand Assembly, and make laws . . . . and without full consent of the Governor, Upper and Lower House, nothing is done."

---

[32] *Examination of B. Plantagenet, Description of New Albion,* by John Pennington, Memoirs, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. IV, I, p. 133.

How far the opinions expressed by Plantagenet were acceptable to Plowden we can never know. Among the interesting purposes described is that of making New Albion a place of tolerance in religion. To remedy the unsettled state of religion in England, and the Bible "expounded to each man's fancy," he proposes a form of service established by act of Legislature, but with no persecution of those dissenting. Punishment, he reserves for those who "bitterly rail and condemn others of the contrary" of their opinions, because religious practices "should be acted in mildness, love and charity, and gentle language, not to disturb the peace or quiet of the Inhabitants, but therein to obey the Civil Magistrate."

After the first strenuous effort had failed it is not evident that Plowden set out upon any further attempt. He had lost too heavily the first time and the promises of planters to be sent by his noble backers seem to have evaporated. Yet in 1650 a pass was secured for seven-score men, women and children to go to New Albion. There is no record of their going nor of their arrival in America. The ambitious project of settling New Jersey was therefore allowed to sink into oblivion. Sir Edmund Plowden died, it seems, shortly before the restoration of Charles II. His will of 1655 was proved in 1659 and by it his property became vested in his second son, whom he ordered to enforce the subscriptions, indentures, and undertakings of settlement by his associates. This was never done, and the "planting, peopling and stocking" of New Jersey was never accomplished by virtue of the Plowden grant.

The grant remained in abeyance until the close of the War of Independence. It was then revived in 1784 when one Charles Varlo came to Philadelphia, claiming to represent the Earl of Albion, and be himself owner of one-third interest. He asserted his claims to land proprietorship in action in the Pennsylvania courts but received little recognition. Nor did he meet with any greater success in the prosecution of his rights by his printed appeals and cautions to the "Good People of the Province of New Albion, alias corruptly called at present the Jerseys." This belated episode concludes the history of New Albion in America.

More successful though less pretentious than the above was the endeavor of the New Englanders to break through the barriers raised by the Dutch and Swedes. The English never admitted any authority to these two nations, for Maryland extended as far north as the southern boundary of New England.

The first of New Englanders to look to the Delaware as a field for enterprise was a company of traders, composed of Theophilus Eaton, Nathaniel Turner, George Lamburton and five others. They formed the Delaware Company at New Haven in 1640. Their interest was two-fold: first, the fur trade, for the New England resources in this respect were rapidly failing; and secondly, settlement, for the natural limitations of space in Connecticut were now being felt. Accordingly Captain Nathaniel Turner came first to the Delaware with authority to purchase land. He bought a large area on the Jersey side from Cape May to Narraticon's Kill (Raccoon

Creek) from the Indians, and another piece on the west bank in the neighborhood of Fort Christina. The favorable report he took back led the following year to the commencement of a settlement at Varcken's Kill (Salem Creek) of some twenty families, and induced the General Court to declare the colony "in combination with New Haven." It has been suggested that the Delaware may now have been approved by the New Haveners as a favorable location for a greater main settlement, as it was not limited in extent in the way that the first home settlement was.

The following year Lamburton proceeded to erect a block house above Fort Christina, upon the Schuylkill. This post was of course within the purchase of the preceding year, and was intended to cut directly into the fur trade. The specific site is in doubt, though it is said to have been upon Fisher's Island (or Province Island) and thus the "first white settlement within the limits of Philadelphia."[33]

This intrusion was violently denounced by Dutch and Swedish commanders. The Swedes soon reduced the post upon the Schuylkill and built upon the same site Fort Nya Korsholm. The Dutch Governor, Kieft, was particularly angry with these "interlopers and vagabonds" on Varcken's Kill who had begun "to build houses, cut down trees, and perform other work." So he despatched twenty-five soldiers to "oblige them to vindicate themselves." Six persons were therefore taken prisoners, and the rest compelled to promise to leave—which they failed to perform.

Lamburton, who had escaped the first time, was soon again trading upon the river, being captured by the Swedes and tried at Christina in 1643. Unlawful trading was not his only offense, for he was also accused of and convicted of plotting with the Indians to murder the Dutch and Swedes. He and the other traders were therefore made to withdraw from the River and return to New Haven. Appeals on his behalf by the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England failed to secure any further privileges for them. Some settlers remained behind at Varcken's Kill upon taking oath to the Swedish Government; some others may have been left in straggling settlements at Cape May for the whale fishery.

But how persistent the New Englanders were in attempting to slip through may be seen from a fresh trial made by a Boston company. They also wished to secure some of the profit from the rumored valuable Delaware trade. Accordingly they came prospecting for trade in 1644, just when the Connecticut traders were finally excluded. Printz allowed their vessel to pass up the river knowing that his force was inadequate to stop them; but he had arranged that the Dutch at Fort Nassau should turn them back, as indeed occurred. And the Boston company was ruined, losing over £700 in the trip. Thus ended the last New England effort to settle upon the Delaware.

**Dutch Difficulties in New Netherland**—The sovereignty of the States General of Holland now formally embraced all the territory about the Hud-

[33] A. Johnson: *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, I, p. 213.

THE JAMES WHITALL HOUSE AT RED BANK, ERECTED 1748

Courtesy of William H. Albright

son and Delaware. But the apparent success covered internal disintegration. As a colony New Netherland was not a success. The effort put forth for the capture of New Sweden was quite disproportionate to the return anticipated, and the West India Company was permanently weakened. In fact two years later, in 1657, they were ready to sell the Delaware to the City of Amsterdam as a refuge for the persecuted Waldenses, the "slaughtered saints" of Milton.

Unquestionably one of the greatest hindrances to the plantation was the hostility of the Indians. Even while Stuyvesant was upon the Delaware another devastation fell upon Manhattan when four or five hundred savages ran through the streets of New Amsterdam. The outlying settlers had long since been discouraged, and again the only place of safety was within range of the guns of vessels in the harbor. It did indeed seem that the Hollanders were incapable of erecting permanent settlements. Perhaps their efforts were too widely scattered throughout the world for them to devote much attention to any one place.

There were of course many other causes of decline. The position in the midst of English colonies was a precarious one. And New Amsterdam had always been a cosmopolitan place composed of French Huguenots, Belgians fleeing the Spanish terror, New England exiles and Virginian refugees. As a convenient halfway house between New England and Virginia, Manhattan had become a general port of call for English traders, many of whom had settled down as permanent residents. Moreover, the growing Connecticut population continued to press down, encircling Fort Good Hope, on the Connecticut, and pushing down on Long Island. As early as Governor Kieft's time English settlers had been accepted on Long Island, and in order to keep them under Dutch allegiance they had been permitted to retain their New England township system, with a large degree of self-government. When the trade monopoly had been broken, these groups of settlers and traders had received a great impetus.

Then, too, there had been no cessation of domestic strife and faction. Vigorous objection had been made to the practice of giving aliens greater liberties than old settlers. Finally Stuyvesant was prevailed upon to confine the trade with the Indians to the oldest and richest burghers. When no reciprocity was admitted for New Englanders the trade of the colony came to a standstill, and life passed from it. The last years of the Stuyvesant administration were filled with countless petitions, memorials and counter-memorials directed to the home government by the colonists. In particular the charges were of arbitrary conduct, of uncertainty of law and justice, of favoritism and corruption in the making of land grants, of using his power to the detriment of his opponents' just rights, and of giving no heed to popular opinion.

At last the Dutch West India Company admitted its inability to manage the colony when it invited further English settlers, and issued a new Charter of Conditions and Privileges in 1661 to "all people as shall be disposed to

take up their abode in these parts."[34] This policy, suicidal as it must have proved, was approved by the States General in an act offering "all Christian people of tender conscience, in England, or elsewhere oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies, between New England and Virginia, in America, now within the jurisdiction of Peter Stuyvesant, the States General's Governor for the West India Company."[35] Two or three companies of New England settlers soon had agents looking over the sea-coast of New Jersey, but before they had made any decision or were able to consummate the transaction, New Netherland had fallen.

---

[34] Brodhead: *History of New York,* Vol. I, p. 688.
[35] *Idem,* p. 688.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE TWO LORDS PROPRIETORS AND THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT OF EAST NEW JERSEY.

**Changed Conditions of Colonization**—New Jersey did not come under English control until well after the middle of the seventeenth century. By this time the nature of effort required for the work of colonization had changed. In the preceding century the general type of overseas enterprise had been that of small companies of adventurous freebooters, operating in scattered bands, preying upon the commerce of rival nations, disregarding their trading restrictions and pursuing their lawless calling for private profit and national glory, for the sake of religion and the satisfaction of personal revenge. But with the opening of the seventeenth century these predatory expeditions were displaced by a more law-abiding series of trading companies. The first twenty-five years of the Stuarts witnessed the incorporation of seven major joint-stock companies trading to America.[1] And for years these had successfully secured the trade and profit their owners demanded. But by the middle of the century the vigorous competition with private interlopers and foreign companies was beginning to show its effects. In order to maintain themselves the traders had to purchase the land beyond their forts and trading stations, and to extend their control into the interior as profitable traffic receded. Often this resulted from the depletion of the natural resources or from the withdrawal of the natives from trade. But it meant that if they still wanted the trade the companies themselves must either undertake the manufacture or cultivation of the local product which had previously been purchasable from the natives; or introduce some new industry to replace it. It meant that the industrious tiller of the soil would replace the trader and hunter.

This is not the place to discuss the underlying factors which would condition such an economic transition. In New England where the fur trade had begun to fail very early—for New England shut in by mountains had no great reservoir up mighty rivers—the settlers soon took to cultivation of the soil. In Virginia where climatic conditions had never been favorable to the fur trade the tobacco crop became the staple product. The trapper and trader might follow a retreating Indian and beaver, but empires were to be built by axe and plough, not by sword and gun.

A new type of emigrant thus became necessary. Instead of the wandering merchant-adventurer seeking to wrest a hasty fortune by pillage and

---

[1] These were the Virginia Company, 1606; Guiana, 1609; Newfoundland, 1610; Northwest Passage, 1612; Bermuda, 1612; New England, 1620, and Massachusetts, 1629. They were all profit-seeking creations, and were not composed, as many have thought, of prospective emigrants. Of the 203 members of the Virginia Company, 116 were also stockholders of the East India Company, and many held shares in the other American companies.

barter, the new colonist must be a settler seeking a new and permanent home. Under these conditions the successful colonial nation would be the one with a surplus population. It must have an over-supply of man-power to send to the plantations to better their own conditions individually, and collectively to develop the new regions. And these colonists must be content to remove themselves from hearth and home to a new scene of life. Theirs would be an almost certain life-exile; whatever success they met with must be enjoyed abroad; for most of them it meant turning their backs upon their kin and homeland, never to return. They required, therefore, a tenacity of purpose which the first roving adventurers did not need to possess. Not seasonal profit nor rapidly acquired gain must be their goal, but rather must they look to a general future betterment, the result of persistent and laborious effort, which should be attained for their children and for their children's children as well as for themselves. No country could expect to maintain an efficient overseas empire which did not encourage emigration or have conditions at home making it desirable.

New Sweden and Netherland failed because they were not undertaken with the true colonizing spirit. New Sweden was never more than nominally Swedish. For Sweden did not have the surplus population nor the capital to invest in enterprises whose productivity was far in the future. New Netherland on the other hand suffered from the inability to make the transition from trading company to plantation. This required an initiative and foresight quite beyond officials who had worked their way up from clerical posts in the counting house to administrative authority.

Far more favorable to colonization were the conditions which were developing in England. An economic revolution was there well underway. The enclosure of the village common lands by the country gentry, and the adoption of sheep-farming upon a large scale was annually bringing beggary and misfortune upon thousands. Thus while increasing numbers of tenants lost their lands, there was a declining demand for farm laborers. Moreover the charity of the old mediaeval monasteries and convents was now replaced by the harsh provisions of the Elizabethian Poor Law.

There were other disturbing factors. The religious dissensions and recurrent persecutions which followed each attempt to reformulate and alter the doctrines of the established church made England and Scotland very unpleasant places for many people. Finally, there came upon the country the political struggles of King and Parliament, the civil war with its alternations of fortune for cavalier and roundhead. Thus large elements of the population were prepared to leave the country to seek in another land a better life, greater wealth, additional security and personal freedom. Undoubtedly a variety of motives actuated the different individuals and classes, but in general the necessary impetus for a great migration was provided by these economic changes, civil wars, and religious desires.

**The English Conquest**—The latent commercial rivalry between Holland and England was now coming to a head. The end of the Thirty Years

War in 1648 and the recognition of Dutch independence relaxed the protective bond which had bound Protestant nations together. The new navigation laws (1651) of the English Commonwealth revealed one aspect of the long-developing rivalry, namely the attempt of Parliament to draw to English bottoms the carrying trade so long a Dutch monopoly. In fact a new series of events had set in which finally brought ruination upon New Netherland. For after surviving the threats of Cromwell and the Puritans of New England the end to Stuyvesant's jurisdiction came upon the Restoration of Charles II.

War with Holland was contrary to the wishes of the King and his advisor, the Earl of Clarendon, who feared that it might disturb the peaceful restoration settlement, and encourage a seditious party relying on Dutch aid. He had in fact secured in 1662 the ratification of a treaty to settle disputes between the two countries. But the pressure of the trading classes and the influence of the King's brother James, Duke of York, were exerted in such a manner as to make war inevitable. In 1663 a survey of the defenses and military strength of New Netherlands was undertaken by three commissioners—Sir John Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, and Sir William Coventry. They reported upon the attitude and number of English settlers on Long Island and upon the weakened condition of New Amsterdam. "Accordingly," says the colonial historian, "King Charles the Second, considering of what ill consequence a Dutch colony must be in the heart of his Dominions, and determining to dispossess them, gave a patent to his brother, the Duke of York, for a great part of North America, in which were included the provinces of New York, New Jersey and all other lands appertaining with power of government."[2]

Naval expeditions were prepared by the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, to take possession of the new territories for the King. In April, 1664, Cape Corso and other British establishments on the African Coast were seized. Finally four ships with four hundred and fifty soldiers set sail in May, 1664, for America under the command of Sir Robert Carr. With him were dispatched three commissioners, George Cartwright, Samuel Maverick, and Colonel Richard Nicolls, the last of whom bore also the Duke of York's commission as deputy-governor of the dominion about to be acquired.

After touching at Boston they proceeded along Long Island and finally came to anchor before New Amsterdam in the middle of August. From this time on Nicolls took the initiative in the conduct of affairs. First, a proclamation was issued calling upon all "whatsoever of what nation soever" to submit to his Majesty and receive protection of law and justice with all English privileges and to continue "peacefully to enjoy whatsoever God's blessing and their own honest industry have furnished them with."[3] The presence of many English in New Netherland (it was estimated that one-third of the Long Islanders were English) and the popular dissatisfaction with Director Stuyvesant's administration combined to create a feeling of defeat among the

---

[2] S. Smith: *History of New Jersey*, p. 35.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

burghers of New Amsterdam. All knew of the defenseless condition and delapidated state of the fortifications, for the fort was simply staked against Indian surprise, so that in the face of an overwhelming enemy public sentiment prevailed upon the stubborn old Governor to secure its surrender without a blow being struck. Negotiations which had been prolonged from August 19, in a long interchange of notes and communications were concluded at last on the 27th by capitulations, and the few Dutch soldiers marched out with martial music and colors flying.[4]

The terms of the capitulations were as one might have expected quite liberal, for the object was not to devastate, but to obtain a profitable colony. They were ratified by the Treaty of Breda, 1667, which concluded the ensuing war. In order to render stability and progressive continuity to the life of the settlement both individual and community rights were protected. The Dutch who chose might remain as "free denizens" or might be granted repatriation should they so elect. For those remaining, private property was guaranteed; and the Dutch were to keep their own customs and laws of property and inheritance. Special provision was made against quartering soldiers on the populace without consent and compensation; and of special note is the guarantee that the Dutch should never be required to serve in war—an unusually sweeping reservation. Religious security was guaranteed in the provision for "liberty of conscience in divine worship and Dutch discipline." Local government institutions, town council, taxation and finance were temporarily continued.

As soon as the change of sovereignty on the Hudson was thus satisfactorily concluded the Commissioners sent Sir Robert Carr with his warships to the Delaware to make complete the transfer. The Dutch, it was reported, "having fortified themselves there had drawn a great trade thither, and being assured that if they be permitted to go on the gaining of the place will be of small advantage to his Majesty." Carr was intrusted to proclaim to the civilian population "that they keep their lands only that they change their masters, whether they be the West India Company or the City of Amsterdam. To the Swedes you shall remonstrate their happy return to the monarchical government."[5] Surrender on the Delaware was of course a foregone conclusion, though it was not accomplished without some few casualties due to Carr's tactlessness and brutality. When this had been performed, Colonel Nicolls could regard the active occupation of his new dominion attained.

Some of the writers have denounced the seizure of the New Netherland by the English as an outrage upon a struggling friendly Protestant nation in time of peace. Yet the conquest was commended and encouraged at the time by many of the New England Puritans and strongly approved in Virginia, Maryland and among English traders. It was essentially similar in nature to the Dutch capture of New Sweden. In the world-wide struggle for empire local hostilities frequently occurred between the contestant nations. Some-

[4] *Idem*, p. 43.
[5] *Idem*, p. 41.

times this involved the home governments in war; sometimes it did not, depending on expediency rather than upon consideration of right and honor.

Nor need one accept with too implicit confidence the legal view that the occupation was merely an assertion of England's just rights of dominion acquired by discovery. This has been the traditional and legalistic doctrine. "From this voyage of discovery made by Cabot," wrote Samuel Smith in 1756, "the English have claimed the country ever since, from the well-known *Ius gentium,* Law of Nations, that whatever waste or uncultivated land is discovered, it is the right of that prince who had been at the charge of the discovery."[6] But when other nations were making similar claims from their exploration it might be a fortunate, but was nevertheless an unreasonable dogma. To expect other nations to admit that a simple coastal cruise gave valid title to unexplored hinterlands and continent is a little too naive. Indeed, all the colonizing and trading nations were unblushing poachers and interlopers when the opportunity occurred.

A justification from utility has been sought by some writers—that it was an impossible expectation that the Dutch should be able to maintain their settlement in the midst of an English coastline without serious damage to England in the Anglo-French wars; and that the Dutch themselves would have preferred the entire region to be in English hands for added strength in the French wars. Such sophistry must be satisfactory for those not content to accept the transfer as one event in a two century long contest for empire. There is little question of right or law involved; the case is settled *de facto* by conquest and settlement, *de jure* by treaty cession. At any rate it permitted to the middle colonies a rapid development they would not otherwise have had.

As in Mr. Milne's story of the Good Bear and Bad Bear, "There may be a moral, though some say not." For my own part I prefer the fanciful and amusing, if unenlightening conclusions of Washington Irving: "By the treacherous surprisal of Fort Casimir, then, did the crafty Swedes enjoy a transient triumph; but drew upon their heads the vengeance of Peter Stuyvesant, who wrested all New Sweden from their hands. By the conquest of New Sweden, Peter Stuyvesant aroused the claim of Lord Baltimore who appealed to the Cabinet of Great Britain, who subdued the whole province of New Netherlands. By this great achievement, the whole extent of North America from Nova Scotia to the Floridas was rendered one entire dependency upon the British Crown—but mark the consequences—the hitherto scattered colonies being thus consolidated, and having no rival colonies to check or keep them in awe, waxed great and powerful, and finally becoming too strong for the mother country, were enabled to shake off its bonds, and by a glorious revolution become an independent empire. But the chains of events stopped not here; the successful revolution in America produced the sanguinary revolution in France, which produced the puissant Bonaparte, who produced the French despotism which has thrown the whole world in

[6] *Idem,* pp. 7-8.

confusion!—Thus have these great powers been successively punished for their ill-starred conquests—and thus, as I asserted, have all the present convulsions, revolutions, and disasters that overwhelm mankind, originated in the capture of the little Fort Casimir, as recorded in this eventful history."[7]

**The Duke of York's Grant; The Nicolls Patentees**—The territory of which James, Duke of York, brother of King Charles the Second, and heir-apparent, now became proprietor, extended from the Connecticut River to the Delaware, including within its bounds Long Island, and thus coincides with the present states of New Jersey and New York. Of these, New Jersey was at this time (1664) virtually uninhabited. There were as original inhabitants perhaps two thousand peaceful Indians. On the banks of the Delaware there were a few Swedes and Dutch, and an unknown and probably fluctuating number of New England fishermen and trappers. The most thickly settled part was what is now Bergen County where Dutch were grouped in a fairly compact and contiguous settlement. Altogether there could not have been more than eight hundred white residents of the colony.

The location and the physical situation of the new province was such as to lead prospective settlers to the northeastern quarter. Not only was this the most obvious place for those New Englanders who had looked so longingly on New Netherlands, but Nicolls had specially declared that "the lands which he intended should be first planted were those upon the west side of the Hudson River, at or adjoining the Sopes (Esopus)." His reasons were of course military and he was ready to permit other settlements further inland "of any number of men sufficient for two or three or more towns which desire to plant upon any other lands." These intentions and desires he had published in a proclamation throughout the English settlements, setting out the "conditions for the new planters in the territories of his Royal Highness the Duke of York." This proclamation laid down the method by which settlers might acquire land in New Jersey, and the terms upon which they were to be held. The most noteworthy feature is that Nicolls had realized the immense advantage of the New England town system as a means of effective and permanent settlement. Accordingly private individuals were definitely discouraged—"the purchasers are to set out a town and inhabit together." "No purchaser shall at any time contract for himself, with any sachem, without the consent of his associates or special warrant from the Governor." Instead all agreements to migrate must be made by associated groups undertaking the enterprise and having the responsibilities in common. First, they should apply to Governor Nicolls for "leave to settle, then they must purchase from the Indians of the projected location the property right, after which they might be incorporated by the Governor as a town." For the first five years they should be tax-free—except as they may assess themselves in dividing their local expenses—after which they should be subject to the accustomed duties. The land thus occupied should be held in common as long

[7] *Knickerbocker History of New York*, p. 306.

ROAD MAP NEW BRUNSWICK TO PRINCETON. 1748

Known as the "John Dalley Map"

*Courtesy of Somerset County Historical Society*

as they desired, and be heritable as such. "All men who shall take the oath of allegiance, and are not servants or day labourers, but are admitted to enjoy a town lot (presumably by bearing a share of the original purchase or by buying out one of the original associates), are esteemed free men of the jurisdiction." The townships should be self-governing, choosing their own local officers, both civil and judicial as well as military. Each should be empowered to make its own particular laws, decide all local small causes, and establish "rates for the support of their ministers, duly elected by the major part of the householders, and no man to refuse his proportion." To this, however, was added a guarantee of liberty of conscience, "provided such liberty is not carried to licentiousness or the disturbance of others in the exercise of the Protestant religion."

These remarkably liberal and farsighted principles were adopted by Nicolls for New Jersey, quite apart from the natural broadmindedness of the man, in order to appeal to the self-dependent, community-minded New Englanders whom he wished to attract in sufficiently great numbers as to remove all apprehension of Dutch disaffection. That he was not himself in sympathy with democratic aspirations is immaterial, for the result of his action in New Jersey was to introduce into the northern half of the colony with royal sanction the New England system of local town government in all its primitive vigor and rugged self-reliance. What this meant for New Jersey we shall soon see in the conflict which developed in the inter-regnum between the proprietary and royal governments.

Two major grants of leave to settle were made by Nicolls on the 26th of September, 1664. John Bailey and associates petitioned for permission to complete an Indian Purchase then under negotiation. This concerned a great area later known as the Elizabethtown tract, which was accordingly purchased on October 28, of the same year, the price paid the Indians being recorded as "twenty fathoms of Trading Cloth, two Match coats, two Guns, two Kettles, ten Bars of lead, and Twenty handfuls of Powder . . . . 400 wampum after a year's expiration etc." This Nicolls confirmed by letters patent, December 1, 1664, to John Baker, John Bailey, Daniel Denton and Luke Watson of Jamaica, Long Island, and their associates, as a parcel of land extending from the Raritan River along the coast to the first river above Arthur Kill Bay paying the Duke of York "a certain Rent according to the Customary rate of the country for new Plantations." They were to bring in inhabitants "with all convenient speed," to have "equal freedom, Immunities and Privileges with any of his Majesties subjects in any of his Colonies of America."[8]

The other grant known at first as the Neversinks and later as the Monmouth patent was perhaps equally extensive. It was also made to a group of Long Islanders, from Gravesend, named as Patentees "and their Associates." Negotiations for the purchase from the Indians had been made under the

[8] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 17.

Dutch in 1663, and was now confirmed as a tract to extend from Sandy Hook in a strip twelve miles wide along the south bank of the Raritan. This document of April 8, 1665, is in considerably greater detail than the first.[9] The patentees are to settle one hundred families within three years, they are to pay no taxes and be rent-free for seven years, after which they will pay as the others. It is more specifically stated that they may build "towns and villages" as they chose, "provided that they associate themselves, and that the Houses of the Towns and Villages be not too far distant or scattering one from another." Town government is specified for the patentees—who "shall have liberty to elect by the major Part of the inhabitants, five or seven other Persons of the ablest and discreetest of the Inhabitants" or a greater number if found appropriate, and "they together, or the major Part of them, shall have full Power and Authority to make such peculiar prudential Laws and Constitutions among the inhabitants for the best and most orderly governing of themselves, as to them shall seem meet." And may "try all causes and actions of debt and Trespass arising amongst themselves to the Value of Ten pounds, without appeal, but that they remit the hearing of all Criminal matters to the Assizes of New York." Liberty of conscience is reaffirmed, as also equal privileges, etc., with other subjects of his Majesty.

The importance in New Jersey history of the establishment of four or five towns within these grants together with the privileged Bergen community can hardly be overestimated. In the first place it meant that no matter whether the provincial authority was royal, proprietary or nonexistent, there would always be a popular method for the expression of opinion. And secondly, it has given to the eastern half of Jersey town organizations to a larger degree than is the case in the other middle states, which tend more to the Southern county system. In other words the towns of East Jersey are prior to other institutions; the county and assembly are later outgrowths of these early communities.

It has been noted that the conquest of New Netherlands was undertaken in pursuance of a grant in March, 1664, by Charles to his brother James, Duke of York. He, the heir-apparent to the English throne, was created proprietor of all that area between the Connecticut and the Delaware, including Long Island, which he was to have held by a fiction of law as an English fief, "forever in free and common socage as of our manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent for forty beaver skins when demanded yearly." The power to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule all such subjects as are there or may go there, and to make laws and establish such forms of government as are necessary was limited by the customary saving clause that they be not contrary to English laws. He might admit persons to trade or traffic as well as to settle, but all should pay customs and duties according to the laws and customs of England. Yet in spite of this it did not seem such a reckless alienation of new territory, for James was heir-apparent, and it was

[9] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 43.

DUKE OF YORK

expected that upon his accession, which did in fact occur twenty years later, he would bring the grant back to the Crown.

**The New Lords Proprietors**—But while the expedition to take possession was still upon the seas, and before control had been secured over New Netherlands, the Duke of York was prevailed upon by two prominent courtiers, the newly ennobled Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, to convey to them in common, a part of the grant, such part to be known as Nova Cæsarea or New Jersey.[10]

These were the two Cavaliers who, together with York's secretary, Coventry, who investigated the state of New Amsterdam's defense. They were already numbered among the eight proprietors of Carolina. Carteret had risen to prominence under Charles I, being made joint-governor of his native Jersey in 1626 at the age of 27, and by 1640 treasurer of the navy. When the civil war broke out he had defended Jersey for the loyalists for many years, being knighted in 1646. After the execution of Charles I in 1649, Charles II had a second time found refuge on the island for several months. Carteret's surrender to the Parliamentary navy of eighty vessels had taken place in 1651 after seven weeks blockade and siege. For these and other reasons, Charles and James were, therefore, under obligation to the stalwart courtiers. Recently evidence has come to light which reveals an early attempt to repay Carteret. On February 11, 1650, a French Chronicle records that Charles II bestowed on Carteret a certain island near the coast of Virginia. It was to be held at a rent charge of £6 per annum and the grantee was to send out three hundred persons to cultivate it. In May the Parliamentarians report that a vessel of Carteret's had been captured, "bound to Virginia, with many passengers, all sorts of goods, and tools for husbandry, for planting an island, which the Prince had given Sir George.[11]

It is not surprising therefore to find Carteret and Berkeley after the Restoration occupying a prominent place in the royal councils. The former represented Portsmouth in the House of Commons, the latter sat in Lords; both were privy councillors; one of them Chamberlain of the Royal Household, the other Vice-Chamberlain. "Of all about the court," said Samuel Pepys of Carteret, "he gave himself to business without any desire of pleasure or divertisement."

The deeds of lease and release (necessary according to the law of the day—the lease for a year to give constructive possession—the release the next day being a formal transfer of title to property now in their possession) ceded to Berkeley and Carteret the territory "westward of Long Island and Manhitas Island, and bounded part on the east by the Maine Sea, and part by Hudsons River and hath upon the west Delaware Bay and to the northward as farre as ye northermost branch of the said Bay or River of Delaware which is in fourtie one degrees and fourtie minutes of lattitude and

[10] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 10.

[11] See Wm. Nelson, Sir George Carteret, New Jersey Historical Society Proc., 2nd Ser., X, pp. 35-60.

crosseth thence in a straight Line to Hudson River in fourtie degrees of lattitude." Thus Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey as it was to be called to commemorate Carteret's defence for Charles of the Isle of Jersey in the English Channel, would include not only all the mainland, now known as New Jersey, but rightly Staten Island as well.

As Plowden had held New Albion upon an antiquated feudal tenure, so now these two Lords Proprietors were to hold as vassals of the Duke of York, whom they were to pay annually when demanded the sum of forty nobles and were to hold "in as full and ample manner as the same is granted unto the sayd James, Duke of Yorke," by the royal patent. Undoubtedly York, as well as the two cavaliers, thought that this conveyed to them not only ownership and title in the land but also all rights and incidents of feudal land proprietorship, namely jurisdiction and government. In this, however, they were mistaken, although the matter was in doubt for nearly forty years.

It has frequently happened to mankind that in the decline of an institution which fires the imagination, an attempt is made to restore to the dying embers the flame of life by legal decree. Often this takes the form of a revival of the pomp and circumstance of power when the substance has vanished. Thus the fantastic scheme described by Beauchamp Plantagenet for New Albion. Soon, too, John Locke was to draft a curiously cumbrous scheme for the Carolinas. All of these were social systems based on feudalism. But feudalism had already passed away in England before these attempts were made to introduce it into America. The last political vestige of feudal institutions—if one except the still persisting House of Lords—was removed in 1660 when the tenure of land by knight service was abolished. Yet despite this reminder that the day of feudalism had passed, Carteret and Berkeley (as also several other proprietors in American Colonies) continued to believe that the conveyance to them of half the Duke's lands in America created their proprietorship.

For the next forty years the peaceful development of New Jersey was hindered by this claim of the proprietors. It may be well to resolve the problem here. For although the proprietors formally renounced claims in 1703, law suits were in process until the Revolution in 1776. "Proprietory governments," said Blackstone in oft-quoted words, "are granted out by the Crown to individuals, in the nature of feudatory principalities, which all the inferior regalities, and subordinate powers of legislature which formerly belonged to Counties Palatine; yet still with these express conditions that nothing be attempted which may derogate from the sovereignty of the Mother Country." York's government had been therefore a proprietory government. He alone had the right to authorize purchase of land from natives; and to lay down conditions for acquisition of land title. He also had the power of government, saving English laws and customs. By his deeds to Carteret and Berkeley he conveyed his interest in the soil of New Jersey to these two in common. Did the right of government pass also? For years the accepted view has been that of a respected East Jersey historian that the words "in as

full and ample manner" transferred "with the land, the allegiance and obedience of the inhabitants."[12] But Blackstone's words apply only to holders *in capite,* tenants holding directly from the Crown. An old statute of Edward I, *quia emptores,* forbade further sub-infeudation so that no tenant of the Crown might carve his holding into smaller jurisdictions and transfer the rights of government *without* royal consent. But the Crown was in no sense a party to the deeds to Carteret and Berkeley, and never gave formal official sanction, though frequently giving private and personal authorization. Indeed, in their most exaggerated claims the proprietors never contended that they ruled in their own right as did true Counts Palatine—*e. g.,* the Bishop of Durham, for they always acted in the name of the King and of the Duke of York. Yet from the very start the two new Lords Proprietors behaved as though they had both titles to the soil and right of government. On the 10th. February, 1665, they commissioned Philip Carteret, Esq., as governor of the Province of New Jersey, authorizing him to act as governor and deputy in New Jersey.[13]

Philip Carteret did not arrive in America until late in the summer of 1665. By that time Nicolls had heard of the transfer of New Jersey to new hands. He was greatly perturbed at the Duke's recklessness in parting with half of his territory, and immediately wrote protesting that therein was "comprehended all the improvable part of your R$^{l}$ H$^{s}$. Patent and capable to receive twenty times more people than Long Island" (and the other tracts), not only with respect to land, but "the fertility of the soyle, the neighbourhood to Hudson's River, and lastly the fair hopes of Riche mines."[14] The important fact for the colony was that Nicolls had already formally recognized the Elizabethtown and Monmouth purchases, and had laid down conditions and privileges of government at a date subsequent to the transfer by York of the province to Carteret and Berkeley.

This question which was to create dissension and tumult in New Jersey for fifty years was—quite apart from the doubtful problem of the right to government—whether Nicolls had issued valid patents for the two areas which now extend over several counties; or whether the new proprietors might annul them as improperly secured and enforce still different conditions. The dispute as to the right of government arose out of this—for by the control of executive and judicial authority the proprietors sought to maintain their land and colonization policy; while the colonists claimed the right of self-government by virtue of a grant from the Duke of York's representative.

---

[12] Whitehead: *East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments,* p. 36, 2d Edition.

[13] The date on the commission is 10th February, 1664. It is customary to write the dates now 10/20 Feb., 1664/5, because the year 1664 did not end until 25th March, 1665, and there had also accumulated a difference of ten days between the Gregorian and Julian calendars. The old style was finally abolished in 1752 when 2nd September was followed by law by 14th September and 1st January made first day of the year. In the dates of this book I have simply changed the year to the new style, leaving the day of the month as recorded originally.

[14] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 46.

The great diversity of opinion regarding the validity of these so-called Indian title claimants makes one hesitant of declaring too premature an opinion, for the issue was never definitely disposed of by judicial action, though it was by legislative and therefore partisan interference. Yet despite the great preponderance of authority on the other side, my view is that although proprietary title to New Jersey at the time of Elizabeth and Monmouth grants was adequately vested in the two royalist courtiers, yet the customary rule respecting a colonial officer's term of power is the one to apply. This rule is that the acts of a properly constituted governor, such as was Colonel Nicolls, are *prima facie* valid not only until he is notified by his removal and the appointment of a successor, but in practice until the arrival of the new appointee with his commission. For in truth the position of a colonial governor is different from that of an agent—whose acts may be disavowed or entirely voided by his principal having parted with the object or land concerned. Colonel Nicolls was to act with full powers during the Duke's pleasure, and considering the great distances and slow communication of the period it was evident that his acts even when questionable *at law,* could undoubtedly create a right *in equity,* as his powers had not at the time been withdrawn *in fact.*

Quite apart from this legal aspect, the grant of New Jersey to two courtiers of the type of Berkeley and Carteret cannot be regarded as anything but the introduction of a thoroughly bad colonial system. It may be true that the first colonizing schemes by joint stock trading companies had been unsuccessful in maintaining plantations. It is evident that under the pressure of individual rights and personal initiative they had soon been forced to abandon joint management of trade and land settlement and introduce private enterprise. But it was at least always open for the colonists to buy out the shareholders, or for the latter to become merged in the body of the colony by migrating themselves, and thus create a self-governing community in itself. Thus, with the guarantees of English law and institutions it was possible for the colonial assembly to attain a position of importance and control similar to that secured by House of Commons in the early development of English representative government. But the proprietary colony was in an entirely different position. While it might have constitutional guarantees and a vigorous legislature, the proprietor "could never lose his identity and become merged in the province but must always remain distinct from the province in the same sense as that in which the King is distinct from the Kingdom."[15] In time he must inevitably sink into the position of a constitutional sovereign who does not govern and a rent-charger."[16] Yet this was as nothing compared with the prospect held out for New Jersey when James sold to the two favorites. There was constantly at hand the possibility that both government and soil might be subdivided and sold out in small portions if the claim to sub-infeudation was admitted.

---

[15] Osgood: *English Colonies in the Seventeenth Century,* II, p. 14.
[16] Doyle: *English Colonies in America,* IV, p. 315.

And yet if it were not so resolved, there was the danger of the separation of soil and government into different hands in which case the Crown or State would not be the source of land titles.

**The Concessions and Agreements**—Governor Carteret bore with him in addition to his Commission and Instructions as Governor a noteworthy document, which became for many years the basis of the government and settlement of New Jersey. This constitution, for such was its nature, was entitled *The Concessions and Agreements of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Cæsarea or New Jersey to and with all and every of the Adventures and all such as shall settle or plant there.* The very nature and purpose of such a document caused its provisions to be of three types—those relating to land settlement, to private rights, and finally to political organization.

In his commission and instructions Carteret had been authorized "to make, do, perform, and execute all and every act and acts, Thing and Things, Power and Authorities whatsoever which we ourselves (*i. e.* the Lords Proprietors) may, can, ought or could do in, for, relating, or concerning the Government both Civil and Military of the said Province." Such executive powers were to be exercised "by and with the Major Part of your Council or the Major Part of them Resident in our said Province." The Council might consist of "Twelve able Men at most; and six at least," and in the Concessions, which, of course were more publicly known, he was to have the advice and consent of three of the six, or four of a greater number," not requiring a majority as his instructions read. The executive functions were defined as (1) seeing "That all courts established by the Lawes of General Assembly and all ministers and officers Civile and Military doe execute their severall Duties offices respectively according to the Laws in force and to punish them for serving from the Lawes. . . ," (2) to nominate and commission "the various officials" provided that they appoint none but such as are freeholders in the Province aforesaid unless the general assembly consent, (3) to create courts with criminal jurisdiction to enforce the laws of Assembly, (4) to organize militia and defense, (5) to reprieve convicted persons until the pleasure of the Lords Proprietors be known, the offenders to remain in custody till that time, (6) to summon representatives by writs of election, (7) to make grants of lands to eligible claimants, and (8) generally to do all things that may conduce to "the safety, peace and well-government of the said Province as they shall see fit, soe as they bee not contrary to the Lawes of the said Province." The only reference to the Indians occurs in the instructions where the Governor and Council are instructed should they find any natives to "treat them with all humanity and kindness and not in any wise greive or oppress them but endeavour by a Christian carriage to manifest Piety, Justice and Charity, and in your conversation with them, the manifestation whereof will prove beneficial to the Planters and likewise advantageous to the Propagation of the Gospel."

Under the Governor the chief executive officials were:—the "Chiefe Secretary" more frequently referred to as Register whose duties were to keep a record in "faire bookes of all publique affairs," land grants and leases; a Surveyor General "to lay out and bound all such lands as shall be granted." These two officers might be suspended by the Governor and Council for misbehavior, until appeal to the Lords Proprietors.

The Governor, Council and Representatives were to form a General Assembly for the Province. At first twelve representatives of the freeholders were to constitute the lower house, until the country be settled in "Parishes, Divisions, tribes or other distinctions." They were to meet annually, the elections being held on the first of January and should the Governor and Council refuse attendance they "may appoint themselves a President during the absence of the Governor or his Deputy Governor." The Assembly was authorized:

(1) to fix times, sessions and quorum (the latter not to be less than the third part of the whole);

(2) to make all such Lawes, Actes and Constitutions as shall be necessary for the well government of the said Province; Provided that the same be consonant to reason and as neare as may be conveniently agreeable to the Lawes and Customs of England or against the interest of Proprietors or their heirs;

(3) to constitute courts, salaries, fees;

(4) to lay equal taxes upon all lands, except unsettled lands of the proprietors; and upon persons, etc., as seems most equal and easie for the said inhabitants in order to the better supporting of the publique charge of the said Government, and for the martiall safetye, defence and securitie of the said Province;

(5) to create local divisions, ports of entry and with privileges and franchises as most conducive to the general good of the Province;

(6) and (7) fortifications and militia;

(8) naturalize all strangers as shall seem meet;

(9) to prescribe the quantity of head lands not in excess of herein contained quantity;

(10) to provide for maintenance and support of the government and the defraying of all necessary charges of the Government, as also that the Constables of the said Province shall collect the Lords' Rent—unless the assembly provide another way without charge to Lords;

(11) lastly to enact, constitute and ordain all such other Lawes, Acts and Constitutions as shall or may be necessary for the good prosperity and settlement of the said Province;

The power of the Assembly was limited in the Governor's instructions by the requirement that no law might be in effect for longer than a year and a half without being returned within the first year to England for the assent of the proprietors.

Of particular importance were the guarantees of private rights. Noth-

LORD CAMDEN

ing could be so conductive to rapid settlement and immigration as the promulgation of guarantees of the freedom of individual conduct and opinion. Whether it was in real accord with the proprietors' personal sentiments or not they knew the necessity of simulating liberal terms if they were to attract colonists. All those who, in addition to the officers and representatives, swore or subscribed their "Allegiance to the King and faithfullness to the Lords," and were admitted to plant and settle in the colony, became freemen of the province and entitled to the "Freedoms and Immunities" named.

The privileges were of course dependent on the good-will of the proprietors and might be withdrawn at any moment by either proprietors or General Assembly, but vested rights developing under them were protected, "such stopp shall not any way prejudice the right and continuance of any person that hath been received before such stopp." There was an absolute guarantee of liberty of "opinion and practice in matters of religious concernements," when not carried to licentiousness or disturbance of the civil peace. And to make this specially extend to the persecuted English nonconformists the liberty was specifically asserted despite "any Law, Statute, clause conteyned or to be conteyned, usage or custome of this Realme of England to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding." Further to give additional strength to this liberty and "that no pretence may be taken by our heirs. . . by our right of Patronage or power of Advowson Wee doe hereby graunt unto the Generall Assembly of the said Province power by Act to constitute and appoint such and soe many ministers or preachers as they shall think fitt. . . ," still allowing private persons to maintain their own ministers.

Other provisions for the better security of the inhabitants were:

(1) that no tax, custom, assessment etc. be imposed save by authority and consent of the General Assembly, and as they prescribe;

(2) seven years possession of land from first surveying shall operate as prescription against review or resurvey;

(3) no fine to be imposed for the grazing of cattle on unappropriated land although this was not to give rise to any right of commons;

(4) the inhabitants of the province to have free right of passage across or through any waters connecting the interior with the coast.

Now it must not be imagined that Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley were primarily interested in the liberal political terms of the Concessions. These provisions were almost entirely copied *verbatim* from the constitution of the Carolinas in which Carteret and Berkeley were interested. The rights of individual liberty and the free institutions were as so much bait to tempt the dubious but prospective settlers from Old and New England and the Continent. They wanted settlers—settlers at any cost—for without inhabitants a proprietary colony was an expensive luxury. The real purpose of the broken down cavaliers in engaging in colonial enterprises was to profit as rapidly and as certainly as possible by extensive land sales and rentals. From their point of view the most important features of the Con-

cessions were the clauses which lay down the policy for land settlement, or as the Concessions phrased it "that the planting of the said Province may be the more speedily promoted." The chief inducement offered was a free grant of land to settlers. The size of this grant was to depend upon the earliness of the arrival, upon whether the immigrant was bond or free, and upon payment of their own passage, etc. Those freemen departing with the first expedition, and being provided at their own expense with musket, ammunition and provisions for six months should receive 150 acres, for each male servant another 150 acres, for female servants 75 acres; those going out within the first year were to receive 120 acres, and 60 acres for the other groups; in the second year 90 acres and 45 acres; in the third year 60 acres etc. In order to secure full title all those profiting by such grants must agree to keep one man upon each 100 acres for the ensuing thirteen years. In payment for these lands which the Governor and Council were allowed to authorize, the instructions to the Governor made it very clear that no grant should be made unless reserving for "every Accre, English measure . . . . one Half-penny lawful money of England, yearly Rent; to be paid to us, our Heires and Assigns for ever, on every Five and Twentieth Day of March according to the English account; the first payment thereof to begin on the Twenty-Fifth day of March which shall be in the year of your Lord according to English Account, One Thousand and Six Hundred and Seventy."

It will be observed as significant that, although provision was made for laying out cities and villages in which one-seventh of the lots were held for the proprietors, yet the characteristic form of land grant was to be grants to individuals, paying their own and servant's passage. The proprietors were quite resolved that the private purchase right would come only from conforming with the Concessions rules respecting the procedure of getting a piece of land, granted, surveyed and registered in the province. There was therefore no provision for town groups ordering themselves and compounding with the proprietors. Such a mode of procedure while not rendered impossible by the rules was not within their contemplation.

**The First Towns; The First Assembly**—When one reads the *Concessions* and *Instructions* of the new Proprietors, bearing in mind the treaty of peace and the old Nicolls grants, it is evident that a very peculiar situation had arisen. The same problem has never arisen in quite the same manner in any other part of the British Empire. In other proprietary colonies the authority of the Proprietor and the life of the settlement had a common origin. The success of the very first enterprises was thus bound up with the proprietary privilege and authority. But in this case the Duke of York, apparently under the impression that New Jersey was inhabited, had transferred to new owners a province already in process of settlement. Moreover he had not only conferred upon the new proprietors governmental jurisdiction of doubtful validity over a group of townships which had an independent civic existence, but had endowed them with the title to land in a region which was already partially in the hands of purchasers. It was a difficult

situation, one which should never have arisen, and which contained the possibility of innumerable discords and struggles.

There were five main settlements or regions of development. The most numerous group of settlers at the time of its transfer were the Dutch at Bergen, in the area now comprised within Jersey City. As early as 1618 or 1620, we are told, attempts had been made to establish plantations there by some Walloons. The Indian massacres previously described had kept the Dutch from continuous occupation till about 1661, when there were sufficient numbers to warrant the creation of a village organization of a sheriff and two schepens. The different settlements had been created under several names. The Indian name was Arisseoh. After its grant to Michael Poulaz or Pauw it seems to have had the name Pavonia, and the title Paulus Hook remained till well into the nineteenth century. Communipaw (Gemœnapogh), also within the boundaries of the present Jersey City, was similarly subject to frequent dissolution by Indian raids. Stragglers may have been settled at such places as the following, which retain their Indian names, as Hobuk, Wihac and Tappan.

By the articles of surrender, confirmed by treaty of peace, the Dutch were continued in their land holdings, and obviously Berkeley and Carteret must honor this. In so doing they required the Dutch not only to take oaths of allegiance to the Governor and of fidelity to the proprietors but to secure new patents for their lands. As Bergen had already a village government the settlers were able to make a collective bargain with the proprietors. On September 22, 1668, as a reward for their passive acceptance of the new régime and on condition of further adherence to the laws of the province the "Town and Freeholders of Bergen" were chartered by the Governor and Council, with a township extending over 11,520 acres, for which in lieu of the half penny per acre quitrent as in the *Concessions,* they compounded at £15 per annum. Freeholders were to be the freemen of the town, and were to have authority to divide the vacant lands in town meeting—which they soon did, creating 60 or 70 small holdings, and keeping 8,000 acres in common until as late as 1760. They were also to form a political unit choosing their own magistrates, constables, ministers and deputies. They had one complaint to make of English rule and that was really against some of their own number. "After the English had come into the Country," they declared in a petition to the Dutch commander during the temporary Dutch reconquest of 1672-74, "some of our people have artfully misled the English Governor Carteret and received from him some pieces of the common lands for their private pasturage and other purposes, especially Laurens Andriessen. Being a good friend of the English Governor [he was on the council] he obtained several pieces fraudulently, etc."[17] Fifteen years later two travellers from Holland in search of a good place for a Labadist colony considered Bergen as one of the most desirable spots. "The soil was very good and indeed of the best that we had anywhere seen."[18]

---

[17] *New Jersey Historical Society Proc.*, 3rd Ser., I, p. 12.
[18] *Journal* of Jasper Dankaerts, October 27, 1679.

Of the Nicolls patents the Monmouth purchase gave rise from the very start to two vigorous towns. Some twenty Long Islanders had investigated the district about Sandy Hook and Raritan Bay in December, 1663, and though the purchase from the natives was completed before the Nicolls grant was made, little progress in settlement was made before 1664. The first planters were John Bowne, Richard Stout, and three other families. By 1668 there were a hundred purchasers within two towns and in June of that year the local assembly of patentees resolved to admit no more purchasers," there being in numbers about one hundred and eighteen, as near as can at present be found."[19] They came mostly from Rhode Island and upper Long Island, and the first settlers were the persecuted Baptists and Quakers who met with such cruel treatment in New England and in New Netherlands. The settlements were upon three necks of land, whose Indian names were Navesink, Narumsink and Potapeck. The first name was frequently applied to the whole area as Neversinks, or Nevasunks. It properly was applied to the Highlands, the township of Middletown (one of the two towns) and extended along the Raritan Bay. Narumsunk extended between the Nevesink and Shewsbury rivers and included Shewsbury (the other of the two original towns), Red Bank and Tinton Falls. Potapeck was the strip of seashore now Long Branch, Deal, etc. From 1667 on the local courts authorized in the Nicolls patent were held with fair regularity. The chief meeting took upon itself the name "The General Assembly of the Patentees and Deputies" and met first at Portland Point, then at Shewsbury and Middletown alternately. It is a little difficult to tell whether town officers were chosen at this assembly by all, or whether each town reported its officers, for the official record indicates election at assembly but "by the inhabitants of Middletown," *e. g.* a constable, two overseers and two deputies; for Portland Point, three officers; for Shewsbury a constable, three overseers and deputies.[20]

Although the Proprietors had trouble with the Monmouth Quakers they were never in violent resistance to the proprietary order, and so, on May 28, 1672, the Governor and Council confirmed the privileges claimed by the towns, and two years later the Lords Proprietors ordered the patentees to receive 500 acres each upon their petition for such survey.

It was in the Elizabethtown tract that the most serious difficulties were to arise, and the question of title to this large region distracted the province for a hundred years. It was early in August, 1665, that Captain Philip Carteret, aged twenty-six, a fourth cousin of one of the Lords Proprietors, landed at the settlement from the ship "Philip." He was accompanied by Robert Vauquillin (de la Prière) surveyor general, Captain James Bollen, of New York, secretary of the province, and some thirty servants and laborers. Whether he was the more surprised at finding settlers, or the settlers at the arrival of a Governor representing a new power, we cannot say. The

---

[19] Marcellus: *New Jersey Historical Society Proc.*, I, p. 166.

[20] Applegate: *Lawyers of Monmouth County*, p. 15; Ellis: *History of Monmouth County*, p. 86.

townspeople tell that he "went up from the place of his landing, with them, carrying a hoe on his shoulder, thereby intimating his intention of becoming a planter."[21]

How many settlers there were has been violently disputed. The proprietors later claimed that Carteret found four settlers. The townsfolk claimed eighty. As the early records are lost no solution is possible. That he made no protest we can well understand, for he was "glad, no doubt to find so promising a beginning in the settlement of the occupied and unexplored territory over which he was to rule."[22] But one must believe that settlers were already coming in, for within four weeks of the Dutch surrender, seven men, including John Bailey, two Dentons, John Foster and Luke Watson, had written Nicolls that they had "intended formerly to have purchased and settled" there, but "our intentions, notwithstanding our making some way with the Indians and charges and expenses about the premises, was obstructed by the then Ruling Dutch." They were then quite ready to begin settlement upon news of the English conquest.

It was this place which Philip Carteret chose as the seat of his government, naming the place after Lady Elizabeth Carteret. Six months later the male residents, some sixty-five in number, took the oaths required. Shortly after this, Carteret and one John Ogden bought out two of the original Elizabethtown patentees, John Bailey and Daniel Denton. Carteret's deed reads "all and every my lott or lotts part or parts of a certain piece of land situate and lying and being. . . known by the name of Arthur Cull or Emboyle. . . which said Parcell of Land he the said John Bayles, with several others did lawfully purchase from the Natives. . . " One of the chief causes of dissatisfaction and disturbance thus arose from Carteret's contention that he had purchased a one-third interest in that great tract of land seventeen miles by thirty-four miles. The townsmen contended that all he purchased was one share, for Bailey had seventy-nine associates according to their reckoning; only two associates, Denton and Luke Watson (and Denton was now bought out), according to Carteret's reckoning.

The procedure of setting up a new town is described by a contemporary. "The usual way, is for a Company of people to joyn together, either enough to make a town, or a lesser number, these go with the consent of the Governor, and view a tract of land, there being choice enough, and finding a place convenient for a town, they return to the Governor, who upon their desire admits them into the colony and gives them a grant of Patent for the said land, for themselves and Associates. These persons being thus qualified, settle the place, and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till the Town be full." This was the procedure at Monmouth and was quite the expectation of the Elizabethtown purchasers.

These three, Carteret, Ogden, and Watson seemed to have no doubts as to their position. For in a short time, on May 21, 1666, they agreed with

---

[21] *Answer to Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery*, p. 20.
[22] Hatfield: *History of Elizabeth*, p. 44.

and sold to Daniel Pierce, John Pike and Andrew Tappan for £80 a tract of land cut out of the Elizabethtown purchase for two new towns, Woodbridge and Piscataway to be located upon the Rahway and Raritan rivers. The latter of these, along the Raritan, remained for some fifteen or more years the last English settlement on the route from New York to the Delaware River. It was named after Piscataqua, the Indian name of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Woodbridge was named after the Rev. James Woodbridge of Newbury, Massachusetts, from which town many of the settlers came.

Perhaps the first grant of land made by Carteret in his official capacity as Governor was of a township upon the Passaic River called Milford, later Newark. This was the only case of a New England congregation migrating as a unit to New Jersey. They had come originally from Lynn, Massachusetts, then had gone to Southampton, Long Island, some to Brantford, Connecticut. Robert Treat, Samuel Swan and sixty-four members took part in the original purchase. Most went from Brantford, but a few came from Milford. The name of the town was changed to Newark, after the English city of that name from which their minister came. The compact the colonists signed has become famous. "That none shall be admitted free men or free Burgesses within our Town, upon Passaick River, in the province of New Jersey, but such plantees as are members of some or other of the Congregational Churches; nor shall any but such be chosen to magistracy, or to carry on any part of Civil Judicature, or as deputies or assistants to have power to vote in establishing Laws, and making or repealing them, or to any chief Military Trust or Office. Nor shall any but such Church Members have any Vote in any such election; Tho' all others admitted to be plantees have the Right to their proper inheritances, and do and shall enjoy all other Civill Liberties and Privileges, according to Laws, Orders, Grants, which are or hereafter shall be made for the Town. 2 We shall with Care and Diligence provide for the maintenance of the purity of Religion professed in the Congregational Churches."[23]

Newark is thus said to be the only case outside New England where Congregationalists made a settlement with such exclusive barriers. There at least town and church were synonymous. The political town and its membership was coincident with and limited to that of the Church. The civil officers were the officials for administering the church's worldly affairs. The choicest lands were devoted to the church's support, the minister's salary raised by tax upon the town, and for more than fifty years the government of the town was essentially a government by and for its church. The town hall and market and town burial ground were all located upon the church property, thus giving rise to a great lawsuit in 1893.[24]

But other types of settlers introduced different conditions. The "purity of religion" so ardently to be protected was lost, Presbyterianism gradually crept in till the church had lost its congregational character unnoticed. Then

---

[23] *Newark Town Records*, p. 2.

[24] *Mayor of Newark v. George Watson et. al.*, [the Newark Burial Ground Case] 1893.

in 1753 a royal charter created a religious corporation to hold the property of the Church, and when the town government was separated the Church officers selected and controlled the town officials. "I acted," says a recent writer, "for thirty years under that ancient charter as the virtual President of the old town of Newark, appointed to my office by the ruling elders of the Church."[25]

For the first few years development went on unhindered. Quit rents of ½d per acre were not due until 1670, so that each person in the colony was free to concern himself with economic affairs, the clearing and laying out of the land, building houses, sowing grain, breeding cattle and producing those first necessaries of a simple agricultural life.

The functions of the Governor and Council were almost entirely restricted to granting land, issuing surveys and registering titles. The Council was composed at first of Captain Nicholas Verlett, Daniel Pierce, Robert Bond, Samuel Edsall, Robert Vauquellin, William Pardon, and James Bollen, Secretary. Of these only one represented the local settlers, Robert Bond, the sole New Englander. Vauquelin, a Frenchman, naturalized in 1670, was surveyor general, Pardon was from England. Later were added Lawrence Andriessen of Bergen, John Pike and John Bishop of Woodbridge. There were so few events of public interest that Carteret did not deem it necessary to call an Assembly until three years had elapsed. Undoubtedly what the province needed was continuous attention to industry and trade, with as little interference or agitation of a political nature as possible.

The result was that the actual government of New Jersey, administration of justice, the discussion of matters of policy and the formulation of objectives to be sought, took place in the town meetings. These self-dependent groups were thus given time and opportunity to learn common action, to become acquainted with their town institution and community interests before coming into contact with the Proprietors or even with the Governor and Council.

The Assembly was finally called in 1668. Perhaps the meeting of the Monmouth Assembly in 1667 was the reason that Carteret thought the proper time had come. The basis of representation was inevitably the township, as in New England. The inhabitants of each of Bergen, Newark, Elizabeth, Woodbridge, Monmouth were instructed to make choice of "two able men that are freeholders and dwellers within the said limits to be your Burgesses and Representatives for you."[26]

The first session lasted for five days, commencing May 25, 1668, at Elizabethtown. In good Puritan style, the first action was passing a bill of pains and penalties, practically enacting the Levitical code. Thirteen offenses were enumerated for which the death penalty was imposed; among them were witchcraft, undutiful children, incorrigible thieving (*i. e.* third offenders). The Assembly was not lax in its duty to the proprietors.

---

[25] W. S. Nichols: *Early Newark as a Puritan Theocracy*: in New Jersey Historical Society Proc., N. S. V., p. 204.

[26] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 56-57.

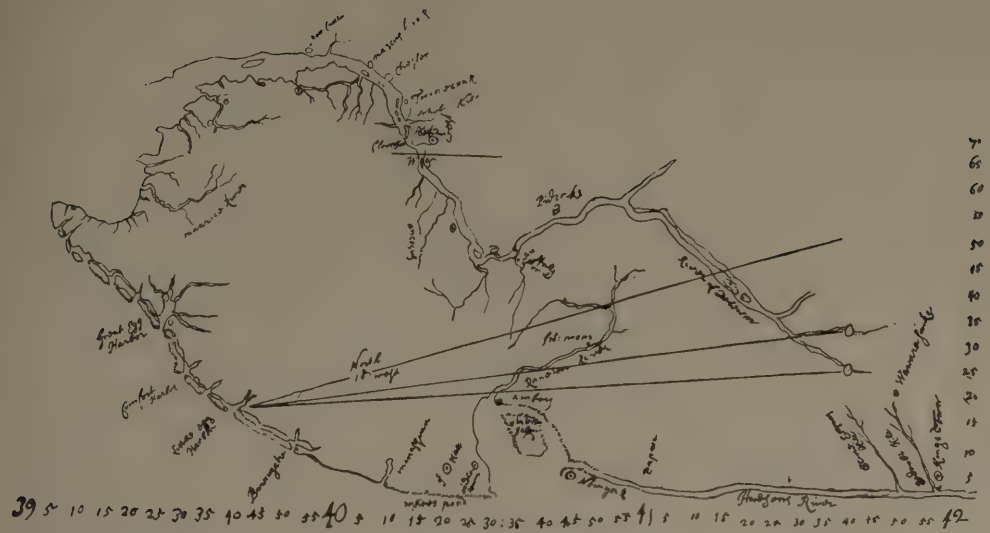
Resistance to their authority in word or action was penalized by fine or corporal punishment at the judgment of the court. Indian fears were revealed by the provision that all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty must have military arms, or be fined. A levy of £5 per town, payable in kind, was imposed as the first provincial tax for the support of the government. The problem of indentured servants—those who were sold for a certain period of years to pay for their passage—was dealt with by doubling their term of bondage for attempted flight. This did not end the problem of the runaway servant which became greater as the population increased and as more farmers became willing to hire them and ask no questions. Each town was instructed to choose two fence-viewers and to keep a pound for strayed cattle. After passing these laws the assembly was prorogued, despite Carteret's wish that it should pass further legislation dealing with false oath-taking, the private liquor trade with the Indians, etc.

A second session of the Assembly, as provided for by the first, was held the following November. There were now two deputies present from the Delaware, but the total remained ten, for the Monmouth deputies, who would not subscribe the oaths without provisos reserving their town rights, were dismissed. A variety of laws were passed, *e. g.*, four days militia service for all males, branding of horses, regulating the charges for provisions at the inn each town must keep, laying a £10 fine upon private trade with the natives.

To the old levy of £30 was added another of £12, and two deputies were authorized to collect the arrears in Middletown and Shewsbury and ask whether "they will submit to lawes and government of this" province under Berkeley and Carteret as proprietors. It appears that these two towns had led the attack upon proprietary authority and had refused obedience by reason of their Nicolls Charter. Not only would they not collect the levy made by the Assembly, but they persisted in choosing anti-proprietary freeholders for local office, and surpressing publication of Carteret's orders. The same spirit was by then felt in other communities and the second session came to an abrupt end after four days duration with an expressed feeling of dissatisfaction on the part of the deputies because the Governor and Council sat apart from them. The Assembly was dissolved when the deputies addressed a message to the Governor asking for joint sessions, and protesting against "your expectations that things must go according to your opinions though we see no reason for, much less warrant from the Concessions."[27]

**The June Riots, 1670; and The Disorganizing Assembly**—Although there had been signs of opposition to the proprietary authority and government it did not come to a head until 1670—for March 25 of that year was the date set in the Concessions for the first collection of quitrents and would therefore be the first occasion for the exercise of proprietary claims which would really touch the settlers' interests. The scarcely veiled dissatisfaction

[27] Leaming and Spicer: *Grants and Concessions*, p. 9.



MAP OF NEW JERSEY IN 1680.

*Residence of Joseph Buonaparte, Bordentown.*

which the New Englanders settled in the province had felt at their position now came into open expression and took the definite form of resistance and the enunciation of their counter claims. The Monmouth patentees who had till this time been the center of passive resistance were soon superseded in the leadership of the anti-proprietary party by the Elizabeth townsmen, amongst whom the Governor resided. It was in that town that the first open violence and active opposition was manifested.

I think we may largely discount the "natural opposition" of the New Englanders to the new Governor and his political authority. It is true that most of them had grown up in the Commonwealth period of Puritan supremacy and might not look with too great favor on a Stuart representative. Moreover Philip Carteret was of the Church of England, while they were of varying religious complexions themselves—Congregationalists at Newark, Quakers and Baptists at Monmouth, Dutch Reformed at Bergen. But undoubtedly an influx of settlers especially from Old England would undermine the opposition. Nor was the opposition based on objection to the proprietary government as such, for they did not and could not expect their towns to be independent republics for all time. The fundamental ground of opposition was of the proprietors' creation. It was their claim to the soil and the proposal to levy quitrents in perpetuity from all freeholders in the province, no matter how long settled nor how they had acquired their land. This deepseated source of irritation came to light in many different forms and bases of opposition. One of these had been the desire to have the Council sit with the Assembly in 1668, so that it might be dominated by the popular representatives. Other causes of friction soon multiplied. Woodbridge and Piscataway were ordered in April, 1670, not to dispose of the proprietors' lands nor divide their meadows. Then the Governor seized a vessel belonging to a Captain William Hachett for not entering and paying dues in New Jersey after it had done so at New York. Governor Carteret created a court to try the case, though the institution of courts rested in the Concessions with the Assembly. Thus further indignation was aroused, and the first jury declared the case was of "too great waight for them."[28]

Additional cause for the colonists' perturbed state of mind was provided by the rumors regarding their political future. In 1669 both the Lords Proprietors were in trouble in England. Lord Berkeley had been "detected in the basest corruption" and deprived of office, and "offers to surrender up the Patent for New Jersey." Sir George Carteret, accused as a defaulter in his accounts as Treasurer of the Navy, was expelled from the House of Commons after an investigation by a Parliamentary Committee. It was thought he would surrender his rights and exchange New Jersey for lands along the Delaware.[29] The future was so hazy that the Newark town meeting sent

[28] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 64.

[29] The proposed surrender and new grant are in *New Jersey Historical Society Proc.*, 2nd Ser., IV, p. 187.

deputies to ask Colonel Lovelace of New York "concerning our standing whether we are designed to be part of the Duke's Colony or not." There is never any suggestion that the colonists had a constitutional objection to proprietary government under the Duke of York.

The first actual rioting came from an act of Governor Carteret's. It has been noted that Carteret interpreted his purchase of a share in the Elizabeth tract as if he had a third part interest in the area, whereas the townsfolk took it that he was but one of eighty. They had for some years continued to act in town meeting as though their view was correct. Whether Carteret presided at such meetings as some allege can never be known, at any rate town meeting regulations governed land apportionment. They had divided themselves into three classes, known as first lot, second lot and third lot men, apparently in proportion to the share they had borne in the purchase of the land from the Indians, and each category receiving similarly variable allotments as the country was apportioned from time to time, *i. e.* a second lot man received twice as much as a first lot man, a third lot right was thrice the first lot right, etc.

However, in 1670, on the expiration of the term of service of one of his indentured servants, Carteret, without consulting the town, conferred upon this Claude Valott, a third lot right. A few months later he made another gift of land in the town to a Richard Michell. In high indignation the associates of Elizabethtown, thinking Carteret possessed but two third lot rights, decided by "major vote that Richard Michell should not enjoy his lot given him by the governor."[30] Upon this some of the more turbulent townsmen, including many prominent settlers such as William Meeker, John Ogden, Luke Watson, etc., went out and pulled down Michell's fence.

From this time on the course of events moved rapidly from simple violence to organized revolt. Though the sequence of actions and their relations are vague and indistinct (for the early Elizabethtown records and provincial papers are lost) yet all tendencies seem to have been subversive of the proprietary authority. Carteret was forced to postpone for the time the prosecution of the riots, partly because the inferior town courts were not favorable to his claims. Perhaps he sought reconciliation, for on October 13, 1671, he is found commissioning as constable of Elizabeth the newly elected William Meeker, ring leader in the June riots. But the riots were not forgotten by the Governor. It appears that an Assembly had been called for October, 1671, and it is supposed to have declared the Monmouth districts in contempt for their reservation of rights of 1668-69. Whether this Assembly, as Hatfield declares, authorized the creation of a new court or whether, as Field avers, the jurisdiction of the courts of Bergen and Woodbridge was extended to the whole province, cannot be decided. In any case a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was authorized, and eight rioters brought to trial, convicted and fined in March, 1672. But with overwhelming popular support, they defied the court, walked out of the court room and refused to pay their fines.

---

[30] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 84.

The struggle which had really commenced as an internal town matter in Elizabeth now became of province-wide importance by the elevation of the town's right to control the admission of freeholders into an independent claim to title, land and jurisdiction. The moment the controversy was placed upon the high ground of maintaining privileges obtained from Colonel Nicolls and land bought from the Indians, it was taken up by the other colonists. In defense of their town charter rights they were all united. Newark, Bergen, Piscataway as well as Elizabeth joined in the refusal of quitrents. Bitter controversy developed in later years over the matter. Samuel Smith, the colonial and first historian of the province, writing eighty years later, the mildest of critics, simply notes that "the Elizabethtown purchasers and others, setting up a right differing in some respects from that of the Proprietors, and other incidents falling out, which though of themselves inconsiderable, and others one would think might then easily have been settled, yet nourished by a more vindictive spirit on all sides than was immediately necessary, they occasioned much disturbance."[31]

Most frequently defenders of the proprietary claims have inadequately stated the settlers' position, and have pictured them as squatters and as claimants under an illegal Indian title. Thus says Whitehead "the title thus acquired (from the Indians) they attempted to uphold as superior to any rights the proprietors could have, and following the example of Middletown and Shewsbury, even claimed the right of government within their respective tracts."[32] The facts as we have seen show that they had at least an equitable right under the Nicolls patents and it is at least comprehensible that they, many being colonial born and educated, should resent the claim of quitrents by proprietors to whom they owed nothing.

Finally a Revolutionary Assembly met. The first session may have been in March, 1672, but the important meeting was in May. On May 13, the town of Newark appointed two men to "consult with the rest of the representatives of the Country, to order matters for the safety of the Country." And on May 14, the "disorganizing assembly" came into existence at Elizabeth. When Philip Carteret, as was expected, refused his sanction and would not attend the Assembly, it proceeded to business and, relying upon an ambiguous section of the Concessions, declared his post vacant and chose a new president. This was Captain James Carteret, second son of Sir George Carteret and that time present in the colony on his way to Carolina. Foolishly entering into the controversy, he accepted the rôle and ordered the arrest of William Pardon, friend of Philip Carteret, by William Meeker and the seizure of his goods. The Governor and most of his Council fled to Bergen. From there were issued declarations, proclamations and protestations of every sort against the Assembly and its president. They promised the "Chief Actors" an act of oblivion if they would submit, and rewarded the Monmouth patent-

[31] S. Smith: *History of the Colony of New Jersey*, p. 68.

[32] *New Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments*, 1st Ed., p. 54-55. Different phraseology in 2nd Ed., p. 65.

ees for non-participation in the Assembly, with a confirmation of the rights and privileges of the Nicolls patent. But it was soon evident that such treatment would be of no avail while James Carteret gave aid and comfort to the "mutineers" and put himself at their head. They feared his "continuall threatening" against the Governor's friends, for he had "persons adhering to him that probably will be ready to execute his will so they may have the Plundering of others Estates." They were at a loss when he claimed authority from the King, and asserted that he had "Power sufficient, he being Sir George Carteret's sonn, and that he himself is Proprietor and can put out the Governor as hee pleases." Especially was their pride wounded when he "doth not shew any grant or Commission or Legal Power to doe any such thing, but saith he scorneth to shew his Power to such fellows as wee, neither need he so do being on his own land." Accordingly the Council advised Philip Carteret and a Councillor, Samuel Moore, to leave Captain John Berry as deputy and repair to England "to endeavour to curing this wound by speedy medicine which delay may cause to gangrene." A word or two from the Lords Proprietors they felt would settle the matter, restore the spirit of the faithful and subdue the disaffected—or as they put it "administer that which is Just and Equal to all, Encouragment to those that merit it and Reproof to Evil doers."[33]

Governor Carteret and Moore set out for England to present the case to the Lords Proprietors and left the revolutionary party in control in New Jersey. "The established authority fell into contempt," says the monumental and patriotic George Bancroft, "and the colonists conscious of their ability to take care of themselves, appointed their own magistrates, and managed their own government. Philip Carteret withdrew to England, leaving the Colonists to domestic peace."[34] Upon which the local historian, Whitehead, exclaims "Alas, for the teachings of history if broken faith, insurrection and injustice can be thus lightly passed over."[35]

**The Dutch Recapture; the Restoration of the Proprietors**—The violent methods of the anti-proprietary party were not long successful. The revolt had been accomplished too easily to be secure. And meanwhile Philip Carteret had arrived in England and got wholehearted support from all authorities. The Lords Proprietors accepted his version and affirmed their approval of his actions. The Duke of York wrote Governor Lovelace of New York protesting against the "contentious persons setting up pretended grants" from Colonel Nicolls, "both of which grants (being posterior to my said grant of the 24 June, 1664) as I am informed are void in Law," and so told Lovelace to give no countenance to them.[36] The proprietors were also able to secure a letter from King Charles II to Captain John Berry, Carteret's deputy, charging and commanding all persons " . . . to yield obedi-

---

[33] *New Jersey Archives,* I, pp. 94-97.
[34] Bancroft: *History of United States,* II, p. 318.
[35] Whitehead: *New Jersey under Proprietary Governments,* p. 56.
[36] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 97-98.

ence to the laws and government then settled and established by the said Lords Proprietors, having the sole power under us to settle and dispose of the said Country . . . upon pain of incurring our high displeasure."[37]

Rumors of the attitude of the English authorities may have begun to penetrate New Jersey early in 1673. The position of the popular party was soon seen to be somewhat insecure. Meeker and his fellow rioters were tried and on conviction sentenced to forfeit, the first his estates, the others being fined £10 each. To offset this, Meeker was partially compensated by the voluntary contributions of his fellow-townsmen. But the proprietary faction were apparently getting the upper hand, and ruin faced the "Indian title" claimants.

At this point James Carteret and his wife set sail in July, 1673, from New York for Carolina. War had just broken out with Holland (March, 1672) and their vessel was taken by the Dutch fleet then in American waters. Carteret and his wife were put ashore in Virginia to continue their journey by land. What reasons James Carteret had for his conduct in the New Jersey riots will never be known. As second son of the Lord Proprietor he had followed the sea all his life, having command of a merchantman in the Indian trade in 1660 and of a warship after the Restoration. During the French war he had served on the Duke of York's flagship at St. Christopher in 1667, for which reason he claimed to have special royal favor. Coming to America in 1670 apparently to view his father's possession, he had been well received at New York and in New Jersey; he was created landgrave in Carolina under Locke's fantastic scheme and was now going there. Perhaps he had quarreled with Governor Philip Carteret on his first arrival; perhaps he had just heard of his eldest brother's death early in 1672 and regarded himself as heir, whereas this brother, Philip, had left an infant son George, thus excluding him. At any rate if he had ever been of any stability of character he seems now to have undergone a very rapid moral decline. He had just married the daughter of the mayor of New York. Sir George disowned him after his part in the New Jersey troubles and ten years later it was common knowledge that "he has so lived with his wife that her father has been compelled to take her home again."[38] From Virginia he returned to Manhattan and when Dankaerts saw him in Harlem in 1679 his drunken and boisterous life leaves little doubt but that he was "a very profligate person."

On board the vessel in which James Carteret and his wife were voyaging when captured by the Dutch was one Samuel Hopkins, a coastwise trader and one of the popular party in New Jersey. The captain of the ship, Davis, gave account of the defences of New York and recent preparation to withstand attack. But Samuel Hopkins in spite, for he was probably flying the country in view of proprietary victory, told the enemy it was false, and "that New Yorke was in no condicion to defend itselfe agt the Dutch."[39] The

[37] Leaming and Spicer: *Grants and Concessions*, p. 39.
[38] Danckaerts' *Journal*, October 6, 1679.
[39] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 121.

Dutch fleet was therefore brought up to New York, which capitulated without a struggle and New Netherlands was again organized as a political entity. Hopkins easily persuaded the Dutch commander to take possession of New Jersey or at least of the neighboring settlements. Both Lovelace and Berry were deposed, and the six towns, Elizabeth, Newark, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Shrewsbury and Middletown came into the Dutch hands. They were authorized to choose double numbers of candidates for schepens and magistrates and from these the Dutch generals and Council of War chose the officials. On September 1, 1673, we find Mr. John Ogden is commissioned Schout and Mr. Samuel Hopkins rewarded with the post of Secretary of the Province.

But the contest between the proprietary and anti-proprietary parties was not yet ended. Indeed the proprietary group was coming again into ascendance "had not the Dutch unhappily come in and nipt us in the bud, to whom the old turbulent people were more willing to submit, than to their lawful King and Lord," as Philip Carteret's Council later declared.[40] Nor in fact did they lose entire hold under the Dutch, for we find the remaining members of the Council seeking to present the records of the province being turned over to Hopkins; and likewise we find them complaining of Robert Lapriere (Vauquellin) for removing some of Carteret's goods sequestered by the new authorities. It was apparent at this time that the Elizabethtown records disappeared so as to prevent the true course of the preceding action ever being discovered.

The rioters' hopes, which were dependent upon the continuance of Dutch rule, were doomed to disappointment. The war between England and Holland came to an end by the Treaty of Westminister, February 9, 1674, and provided for the mutual restoration of captures and conquests. New Netherlands thus came to a final end, and New York and New Jersey again came under British rule. They were formally reoccupied in November, 1674, on the arrival of two governors—Edmund Andros and Philip Carteret.

The Dutch occupation left no permanent effects upon the situation in Northeastern Jersey. According to law the province reverted to the Crown, and in view of this King Charles regranted to York in June, 1674, the former jurisdictions; whereupon York reconveyed to Sir George Carteret the eastern portion, Berkeley having disposed of his interest, as we shall see. Philip Carteret could, therefore, return to East New Jersey, as this part of the colony was now called, fully assured with all the proclamations which had been secured prior to the Dutch reconquest. The accumulated letters and plans for restoring order were again made operative. He had a full confirmation of his power, none of his grants were to be upset, while the Nicolls claimants must secure valid title by taking out new patents. Those towns which had been passive and not active in resistance were rewarded, the Monmouth privileges were again confirmed and the town authorized "to make such prudential laws as were necessary." As a further favor for the Neversink settlers,

[40] Quoted in Hatfield: *History of Elizabeth*, p. 179.

those who had Indian titles might petition for new surveys, become incorporated and receive 500 acres apiece upon surrender of their old claims. Woodbridge, which had never joined the revolters, was to have one-third of its rents remitted for seven years. Those individuals who had suffered were rewarded by grants of cash or lands, as William Pardon, 500 acres; Samuel Moore £10 for seven years, and Secretary Bollen likewise compensated.

But most important of all was the "Declaration of the True Interest and Meaning, and Explanation of the Concessions" which had been drafted by the Lords Proprietors in 1672 and was now reissued by Sir George Carteret. The chief purport of this was to increase the power of the Governor and Council and to relieve him of certain phrases relating to the General Assembly which had proved inconvenient or subject to differing interpretations. The claim to joint sessions of Council and Assembly and therefore of Assembly to elect a president as deputy is rejected. "In all General Assemblies the Governor and his Council are to sit by themselves and the deputies or representatives by themselves, and whatever they do propose to be presented to the Governor and his Council, and upon this confirmation to pass for an act or law, when confirmed by us."[41] The Governor and Council are to admit planters, make grants of land, and commissionate all officers to the last court of appeal. Towns are to be laid out by the surveyor general as ordered by Council with consent of the "freeholders and first undertakers thereof." The Governor and Council may call and adjourn the Assembly at such times as convenient, and only holders of land under proprietary patent may be chosen for office.

It was thus an out-and-out victory for the proprietary party. The old Council was reconstituted, many of the leading insurgents fled, and the machinery of government again set in motion under the Concessions as newly interpreted. But Carteret had apparently learned to compromise, as also had the settlers, and for some years the spirit of strife declined. And though Whitehead suggests that tranquility may have been due to circumstances and not friendliness, very probably all felt that tolerance was the better policy. At any rate "every addition to the population served to strengthen the government, and we, therefore, find no attempt at any further open revolutionary movement."[42]

Annual Assemblies were held between 1675 and 1680 and the deputies seemed to have met the Governor's attempts at reconciliation in a reciprocal spirit. An act of oblivion passed by the first Assembly allowing judgments obtained between 1670-73 to stand was met by a free pardon from the Governor and Council for all taking part in late disturbances. All language tending to revive past differences was prohibited, and retailers of false news "when the minds of people are frequently disquieted or exasperated in relation to publick affairs" were penalized. Revenue for the Governor was

41 *New Jersey Archives*, I, pp. 99-101, 167-75.
42 Whitehead: *East Jersey Under Proprietary Governments*, 1st Ed., p. 68.

granted, collectible by town constables and payable to the Treasurer of the Province.[43]

Many satisfactory laws respecting property and its protection, impounding strays, regulating liquor trade and inns, etc., were passed. The customary "blue laws" were still in force. The first English Thanksgiving was authorized for the second Wednesday in November, 1676. The Assembly made its most important contribution in the field of justice. Almost the first thing had been the creation of four counties—Bergen, Elizabethtown and Newark, Woodbridge, and Piscataway, and the Navysinks—in which courts were to sit twice annually. The members of the courts were to be "elected out of the County." Although appeal was stated to be to the bench and chancery, the only courts above the county were (a) the Court of Assize, held annually at Woodbridge or when appointed by Council, and (b) the Governor and Council acting as the highest court. Most important, however, for the common man was the Monthly Court of small causes for each town, composed (if not in conflict with the local charter) of three selectmen elected annually, one of whom should be a justice of the peace. There was also to be a grand jury chosen for each township under oath to take notice of all transgressors and present them to the next court. An early and memorable guarantee (1678) was that "no man within this province shall be deprived of the benefit of the Common law, and a free process therein, as of right belongs to every free English subject, and therefore no stops in the course of justice and equity to be made from pretense."[44] The scarcity of legal training and knowledge of technicalities of the law also resulted in a prohibition in 1676 upon justices of the peace acting as attorneys or advocates.

The results of Carteret's policy of conciliation may readily be perceived in the peaceful settlement. On March 11, 1675, the people of Elizabeth voted proposing to pay £20 per annum in lieu of quitrents for a township of eight miles square, "which we do apprehend may be sufficient in regard to the badness of the soil, which has deceived us and the half or more being waste land."[45] The Governor and Council refused the offer and demanded that they secure new patents for their lands. Finally, the townsfolk submitted. Between 1675 and 1678, eighty-five had applied for new patents, the last being the stubborn old John Ogden.

Piscataway and Newark were likewise made to secure new land titles which always stipulated the necessity of paying quitrents. The Woodbridge and Monmouth settlers were allowed to apportion their lands as they desired in town meeting, and received patents from the Governor and Council according to such action. The very fact that these titles were now registered under the Concessions meant that the proprietors had won a legal victory. It did not mean, however, that they had succeeded in collecting the quitrents. The nearest the proprietors had come in meeting the colonists' demands was

---

[43] These laws of the early Assemblies of East New Jersey may be found in Leaming and Spicer: *Grants and Concessions*, p. 94 ff.

[44] Leaming and Spicer: *op. cit., Laws of 1678 c. 6.*

[45] *Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery*, p. 42-43.

OLD VIEW OF THE COUNTY BUILDINGS, MOUNT HOLLY

*Ancient Plan of Burlington.*

[*References.*—1, 1. Old Market-houses. 2. Courthouse, (taken down in 1795 or 1796.) 3. Gov. Franklin's mansion. 4. Grounds of do. 5. Horace Binney's. 6. Mrs. Chester's. 7. Market-house. 8. Place of occasional meetings of the legislature. 9. Residence of Samuel Smith, treasurer of the colony. 10. St. Mary's church. 11. Ferry-house, (kept by Mr. Shepherd.) 12. Hay's Burlington House, (new.) 13. J. H. Sterling's house, (built in 1731.) 14. Town-wharf.]

in permitting the payment to be made in "country pay," that is, in produce instead of cash. The proprietors had thus forced the settlers to acknowledge the right to quitrents, but before the rents could be collected there was to be another struggle. So far the Governor had, in addition to the Concessions, Assembly laws and court authority, the tangible evidence of registered land titles to argue upon in enforcing the rights of the Lords Proprietors. Yet the actual enforcement of the claims was still to be accomplished.

# CHAPTER V.

## WEST NEW JERSEY—THE QUAKER EXPERIMENT

**The Situation on the Delaware**—Thus far the story of English colonization of New Jersey has been confined to the northeastern section. Up to this point little development had taken place upon either side of the Delaware River. The western shore had not yet come into the hands of William Penn, the eastern side remained very largely under the control of the older settled Swedes, Dutch and whatever New Englanders remained at Varcken's Kill. Upon the reduction of New Amsterdam and Albany by Colonel Nicolls in October, 1664, the Commissioners despatched Sir Robert Carr to take over the Delaware districts. He was instructed that the farmers and settlers should keep their lands "only that they change their masters, whether they be the West India Company or the City of Amsterdam. To the Swedes you shall remonstrate their happy return to a monarchical government."[1] He was specially ordered to protect residents from the troops, and prevent injuries, arranging for payment for rations. In this respect Carr was undoubtedly guilty of gross negligence. On arriving at Fort Armstel and demanding surrender, the Dutch, in no position to resist, had fired upon his approach. Their capitulation was, of course, a foregone conclusion and the terms were signed October 1, 1664, but Carr brutally seized many of the Swedes and Mennonite settlers in punishment for their ill-attempted resistance and sold them into servitude in Virginia.

New Amstel was renamed New Castle and became the headquarters of the Duke of York's government on the Delaware "until the King's pleasure was further known." The west shore of the Delaware was really outside James' grant but he continued to exercise jurisdiction upon both sides for several years. The river was no longer the center of fur trade, but in any case it had been ordered that "the Acts of Parliament shall be the rule for future trading," and under this ten per cent. customs duty was levied.[2]

In 1667 Nicolls had retired from America, and was succeeded the following year by Colonel Francis Lovelace as the Duke of York's Governor. An unsuccessful attempt at revolt under the Long Finne led to a further establishment on the Delaware. Besides a garrison of twenty men and officers being posted at New Castle, the civil government was vested in Captain Sir John Carr who was given five of the old inhabitants as Councillors "to advise, hear and determine by the major vote, what is just, equitable, and necessary in the case or cases in question."[3] In 1669 Lovelace extended the customs duties to Hoarkill (Lewestown) with a special collector, and a court was created to make personal appearance at New Castle unnecessary, with final

---

[1] The Instructions and Capitulations are in Smith: *History of Colony of New Jersey*, pp. 47, 49.

[2] S. Smith: *Idem*, pp. 48, 55.

[3] S. Smith: *Idem*, pp. 51-52.

appeal to New York. Samuel Smith, the colonial historian, regards this claim of ten per cent. as unjustified and a great burden. Perhaps Lovelace was simply carrying out the policy he had described in writing Carr after the attempted insurrection. "That as for the poor deluded sort, I think the advice of their own countrymen is not to be despised, who knowing their temper well, prescribed a method for keeping them in order, which is severity, and laying such taxes on them as may not give them liberty to entertain any other thoughts but how to discharge them."[4]

Not many new settlers had come in to the new region, although one or two grants of land by Carteret can be found. Yet two deputies from the Delaware settlements attended the second session of Philip Carteret's first Assembly in 1668. Captain Carr still remained in charge at New Castle but proved very negligent and inefficient. Especially did his handling of an Indian murder in 1671 bring censure upon him from Lovelace. This revelation of affairs led to a reorganization and in 1672 New Castle was incorporated with schout (sheriff), bailiff, six assistants, constable, and jurisdiction over cases up to £10. They enforced English law on both sides of the Delaware and presumably the "Duke's Laws."

It was at this time also that the Duke's jurisdiction was threatened from the South, for in 1672 a raid was made by Maryland supporters upon Hoarkill and the magistrates bound and property seized. During the Dutch reoccupation of 1673-74, Delaware was commanded by Peter Aldricks, nephew of a former Governor under the city of Amsterdam (1657-59). This interfered with what was apparently the first real undertaking of the proprietors to settle on the Delaware. In 1673 James Bollen, secretary of Philip Carteret's Council, had been given a great grant of land between Oldman's Creek and Salem. A further recorded purchase from Indians by one Cantwell and a certain Dehaes was cut off by the Dutch recapture. Many settlers were upon these lands though they had nothing to show by way of title and of course paid no quitrent.

This then was the situation on the final restoration of English rule in 1674. York successfully maintained his hold on the west bank of the Delaware, easily dispossessing the Maryland claimants. The region was still undeveloped, and Dankaerts could record in 1679 of Sandhoeck or New Castle "The principal place on the South River (Delaware)" that it was much larger and more populous in Dutch times, for all vessels came here to load and pay duties, but since the English "ships may no longer come here, or they must first declare and unload their cargoes at New York, which has caused this little place to fall off very much, and even retarded the settlement of plantations."[5] This was not quite true for there was a local collector of customs on the Delaware, but it shows the great decline of its trade.

**The Quakers**—It has been noted above that the characteristic feature of the first English settlements in New Jersey was that they were by associ-

[4] S. Smith: *Idem*, p. 53.
[5] *Journal*, December 26, 1679.

ated groups of New Englanders purchasing and settling in towns. So far little direct immigration from Old England had added to the population. Most of those coming from the English plantations of the north were of the second generation who, feeling cramped for space, sought further trading and farming opportunities. So in fact had those who had crept in surreptitiously to the Delaware in pursuit of the whaling industry and the fur trade.

A new era was now about to open in New Jersey history. Lord Berkeley had found himself in such financial difficulties that he had to turn his colonial holdings into cash. He had been disappointed in his proprietorship, having had many expenses and no profits in returns, and now, on top of the revolting settlers, there was the Dutch occupation. Not until after the peace did he find a purchaser. Then within a month of the treaty, on March 18, 1674, Lord Berkeley sold his undivided share of the province of New Jersey to one John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllynge, both of them Quakers.

Thus by a great stroke of luck the Society of Friends secured as a refuge the south and western half of New Jersey (for such it was after Sir George Carteret received a separate confirmation of his rights to the eastern half from the Duke of York in July, 1674). It is true that the title was hardly valid, for Berkeley had made the conveyance before receiving a new release from York, which in view of the Dutch reconquest he should have done to be quite secure, and hence arose many of Fenwick's troubles with the Duke's governors. It is also true that the Quakers, from lack of money and of numbers and by reason of a joint government with East Jersey were never completely or continuously in control of the machinery of government. More important yet is the fact that divided responsibility, distribution of powers in scattered boards of proprietors, etc., ultimately brought ruin upon the scheme. But this first Quaker experiment in America is notable as providing the experience and vision which were soon to culminate in the successful Quaker province of Pennsylvania.

Scant justice has been done to the Society of Friends in New Jersey history. The most professed admirers of the sect have found it necessary to apologize for certain features of their conduct; while their critics have under the guise of patriotism berated their refusal to bear arms in times of crisis. Reference has already been made to the Quakers who fled persecution in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island and settled in the Monmouth patent, and their consequent troubles. For although one of the most harmless and least politically inclined of all Puritan groups they found all hands against them; Calvinist, Lutheran and Papist alike subjected them to torture and indignity.

In point of theory they were the most logical of the Reformation groups. Of all the Protestant groups they alone carried out to its logical conclusion the fundamental principle of the Reformation—the right of private judgment. With them it led naturally to extreme individualism and freedom from the restraint of political or social sanctions. In fact such was the persecution they suffered at the hands of other sects that freedom from restraint was

elevated by them at times into a worship of individual idiosyncrasy. While one may smile at this strange perversion, it is at least more commendable than the effect of persecution upon other sects which accepted their persecutors' dogmas of "wilful ignorance" or of the "Elect" and waited only for the day when they themselves should be in control to practice the same tyranny. We must credit them therefore with representing the most vigorous effort of the Reformation to return to the spirituality and simplicity of the early Christians. They rejected the doctrines of infant baptism, the Trinity, Sacraments; all forms and ceremonies were obnoxious to them. Having no ordained priesthood or ministry, and no consecrated churches, their preaching and services might take place in the open fields or on street corners, although in times of prosperity meetinghouses were erected in many communities. Relying upon individual contemplation and worship, voluntary exposition of the faith was sought. In particular they developed a form of worship known as "quietism"—the development of moral consciousness and personal communion with the Deity, the congregation sitting passive without change of position for hours until the spirit moved some member to speak, making personal confession of sin to the meeting and bearing public testimony. It was thus that on certain occasions in some communities possession by the Holy Spirit would result in extremes of trembling, shaking, rolling, from which different branches of this sect have been named Shakers, Quakers, Holy Rollers. After particularly vivid spiritual experiences the community might appear naked as a reversion to nature and refuse cooked food as a warning of God's intentions and purposes in the world. Some branches of the sect were communists, as the Shakers and Mennonites, but in general the Quakers were anarchists, and this accounts for the bitterness with which they were persecuted. Believing as they did that all men were equally children of God they felt it necessary to refuse all terms of respect—applying to all "thee" and "thou," used by others only to the Deity, to servants and inferiors. Thousands had been whipped for refusing to remove their hats in public, as in the courts, etc., and for refusing to be sworn or testify on oath, taking literally the Biblical prohibition against superfluous language and blasphemy. In England their refusal to pay tithes and taxes to the established church soon resulted in overflowing gaols, while many lost their property through fines. Indeed, their passive resistance and outspoken contempt for all authority everywhere led to their ill-treatment and punishment. Those who suffered exile were fortunate. From Europe they fled to America, but New England, Maryland and Virginia were just as bad. In 1660 four Quakers were hanged in Massachusetts, one being a woman.

The very fact that they were so individualistic, so anarchistic in the sense of being indifferent to political authority, was against the success of their enterprise in New Jersey. For while they might settle their own differences without appeal to legal authority and governmental force, it was not to be expected that others among them could subsist in a community devoid of strong political organization. The Quakers were in a word devoid of the

political sense, or perhaps one should say that their faith being so contrary to the spirit of government they were quite incapable of maintaining one. This is the reason that their only successful colony was a proprietary province with authority vested in one man. Many have mistaken the motives which led William Penn to court favor with James II, a professed Roman Catholic. The explanation is not that Quakers approve of absolutism, as many have been led to believe, but simply that they were not interested in the type or form of government so long as they were given guarantees of peace and freedom. They might not fight in defense of self or others; they might not take oaths nor apply capital punishment; but left to themselves under any government they would volunteer justice to all, and be blessed with prosperity and righteousness for themselves.

William Penn was the son of a Parliamentary admiral who had deserted to the Stuarts and had assisted the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. He had a claim against the royal family for £1600. While William was at Christ Church College, Oxford, he first heard in 1661, at the age of seventeen, of the plans of Quakers to plant a colony in America. George Fox had just authorized one Josiah Coate to treat with the Susquehanna Indians for a tract of land between Maryland and New Netherland. William Penn's conversion later alienated his father, Admiral Penn; and nothing came of the projected plantation. To get control of a colony would require influence at court and money. But the idea was not allowed to die. The possibilities were again revived by Fox who toured the Atlantic colonies in 1671-73. The great opportunity came in 1674 when Fenwick bought Lord Berkeley's share of New Jersey cheap.

John Fenwick was an irascible and bellicose old parliamentarian lately turned Quaker. Born in 1618, he was the second son of Sir William Fenwick, Baronet, of Stanton Hall, Cumberland. He had been a law student at Gray's Inn in 1640, and when the Civil War broke out had espoused the parliamentary side, his father being a member of the House of Commons. He had apparently advanced in the army to the rank of major, and at the execution of Charles I in 1649 was commissioned by Cromwell to attend with a troop of horse. Upon the restoration of Charles II, he went into retirement, and seemingly forsook the Independents to join the Society of Friends. He is said to have been imprisoned and fined in 1666 and 1670 for attending Quaker meetings. Accordingly he was no doubt glad of any opportunity of leaving England which should present itself. The relation of Fenwick to Edward Byllynge cannot be adequately investigated but the ensuing insolvency of these two brought to three other Quakers as trustees for the creditors practical ownership of West New Jersey. One of these trustees was William Penn and thus the whole body of English Friends became interested in the distribution of a Quaker estate among creditor co-religionists, *i. e.* in the settlement of the colony. It was not for another six or seven years that William Penn had sufficient influence at court to procure for himself the grant of the 45,000 square miles in settlement of his father's

claim and which was to become Pennsylvania. Thus Penn's first experience in colonization was gained as trustee of West New Jersey.

**Fenwick's Colony**—When Fenwick purchased Lord Berkeley's interest after the Dutch reconquest it was inevitable that he should have trouble over the title to his purchase. But another and more pressing controversy developed. He had purchased in trust for Byllynge, a Quaker merchant of London, and though Byllynge's interest was far greater than his own he quite anticipated keeping the governing power in his own hands. The controversy between Fenwick and Byllynge respecting their rights was settled to mutual satisfaction by the arbitration of William Penn, who awarded nine-tenths to Byllynge and one-tenth to Fenwick. In the meantime Byllynge had become insolvent, and his creditors persuaded Penn with two others, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, to administer his estate in trust for the creditors. Debt had followed Fenwick in his preparations for an expedition to the Delaware, and he was forced to borrow from two Friends, John Eldridge and Edmund Warner, pledging his interest in the colony as security. He was accordingly enabled to set out in the "Griffin" in the spring of 1675 to establish the first English Quaker plantation.

Arriving in June, they commenced the foundation of Salem as the seat of the province. Three purchases of land from the Indians were made the next year—between Salem Creek and Oldman's Creek, between Salem Creek and Cohansey, and from Cohansey to Morris River. This whole area from Oldman's Creek to Morris River, was bought for four guns, a quantity of powder, 300 gallons of rum, some shirts, four blankets and sixteen matchcoats. Finding settlers there already, Fenwick planned Salem for his people, Finnstown for the Swedes, and Booktown and Cohansey as other places of settlement.

But all was not well. The maps he had brought with him were so bad that he had made grants in swamps and marshes, causing infinite dissatisfaction so that many settlers were drawn off into other colonies. And at home his relations with the Byllynge trustees was so bad as to prevent any further settlers from coming out for two years. Eldridge and Warner, who held the lease of Fenwick's interest for a thousand years with power to sell sufficient to recoup themselves, were persuaded to convey their right to Byllynge's trustees—Penn, Lawrie and Lucas—in order that title and control over the colony might be concentrated. These three trustees, not having as yet sufficient influence to secure from the Duke of York a new patent, as had Sir George Carteret, found it necessary to make a private agreement with the latter respecting the division of the province. In Carteret's new conveyance of July, 1674, he was to have all north of a line drawn from Barnegat to a certain creek on the Delaware next below Sankikans, an arrangement which would have given him somewhat more than half the province. On July 1, 1676, the trustees of the western part secured a new division, the new line running from Little Egg Harbor to a point on the Delaware 41° north latitude, and the two portions were now named East and West Jersey. That of

West Jersey, which the Quakers received by this partition, was the larger, being about 4,595 square miles in extent, and the other being 2,981 square miles. This became the boundary between East and West Jersey, which remained separate provinces until 1703. The document is known as the Quinti-partite deed, because signed by the five parties: Sir George Carteret, Edward Byllynge, William Penn, Nicholas Lucas and Gawen Lawrie. The Byllynge trustees immediately thereafter reconveyed to Warner and Eldridge the "Fenwick Tenth," not in trust, but in *fee simple*, thus cutting off Fenwick's reversionary rights, a procedure obviously unjust even if legal.

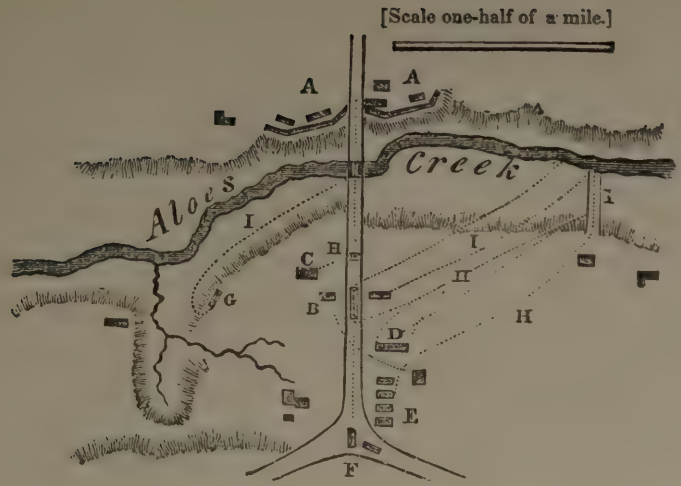
Fenwick, however, continued to assert his rights as chief proprietor, and in June, 1676, with the remnants of his colonists promulgated a "settlers agreement." It is entitled the "First and general Order, as agreed upon by Fenwick and the First Purchasers,"[6] and enumerated the "hazards, straits, dangers and cruelties" to which they had been exposed. They narrate how they had left Berkeley's deed behind in England; how Eldridge and Warner had robbed them of the substance of their grant while leaving them the shadow; and how numerous were the desertions that had taken place. The settlers and Fenwick now proposed a plan of land settlement. The first purchasers are to receive lots in two places, one-half in "the Liberty of Cohanzick, the other half in the Liberty of Alloways," taking their allotments in order of purchase by casting lots. Two towns, Cohanzick and New Salem were hastily planned, the town lots were set at sixteen acres apiece, and the townsmen were to have "common of marsh meadows."

But Fenwick's footsteps were dogged from the very first by misfortune. His plans were hindered at every point by the rumors regarding his lack of authority and title; by the opposition offered him from the Duke of York's representative, Colonel Edmund Andros, and by the internal dissension and personal ill-feeling resulting from inadequate preparations for settlement. As late as September, 1676, we find him proclaiming that "whereas, by the wilful neglect dishonest and unjust carriage of Richard Noble (the first surveyor) the setting forth thereof have been deferred till now: These are therefore to will and require thee, Richard Hancock, forthwith upon the receipt thereof, with all possible convenient speed, to survey the said townships for forty and two purchasers at sixteen acres apiece, etc., etc. . . . and . . . . to deliver all and everything, certificates unto Fenwick Adams (favorite grandson, son of Elizabeth, the daughter who had married a John Adams), my secretary and register."[7] But even this did not serve to satisfy the planters, and the rules had to be modified continually in special cases, as when the settlers demanded "their plantations as purchased in England," regardless of the process of casting lots, "which were so long that they threatened to return to England."[8]

Yet, bad as had been the past, a worse situation was preparing. After the recession of their conquests by Holland the Duke's governor of these

---

[6] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 255.
[7] Johnson: *Settlement of Salem by Fenwick*, pp. 19-20.
[8] *Idem*, p. 22.




*Plan of the Affair at Quinton's Bridge, 18th March, 1778.*

[REFERENCES.—A. The rebels in their works. B. Detachment of the 17th of Infantry masking the Bridge. C. The Light Infantry of the Rangers ambuscaded in a house. D. A detachment commanded by Capt. Saunders in ambuscade. E. Huzzars and Infantry of Queen's Rangers in the wood. F. Detachment of the 17th, retreating in view of the enemy. G. Rebels passing the bridge. H. Salty oi the Light Infantry and pursuit of the Rangers. I. Flight of the enemy.]

JOHN FENWICK'S HOUSE (BUILT 1677)
From a Sketch by William Patterson

parts, Colonel Edmund Andros, had issued a proclamation which, after confirming existing charters and rights, declared "that the known book of lawes, formerly established and in force under his royal highness's government, is now again confirmed by his royal highness; the which are to be observed and practiced, together with the manner and time of holding courts therein mentioned . . . ."[9] There is no doubt that Andros intended exerting his authority upon the Delaware. As we shall see he was also waiting his chance in East New Jersey. But everything at this time seemed favorable to his attack upon West New Jersey. He had commissioned Edward Cantwell, sheriff upon the Delaware, to enforce the laws. Upon the arrival of Fenwick, Cantwell immediately wrote Andros asking instructions. To this Andros replied, December 5, 1675, that as Fenwick had shown no authority or royal order he was not to be accepted as owner or proprietor, "but to be used civilly, paying duties as others," and to have same access to land as had others, but quite definitely subject to the Duke's custom duties.[10] Six months later Fenwick was in New York amicably attending the Governor's Council. The record reads that "Major John Fenwick's business about the land in New Jersey on the east side of Delaware River was discourst of butt suspended."[11]

It was only when Fenwick laid claim to the right of government, made grants of land, and had pulled down buildings of former owners that the inhabitants called upon Andros for aid. The local commander at New Castle was told to send Fenwick to New York. Early in December, 1676, Captain John Coleir came to Fenwick's house, but was put out of doors, and he had to return on December 8 with a dozen soldiers to effect the arrest, which had to be made by violence, Fenwick being dragged by force to New York. Five weeks later he was tried. There was no defence; a flat denial of the jurisdiction of the court over any part of New Jersey, the foolish assertion that the new grant to Sir George Carteret for East Jersey was good also for West Jersey, and the ludicrous and irrelevantly continuous assertion that the King could do no wrong. "He acknowledges to have no originall deed or grant here butt was left in England."[12] On conviction he was fined £40 and costs and placed under bond of £500. Fenwick returned to Salem, temporarily beaten by Andros, but he soon received renewed confidence on the arrival of fresh Quaker contingents, for though he might quarrel with his associates, there must be settlers in the country to make it worth quarrelling over.

**The West Jersey Concession**—Meanwhile, having successfully divided New Jersey with Sir George Carteret, the three trustees of West Jersey had promulgated to the public, in order to encourage settlers, the *Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey in America,* on March 3, 1677. Like the similar *Concessions* of East New Jersey the document contained arrangements

[9] S. Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 78.
[10] *New Jersey Archives,* I, pp. 188-89.
[11] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 186.
[12] *New Jersey Archives,* I, pp. 236-37.

for the economic development and colonization of the country as well as for political organization; and just as the provisions for land grants had caused so much confusion in East Jersey, so here the economic provisions were the least lasting sections of this remarkable document. The conveyance to Fenwick or Warner and Eldridge of one-tenth seems to have suggested to them the decimal system. Accordingly the new colony was to be surveyed into one hundred proprieties, upon purchase from the Indians, and these were to be grouped into "Tenths," which they hoped to sell outright. Purchasers of hundredths should be known as proprietors. They had immediately sold one-tenth to five Yorkshire Quakers; another was sold to a London group; and an Irish tenth soon followed. It was an impossible expectation that an unsettled country could be thus systematically laid out and settled. These provisions were therefore soon discarded. But the plan of one hundred proprieties remained as the basis of land titles. For the speedy encouragement of settlers headlands were offered to those transporting themselves and servants, at the rate of 70 acres per person, for the first year; 50 acres and 40 acres per person for those arriving in the second and third years after 1677. Quit-rents were reserved to the proprietors of the hundreds and were set at the rate of 1¼ d. per acre in towns, ¾d. in the country.

As the trustees did not recognize the jurisdiction of Major John Fenwick, they placed temporary oversight in three commissioners who were to proceed to the Delaware to prepare for settlement of Burlington. But thereafter the proprietors and settlers were to choose annually one commissioner for each tenth—"by ballating trunks to avoid noise and confusion, and not by voice, holding up the hands, or otherwise soever." It was hoped, however, that soon general assemblies could be held which would then elect the commissioners.

The political provisions occupied a special part of the Concessions entitled "The Charter of Fundamental Laws of West New Jersey agreed upon." This Charter contains more distinctly than the original New Jersey Concessions of 1664 the scheme and idea of a written constitution. This is in fact the great era of written constitutions—for although the Commonwealth in England with its *Agreement of the People,* and *Instrument of Government* had come to disaster, the Parliamentarians had never lost sight of the possibilities of a written document embodying the organization of government and declaring fundamental rights.

The principles and purposes of a written constitution in this day are so well known and so universally accepted that we tend to overlook the significance of this West New Jersey Charter. It was not in the form nor did it have the content of the previous charters of an incorporated joint-stock company, nor was it really similar to the *Concessions* granted to prospective settlers by lords proprietors. This Charter was a written statement of fundamental laws agreed upon and signed by both owners of the soil and the emigrants to West Jersey. The first sentence shows clearly certain seventeenth century conceptions: "These following concessions are the common law or fundamental rights of the province, That the common law or fundamental

rights and privileges of West New Jersey are individually agreed upon by the proprietors and freeholders thereof to be the foundation of the government." This is using "common law" not in its modern sense of customary law based on judicial precedent, but in the controversial sense of the liberal lawyers of James I reign, and thus almost the equivalent of natural law, or at least of an underlying guarantor of natural rights. That it is not Common Law of the law courts is shown by the fact that many rights enumerated were not those enforcible in the English Common Law Courts, but were quite new. A further indication that they were seeking to lay down as common law for the province certain immutable natural rights is found in the provision which follows immediately after the above quoted. These laws are "not to be altered by the legislative authority or free assembly hereinafter mentioned and constituted, but that the said legislative authority is constituted according to these fundamentals, to make such laws as agree with and maintain the said fundamentals, and *to make no laws that in the least contradict, differ, or vary from the said fundamentals, under what pretence or allegation soever.*" (The italics are mine.)

It is, then, to be a written constitution for the sake of permanence, for they had not yet developed a theory of constitutional amendment. Nor had they yet solved the problem of preventing unconstitutional actions by judicial review. Security in this respect they hoped to attain by the simple provision of forbidding any Assembly man "designedly, wilfully and maliciously (to) move, or excite any to move, any matter or thing whatsoever that contradicts or any ways subvert any fundamental of the said laws" and permitting conviction "by seven honest and reputable persons to institute proceedings against them as traitors." Knowledge of the Constitution was to be maintained by public readings quarterly and by its display on public tablets.

Most of the rights are not particularly remarkable either for content or language. As might be expected, religious freedom was guaranteed, in the sense of freedom of opinion or worship of God. Other provisions were trial by jury, the jury directing the judges; no imprisonment for debt, proof by two witnesses, that all persons might plead their own causes, which must be conducted in courts open to the public; no primogeniture in intestacy, the widow reserved one-third, the children equal shares of personal property; no forfeiture of estates of suicides. In the matter of murder the unwillingness of the Society of Friends to countenance capital punishment and at the same time not daring to prohibit it, under the new conditions of a strange continent, made them leave the penalty to the discretion of the Assembly, "as they in the wisdom of the Lord shall judge meet and expedient."

The sections respecting the Assembly contained some rather unusual provisions. Representatives were to be elected annually, one for each of the hundred proprietors, and the ballot already noted for choice of commissioners again required that "all such elections as aforesaid be not determined by the common and confused way of cries and voices, but by putting balls into balloting boxes, to be provided for that purpose, for the prevention of all partiality and whereby every man may freely choose according to his own judg-

ment and honest intention." Fraud and corruption were forbidden in a sentence which looks forward to modern Corrupt Practices Acts—"no one who promises money or meat for procurement of their choice or convenant shall be capable of election."

Another modern idea which had presented itself to the fertile minds of the drafters of this constitution and was more definitely stated there than elsewhere until the modern recall movement is found, is the provision requiring a bond to oblige the deputies to "act nothing in that capacity but what shall tend to the fit service and behoof of those that employ them," for the representatives must be continually reminded that they are to represent their client's grievances and attend to the improvement of the province. To secure responsibility, any accuser might question a member upon failure of trust in that or the next Assembly. Not till very recent years have constitution-makers thought it necessary to consider rules of procedure and parliamentary law. But those founders of West Jersey were wise beyond their day. Closure was forbidden in debate, the yeas and noes were to be recorded at any member's desire, and the doors then thrown open to the public after the conclusion of debate and voting upon a subject.

The Assembly thus created was to have such general legislative powers as might be necessary for the good government of the province, such to be as near as convenient to the "primitive, antient and fundamental laws of England," and not against the Concessions. Other doctrines enunciated were: that no person was to hold two offices; there must be popular choice of local officials; the choice of treasurer, chief justice, etc., to be in the Assembly; there should be equal taxation of lands and persons in the several proprietaries; and finally a distinctive provision that taxes be levied in such manner as shall seem most equal and easy for the inhabitants. It will be seen from the few quoted provisions that this was indeed a truly memorable and farseeing document! A remarkable landmark in the development of responsible government!

Bearing these *Concessions* with them the Commissioners came out to the new plantation in August, 1677. On their way they called upon the Governor of New York and presented their papers with the deeds from Lord Berkeley to the Quakers, etc. They were well received, but Andros felt he could not accept their grant of territory as binding on himself, and as they sought to avoid any cause of trouble, they accepted commissions as his subordinates. The representatives of the English Friends, together with Richard Hartshorne, one of the Quaker founders of Monmouth, then set off for the Delaware. There they were instructed to get a meeting with Fenwick and his people, "but we would not have you tell them your business, until you get them together; then show and read the deed of partition with George Carteret . . . . and show John Fenwick he hath no power to sell any land there without the consent of John Eldridge and Edmund Warner."[12a] If Fenwick consented they were to divide the land he had purchased from the Indians,

[12a] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 220.

and bear their proportionate share of the price, *i. e.*, 9/10ths. But if Fenwick would not join them they were to declare to the country how he stood as to authority, and the land be taken up in the names of Penn, Lucas, Lawrie, and the one-tenth for Warner and Eldridge. Fenwick did not consent, as appears from a letter his wife wrote from England after the return of some of the Commissioners, in which she says, "I forgot to tell thee that Warner said thou didst strike Eldridge a great blow upon his face, at your first meeting with him, and threatened to be the death of him." She again deplores the fact that "he did not curb his passion, and make it his business to bring the accounts to a just settlement before he (Eldridge) came away."[13] The relative merits of these claims of Fenwick on the one hand and Eldridge and Warner on the other, whom the first accused of cheating him, can now never be settled. All would be plain perhaps, as Mickle observes in his *Reminiscences,* if we knew just how much Fenwick had borrowed from these two.

Settlers now began to come to the new land very rapidly. In 1677 the second ship to West Jersey brought out two hundred and thirty settlers; three months later it was followed by two others with nearly two hundred, mostly Quakers. The settlement of the province thus went on apace. Salem was left pretty well in the hands of Fenwick. Two-tenths which had been sold to the Yorkshire and London groups of Friends were combined to form the foundation of the present Burlington (originally named after Bridlington, Yorkshire), each group being allotted one side of the main street. Two Irish tenths were laid between Oldman's Creek and Pennsauken in 1677 and 1781. Further increasing population led to setting off a fifth tenth, from Timber Creek to Oldman's Creek in 1684. But in general the system of "tenths" was a failure. The land was frequently unsurveyed when required, or the particular region in which the prospective settler desired land was not yet open, or perhaps he purchased land in England and quite probably found it barren, under water, or already occupied. It was not many years, therefore, before the Council representing the proprietors was willing to allow the purchasers of properties to claim their shares where they wished and when they wished, without reference to the systematic opening up of tenths.

**Fenwick and Andros**—Meanwhile one of the most memorable struggles for the independence of New Jersey was preparing, one in which the final success is to be attributed largely to the trustees of West New Jersey, and in particular to William Penn. We have seen that the dreams of the lowly Society of Friends were no longer to remain "prison fancies." So far from being without influence, and influence in the place where it counted for most, namely at court, the Quakers were now to show they held a position of favor which would be the protection of New Jersey.

The attack came from James, Duke of York, grantee under royal letters patent of New York and New Jersey. From the very first his agents in America had done their best to convince him of the folly of having so easily parted with what appeared to be one-half of his possessions. Colonel Nicolls

[13] Johnson: *op. cit.*, p. 51.

had complained that he was losing to Berkeley and Carteret his finest territory. Upon the technicality that one arm of the Hudson River flowed round it, he was therefore able to recover Staten Island, which would otherwise logically and by right have been to this day a part of this State. But a more important opportunity was provided for James in the Dutch reconquest and final cession by treaty. By the acknowledged principles of English law the result of these events was to invalidate the previous grants and to wipe clean the slate for future action. This was the opening for which the Duke's advisers had been waiting. When therefore Major Edmund Andros set out in 1674 to take over the returned provinces, his commission of July 1 was as wide as had been that of Colonel Nicolls, and was in identical terms.[14] He may have come back to America on the same ship with Philip Carteret, and it has been suggested that they were related by marriage.

Colonel Andros' reputation is clear. "He bore the unfavorable character of an arbitrary governor, who made the will of his despotic master (James II) and not the law, the chief rule of his conduct." So says Samuel Smith, the colonial historian,[15] and his verdict has been accepted by all succeeding writers. He was certainly harsh and unconciliatory, but that he overstepped his duty may well be questioned.

He was apparently ordered to assume the government of all the Duke's territories and secretly instructed "to keep all things in the same position as they were in your predecessors' time.[16] His headquarters were, of course, at New York; but he kept his hand upon the other governments as occasion necessitated. The Duke's government had been proclaimed upon the Delaware; he would also have claimed west of the Hudson, but being informed of the renewal of Duke's grant of East New Jersey to Sir George Carteret, he felt it impossible to do much there. The general situation is displayed in a letter to him from James's secretary, Sir John Werden: "I do not find that the Duke is at all inclined to lett goe any part of his prerogative . . . . and soe though at present in regard to Sir Geo: we soften things all we may, not to disturbe his choller. . . . I verily believe that, should his foote chance to slip, those who succeed him must be content with lesse civility than we shew him in this point."[17]

It was, therefore, on account of Sir George Carteret's influence at court, that Andros left Philip Carteret alone. But there was no reason for circumspect conduct when Fenwick arrived with nothing to show but copies of a sale technically rendered void by the recent peace treaty. The course of events leading to Fenwick's arrest, trial and liberation under bond not to assert his rights have already been described. The government of the Delaware was then made definitely to operate under Andros' orders, and the collection of customs was resumed. His success over Fenwick led to displaying the same attitude to the Quaker Commissioners sent to prepare West New Jersey for

---

[14] The only variation I have noted is that he is denominated Lieutenant and Governor, instead of Deputy as was Nicolls.

[15] *History of Colony of New Jersey*, p. 77, note e.

[16] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 179.

[17] *New Jersey Archives*, I, pp. 230-31.

settlement. But they were bent upon a peaceful mission and preferred to render the appearance of submission rather than endanger their undertaking.

Andros found it impossible to neglect East Jersey. For one thing, the entrance of goods through New Jersey was always a danger to the proper regulation of trade upon the Hudson. Moreover he seems to have thought that even if the Duke of York had parted with both soil and government to Sir George—a doubtful thing in his mind—he still retained some fiscal authority, an authority which consisted at this stage in keeping in his own hands the entry and clearance of vessels, and the levying of customs. He, therefore, empowered William Dyre, collector of the Duke's revenues in New York, to collect also within New Jersey the customs which his highness had "thought proper to establish throughout his territories." The issue was squarely raised in 1676, when Governor Carteret made Elizabethtown a port of entry and clearance in order to serve the needs of his people and obviate the need of paying duties at New York, thus offending Andros in one of the matters upon which he was a great stickler. For the purpose, therefore, of getting full instructions Andros determined to return to England, receiving leave for this purpose in the autumn of 1677. He did not return till 1678.

In his absence Fenwick had started to reassert himself. His wife, Mary Fenwick, writes from England to inform him that she had approached Andros, who had now knighthood to show the favor he was in at court, "And I was advised not to petition there (to the King or court), because Sir Edmund Andros in his discourse did so against thy offense in increasing more authority than was belonging to any subject, and presumed to believe all the story that had been brought against thee, etc., etc."[18] But he continued to exercise his claims, ejecting squatters, or those who did not hold property by his titles, many of whom were Swedes, and calling upon all to present and register their land claims and titles with him or forfeit them. He even went so far as to call an assembly of his settlers, naming a Council, Surveyor, Secretary and Register, and calling upon the settlers for an oath of fidelity, and threatening to dispossess any paying the levy to the Duke's collector at New Castle. Protests from the inhabitants led to action by the court at New Castle. And before Andros' return in the fall of 1678 they reported to New York how they had finally arrested Fenwick and were sending him overland to stand trial for breaking his parole. He was again tried and convicted, and authority in Salem once more firmly vested in the hands of some of the "Antient Inhabitants," such as Fop Outhout, "now one of the Justices of New Castle." Well would it have been for the stubborn old man had he been guided by his wife's advice to "forbear to act as a lord proprietor and to make orders and summon the people, till thou hast thy deed and authority to do it"; or at least "till the whole moiety be measured, and a dividend made of it . . . . (for till then) no man can say any part of the land is his own."[19] Instead of the part of discretion he chose the part of folly. Not only was he cheated by his associates, but he was ill-treated by his enemy in New York, "my person

[18] Johnson: *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[19] Johnson: *op. cit.*, p. 54.

seized on in the night time by armed men," he says, "and myself kept imprisoned on these two occasions for two years and three months," still complaining that it was not "proved that I had broken any of the King's laws."

**Carteret and Andros**—Flushed with his victory over Fenwick, and with the submission of the other Quaker claimants in West Jersey to the authority of the Duke of York, Andros was now prepared to start action against East Jersey. What his secret instructions on his return to England were we cannot know; but we may be sure that as he described the nature of the country and the possible profits from development James would be greatly tempted to enforce his rights as far as he dared. That he had let them slip out of his hands in the past was to be regretted and attributed to ignorance at the time of parting with the land, and to the pertinacity of men with claims upon him. Andros therefore came back with every intention of assuming jurisdiction as opportunity arose.

The customs question was forced upon his attention by the declaration of New Jersey not only as independent of New York customs, but entirely free of duties. Carteret's interest was, of course, to encourage the development of trade and commerce as rapidly as possible. Many of the New Englanders had brought with them to New Jersey their maritime occupations, setting up as whalers, fishermen, and coast-wise traders engaged in traffic with other colonies and insular possessions. The great center of the trade had been Boston, where the export of flour was balanced by the importation of Barbados rum. Now, however, free importation at that port had been prohibited. Andros sought to make New York the new seat of the trade. Carteret also wished to make a bid at least for the local trade. The dispute came to an issue after Carteret's proclamation of Elizabeth as a free port, when one Hooper ordered up a ketch from Barbados to this point, but was made to enter at New York and pay dues there before being allowed to land her rum in New Jersey.

The anti-proprietary party among the settlers had been so thoroughly beaten upon Governor Carteret's restoration that to all appearances the legislature was working in harmony with him. The Assembly therefore met the threat from New York by appropriating the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds to aid in the defence of just such cases, or as the act phrased it to give security to any vessel trading to New Jersey and seized in New York.

The stage was set for a trial of strength, when suddenly Sir George Carteret died January 13, 1680. Andros seems to have had word of this earlier than Philip Carteret. He immediately proceeded to push his claims. First he wrote Carteret commanding him to cease exercising jurisdiction over the King's subject "without any legal authority."[20] Then he gave notice of his intention to erect a fort upon Sandy Hook within New Jersey territory and at the entrance of the Raritan and New York bays. But the East Jersey government was prepared to resist these intrusions with force. When Andros paid a visit in person there were 150 men under arms prepared to preserve New Jersey independence.

[20] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 292.

PASSAIC RIVER FALLS IN PATERSON

On March 7 Sir Edmund paid a ceremonial visit to Carteret at Elizabeth. Each read his commission, and Andros insisted upon his Majesty's letters patent being of greater force than the King's private letters, which were all that Carteret could show. Having found that open violence would not avail, Andros issued a warrant for the arrest of Carteret and sent it suddenly and secretly with a party of soldiers, who broke into the Governor's mansion on the night of April 30, and dragged him bruised and half naked to a waiting vessel, by which he was conveyed to New York.

The trial in New York of the Governor of New Jersey by the Governor of New York was a great public spectacle. We have accounts of it from both participants and witnesses. The case came before the Court of Assizes on May 27-28, amidst the greatest excitement. Andros was forced to send the jury out three times, yet it persistently found Philip Carteret not guilty of riot and illegal government.

Though he had failed to convict Carteret, Andros was nevertheless able to take over the government and hold Carteret to a position of inconsequence. Andros commenced by making appointments of local officers, totally disregarding the town charters. Next he called an assembly of the deputies of East Jersey to meet at Elizabeth in the first week of June. When he presented to this assembly the collection of laws known as the *Duke's Laws,* he was met by a demand that the past acts and proceedings under the previous régime should be admitted as valid. It was then evident that if he had relied upon an anti-proprietary party to support him against Carteret he had been sadly mistaken. The deputies presented to him their old laws which they thought "to be most fitting and suitable to the constitutions and privileges of the freeholders of this province and not contradictory to the laws of England."[21] Thus the Assembly wished to regard the *Concessions* of the first proprietors as still valid, and though they might take advantage of any means of repudiating their obligations to the Lords Proprietors they would not do so to their own damage. Accordingly they asked a confirmation of the right of annual assemblies which they had under the *Concessions,* and which they say is "a right belonging to every freeborne Englishman."[22] It now began to appear as if a renewal of the civil strife would take place. The proprietary party was, of course, behind the opposition to the New York government, and several of Carteret's supporters were proceeded against by Andros for "scandalous and seditious words and Expressions against the Council and Government." One of these was John Curtis, prosecuted for "abusive language against the Go. and Government"; another was Dr. Taylor Woodbridge, who quite flatly refused obedience. Meanwhile the anti-proprietary party had been active. William Meeker, who had forfeited his property to William Pardon for his part in the riots of 1670, now brought action against Pardon, and was given a verdict for £300 and costs at Elizabeth in August or September, 1680. It seems that these opponents of the former régime alone had the ear of the New York Government.[23]

---

[21] Leaming and Spicer: *Grants and Concessions,* pp. 681-82.
[22] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 311.
[23] Cases in *New Jersey Archives,* Vol. I, pp. 315-36.

Thus by the close of the year 1680 Andros had asserted his authority over all New Jersey. He had overpowered Fenwick at Salem; he had required submission of the other Quakers at Burlington; and now he had succeeded in dispossessing Carteret of the government of East Jersey.

**The Grand Remonstrance**—These distractions were undoubtedly detrimental to the proper progress and settlement of the Jerseys. From the point of view of investment, the insecurity and dubious prospect of return in the form of quitrent would scarcely attract capital, and certainly not settlers, where such doubt and uncertainty enveloped institutions and property. Especially would this agitation and constant struggle alienate the peaceful Quakers. It was quite evident that for any extensive colonization to be undertaken there must be a definite understanding respecting government and land ownership. William Penn had now sufficient influence at court to secure a grant of the west bank of the Delaware, and contemplating the foundation of the Quaker Commonwealth of Pennsylvania he was naturally eager for a final pronouncement upon the matter of jurisdiction and customs. Indeed it is obvious that he would not have taken up Pennsylvania if it had not been independent of York's control. Fortunately the Duke of York was not able to defend himself and profit by Sir George Carteret's death. At this time, when Parliament was agitating his exclusion from the throne as a Catholic, he needed every friend he could secure, and was just on the point of retiring to Scotland till the agitation died down. It was, therefore, a very favorable opportunity for the Quakers, and for Penn, in particular, to secure a pronouncement recognizing their demands as justified. Moreover, it was evident that any decision arrived at or forced from him respecting West Jersey would be applicable to East Jersey. If, for example, West Jersey were attached to New Castle, then East Jersey would become incorporated in New York. This was the issue faced in the arbitration which Penn and Byllynge succeeded in persuading James to accept.

The argument which was made on behalf of the proprietors, we can not say whether by Penn or Byllynge or by their loyal counsel, is a most amazing document, more so in fact than the *Concessions* they had prepared for the West Jersey settlement. It reveals the fact that they lived in a very remarkable century, one in which legal and political ideas were in a ferment in all their aspects.

The argument[24] professes to be first upon legal, then upon equitable grounds. But even in the argument at law the true appeal is less to law than to justice and honest purpose. They argue for instance that they purchased from Lord Berkeley, and that in all these transactions the powers of government are expressly granted, for they could hardly expect Berkeley to sell what he had not. Moreover, without the right of government the purchase was useless, "for that only could have induced us to buy it . . . . because to all prudent men the government of any place is more inviting than the soil, for what is good land without good laws?" If they cannot be assured freedom

[24] At length in Smith: *History of Colony of New Jersey*, p. 117f.

of spirit and property, "a mere wilderness would be no encouragement, for it were a madness to leave a free, good and improved country to plant in a wilderness; and there adventure many thousand of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure." To the claim that Berkeley's deed was avoided by the treaty of 1674, which gave rise to the royal claim of right of conquest, they ask what of it; "doth his (the King's) power extend equally over his own English people as over the conquered?" This is obviously false, especially as by the constitution "the King of England cannot justly tax his subjects' goods without their consent." "To conclude this point we humbly say that we have not lost any part of our liberty, by leaving our country; for we leave not our King, nor our government by quitting our soil."

The argument in equity is likewise upon the injustice of a new tax where none was before, and the hardship when the tax fell on immigrants' goods as well as on trade. "So that the plain English of the tragedy is this, that twice we buy this moiety of New Jersey, first of Lord Berkeley and next of the natives; and what for? the better to mortgage ourselves and posterity to the Duke's governors. . . ." Still better do they argue, anticipating Chief Justice Marshall's dictum of a hundred and forty years later, that the power to tax is the power to destroy; if we are assessed without any rule or law "what security," they ask, "have we of anything we possess, we can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will."

These are indeed not legal or equitable arguments, but political grounds for succeeding with their claims. They realize that the chief plea they can make to James is one based on his profit and future benefit. So they conclude by pointing out that a free plantation attracts settlers, encourages trade and will lead to great revenue for the Duke, though how, if he cannot levy customs, they do not say. And very cannily and craftily the parting shot is: if he admits their claims, "so will Englishmen here know what to hope for by the justice and kindness he shows to Englishmen there; and all men see the just model of the government in New York, to be the scheme and draught in little of his administration in old England at large, if the Crown should ever devolve upon his head." Here was skillful flattery, containing both threat as well as appeal.

These arguments, it will be perceived, did not go to the heart of the matter, namely, the right of Lord Berkeley under the Duke of York. This apparently was not at this time questioned, although upon this point the whole proprietary case was one day to collapse. The only point at stake was the supervisory jurisdiction of Andros for the collection of customs. Upon this the victory lay with the Quakers. Sir William Jones, to whom the matter had been submitted, found that there was no legal ground presented upon which James could base his claim to taxation, especially, he added, irrelevantly, "Since the inhabitants clayme under a grant from his Royall Highness to ye Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret in which grant there is no reservation of any proffitt or so much as of Jurisdiction."[25]

[25] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 323.

The great conflict thus appeared ended. The governor of New York had found his enemies too strong, and must surrender his vaunted jurisdiction over both East and West Jersey. The effect was indeed instantaneous. A ship arriving in the Delaware in October, 1680, and which had expected to pay duties found they were not demanded. Sir Edmund Andros returned immediately to England on receiving the news of the Jones decision. There, William Penn and his associates being prepared for the victory, took immediate advantage of it to secure a confirmation of their grant. Accordingly the day following the award, August 6, 1680, Byllynge presented to the Duke of York deeds of lease and release for the province, which deeds James hastily signed and returned. It is said that James did not have his lawyers with him when Byllynge sought his signature of the deeds. The new indenture recited all the previous transactions, Charles to York, York to Berkeley and Carteret, Berkeley to Fenwick, Fenwick to Penn, etc., the Dutch reoccupation, all the pertinent facts, and then proceeds to convey to Penn, etc., trustees of Byllynge and to Eldridge and Warner. But Byllynge took advantage of his position to insert for his own benefit a clause which was to add further complications to the situation. And "for better enabling the said Edward Byllynge his heirs and asigns, to improve and plant the said premisses with people and exercise all necessary government there . . . . (the Duke) doth by these presents, give, grant, assign and transfer unto the said Edward Byllynge, all and every such the same power, authorities, jurisdiction, governments, and other matters and things whatsoever, which . . . . were . . . . to be exercised by his said Royal Highness." This meant that Byllynge, while having the land transferred to the trustees of his creditors, had the government assigned specifically to himself and his heirs. Little did it matter that this was in violation of one of the arguments upon which they had relied before James, that the close union of ownership and government were necessary; they had won title, and Byllynge cannily secured for himself the grant of jurisdiction.

# CHAPTER VI.

## THE NEW PROPRIETORS OF EAST AND WEST JERSEY, 1680-1703.

**The Transfer to the Twenty-four Proprietors of East Jersey**—The year 1680 is notable in New Jersey history because it marks the formal acceptance by the Duke of York of the colony's independence of New York. But it is particularly notable in the history of East New Jersey because it is the year of the transference of that division to new proprietors. Sir George Carteret, proprietor of East Jersey, we have noticed, had died early in 1680. The Jones award was made in August; in September the Duke of York conveyed to the young grandson and heir a new grant of the "moyety of New Jersey in the same nature as is already granted and confirmed and released to one Byllynge, and others of the other moyety."[1] The old Sir George had died in debt, leaving the Lady Elizabeth executrix, with certain noble lords, including the Earls of Sandwich and Bath, as trustees for his creditors. They immediately sought to realize upon the estate in New Jersey and made many ineffective attempts to find a purchaser. No one at court seemed willing to risk money in such a troublesome province. It appears, however, that William Penn having won his case in West Jersey was ready to take this opportunity to secure control of both the Jerseys for an enlargement of his Quaker experiment. He bought out John Fenwick on March 23, 1682, with the exception of an area of 150,000 acres to be known in future as Fenwick's Colony. Having now sufficient backing, and thus controlling West Jersey he took the opportunity presented to acquire in 1682, with eleven others, the rights of Sir George Carteret to East Jersey for the small sum of £3,400. These twelve immediately sold half their interests to another twelve investors and there resulted the rule of what is known as the "Twenty-four Proprietors of East Jersey."

The name is simply a convenient title. There were never twenty-four, as one of the first twelve sold his interest outright. There were not twenty-three very long, for the shares became rapidly subdivided upon frequent reselling. "There was a strange mingling of professions, religions and characters in these proprietaries," says Whitehead,[2] and he might have added of nationalities and purposes. The original twelve were of course chiefly Quakers, associated by their religious bond; seven of them were merchants of London, two were lawyers, one a mariner, and two country gentlemen. Half of them sold out entirely within a year or two, or otherwise displayed no further interest in East Jersey. The second twelve were more diverse in character. Two were Quaker merchants of Dublin; five were London merchants, including Byllynge and Lawrie already interested in West Jersey; five

---

1 *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 337.
2 *East New Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 119.

were Scotsmen, one of whom soon sold out, two of whom (brothers) were Catholic noblemen, shortly to be involved in James II's ruin in 1688, and two (brothers also), Quakers, one of whom was to become Governor of East New Jersey. There was a sixth listed as Scottish, but he was really a Hollander resident at Wallingford, and was killed by a highwayman within a few months of the purchase; strangely enough this estate of Arent Sonmans was the only one to increase, so that four years later his children controlled five and a quarter shares in East Jersey.

That such a mixed group of purchasers could secure for £3,400 the province of East Jersey reveals very clearly the incompetence of the Stuart Government. Whatever reasons may have led James as Duke of York to enter colonial enterprise, and they may have been both expectation of increased prestige and power as well as money profits, his failure to recover into his own hands control of half of his original dominions in America cannot be regarded as anything less than negligence and inability to grasp the situation. Many opportunities for him to reassert his rights had presented themselves; his advisers had kept him informed of affairs but he had allowed himself to be drawn into one confirmation of these grants after another. It was bad enough for him to continue a proprietorship in Carteret and Berkeley, though they did secure an almost unsettled province, and were personally interested in the successful settlement and management of the colony. But the sale to a group of twenty-four land speculators, many of whom were entirely out of harmony with the liberal tendencies of the day, was the crowning act of culpable indifference. What should have been a public trust, operating as one link in the bonds holding the Colonies to the Mother Country and performing an imperial function, was permitted to degenerate into a quarreling group of shareholders. Interest in personal profits, desire for individual grants of the best lands, prospect of appointing friends and relatives to sinecure posts drove these rapidly multiplying proprietors into cliques. Only three or four of the proprietors themselves ever visited America; scarcely two or three identified themselves with the province, though several of the children and heirs did so, but the main body of proprietors remained distinct and separate from New Jersey in the period of their control.

Conditions had changed considerably since Carteret and Berkeley had been installed as Lords Proprietors. The province had become a settled country. Obligations had been assumed by the governors to the governed. The settlers in East Jersey were largely from New England, though increasing numbers of Dutch from New York were entering the Raritan Valley; only in West Jersey had any considerable number come from the Mother Country. The population of East Jersey was perhaps four thousand at this time. But these were not scattered indiscriminately over the province. The settlers were organized in compact, self-reliant units; five of the seven towns had charters, while the other two acted as though they were chartered; and all were governed through their own town-meetings and officers. In 1681

we are credibly informed that the population of the towns was: Shrewsbury, 400; Middletown, 500; Piscataway, 400; Woodbridge, 600; Elizabethtown, 700; Newark, 500; and Bergen, 350. The settlement and development of the country was thus proceeding in such a manner that the rights of the inhabitants were well worthy of respect and consideration. The previous conflicts had indicated the folly of the continuation of a proprietary system with jurisdiction and property vested in proprietors. The Crown should have insisted when the old grants lapsed or were sold, not upon a transfer to new parties, but upon the resignation of the rights. Indeed the conflicts of the old régime were as nothing compared to the possibilities now evoked. The proprietors had governed through a deputy. Neither Berkeley nor Carteret had entered the colony and we have seen how disturbing had been the entrance of a son of the proprietor. What now if half of the proprietors should go or send their proxies to America? What if those in England cannot agree upon the choice of a governor or a policy? Add to this the entrancing prospect of a divided counsel among the proprietors in East Jersey? Then if we combine with the divisions among the proprietors in England and America the possibilities of political conflict in the Assembly, we may anticipate to some extent the complications likely to arise out of the new government. In a word the deed of sale conferred upon the Twenty-four not a grant of government but a charter of proprietary misgovernment.

The proprietors, whose shares were now being cut up into innumerable fractions, held in widely scattered parts of Great Britain, now had their attention directed to two important matters: the most immediate problem revolved about the necessity of taking possession of the colony and providing for its governance, the second of inducing settlers to enter and buy lands.

**Carteret's Land Quarrel With the Assembly**—As for the first of these, the assumption of government in East Jersey and the restoration of the proprietary authority had taken place in East Jersey in 1681. When the jury at New York had refused to convict Philip Carteret in 1680 of riots and treason they had not countenanced his government. The court had advised "that if he, the said Captain Carteret shall go to New Jersey, he should give Security or Engagement not to assume any Authority or Jurisdiction there, Civil or Military."[3] Carteret was therefore residing as a private citizen when news came of the Jones decision and the repudiation of Andros' claims. He lost no time in publishing on March 2, 1681, a proclamation denouncing the usurpation and reasserting his own authority. Andros had, in fact, on first hearing of the award, returned to England, and was shortly after replaced by Governor Thomas Dongan.

It does not seem that Carteret had profited by his experiences. Perhaps he felt too keenly the humiliation to which he had been subjected to be capable of a conciliation. Moreover he found himself definitely thrown upon the

[3] *New Jersey Archives*, I, pp. 203-04.

support of those councillors who felt their prosperity depended upon a rigid adherence to strict proprietary claims. Indeed the cleavage between the Governor and Assembly was so deep-rooted in the colonial institutions of the day that conflict was really inevitable. It was aggravated at this point by the fact that the Council represented quite consistently the wealthier party, those holding great grants of lands in accordance with the condition of the *Concessions;* and it was of course composed of the Governor's nominees. The Assembly on the other hand was most frequently controlled openly by the Nicolls' grant claimants, or at least by smaller land holders to whom quit-rents were both a burden and a constant irritation. As the Assembly was based upon township representation it naturally leaned to the defense of the incorporated towns which had so proudly protected their rights against Dutch invaders, proprietary exploiter, or royal official. Each side maneuvered to gain the advantage from the political changes. The popular party had been most successful under Andros, but on Carteret's restoration it seemed in danger of losing ground.

At this time, therefore, there were raised again certain hitherto unsettled questions. They were chiefly respecting the validity of the changes made in the *Concessions* in 1672 by the Lords Proprietors. Unjust as it may have been for the proprietors at that time to change *Concessions* which were an inducement to settlers entering the colony, it was nevertheless most inconsistent of the colonists who had denied that they had settled under these *Concessions* to turn round now and invoke them, free from later changes. But this was just what they did. At the Assembly in October, 1681, the deputies asked the Governor whether they were to look upon the later grant from the Duke of York as the foundation of the government. To this, Governor Carteret and his Council replied that they stood by the *Concessions* as the royal letters had already informed them, *i. e.* as amended. They deplored the Assembly's following Andros in this challenge of the proprietors' authority; "wee well hoped that none of the seed sowne by Sir Edmund Andros had taken soe deep a roote as that any of the Depts of this Province should att this time question the foundation of our government," concluding with the admonition that "they fall upon something that may be for the good of the Province."[4]

Owing to the method then in vogue of communicating by written messages the controversy dragged along for several days. The deputies resolved that the *Concessions* alone were the foundation of the polity "without any interpretation whatsoever." When asked to name a breach they pointed to the *Declaration of the True Intent and Meaning.* Whereupon the Council charged them with not having read the *Concessions* and reciprocated by showing that the Assembly had violated its duty in the *Concessions* by failing to provide for the charge of the government or for the collection of quit-rents. Thus they fell upon personalities and recriminations till each side wondered whether the other was inattentive to the matter or lacked ability

[4] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 355.

HEATHFIELD (HETFIELD) HOUSE—ABOUT 1667

Oldest House in Elizabeth

*Courtesy of New Jersey Historical Society*

to comprehend it. Agreed periods for debate between representatives of the Council and Assembly passed by unattended by the latter. Finally when a deadlock had existed for several days, on November 2 the Council sent its secretary, Bollen, with Messrs. Greenland and Edsall to call the Deputies to the Council. When the Assemblymen refused, Bollen declared "the Pretended House of Deputies" dissolved on the ground that some were disqualified by lacking the required property qualification and all of them by failure to perform their functions.

Such was the state of affairs when news came of the transfer of the province to the Twenty-four. Then, in 1683, came the new deputy governor, Thomas Rudyard, appointed by Governor Robert Barclay, accompanied by Samuel Groome, receiver general and surveyor. Philip Carteret quietly accepted the change, dying within a few weeks of leaving office. It was suspected that his premature death was the result of the brutal treatment he received at the hands of his New York persecutors two years previously.

There is no contemporary report of what happened upon the dissolution of the Assembly in 1681.[5] That there were riots seems probable. Later Captain Sanford is recorded as on bail for rioting. When Rudyard's first Assembly met in 1683 its anger was directed against those of the old Council who had been concerned in the former dissolution, especially Vauquelin, surveyor general, Captain Vicars, secretary of the province, and Henry Greenland. But there were other accusations as well, such as incomplete and fraudulent land grants, many of which the new Council found upon investigation to have "no dates thereunto, nor mention made by what warrants or when the lands there mentioned were surveyed."[6] It seems that the Nicolls patents were also involved. It appears that Vicars had somehow become allied with the popular party and had questioned the Carteret titles and "alsoe the Right of the present Proprietors," advising the people to stand upon the Nicolls patents, and was accused by the Council upon investigation with "having made as pretended secretary many irregular and unjust entryes on Record."[7] The new Governor and his Council would have been satisfied by a recovery of the papers, rectification of irregular records, and by a simple apology for this conduct. But the Assembly would not be satisfied without legislation voiding the proceedings of courts held in the past three years without the Assembly's authority as required by the *Concessions,* and, to penalize Vicars and Greenland for their part in the dissolution, demanded an act disqualifying them from holding further public office. In this contest the Assembly was successful, partly due to the intensity of its insistence, partly because it was no one's interest to resist its will on these points.

---

[5] S. Smith, the colonial historian, mentions disturbances, but indicates that they were local town troubles, and antedates by mistake a riotous episode in the career of the younger Lewis Morris that must have occurred seventeen or eighteen years later.

[6] *Journal of Governor and Council, 1683; New Jersey Archives,* XIII, p. 32.

[7] *Ibid.,* XIII, p. 28.

**The Fundamental Constitutions**—The prospect before the proprietors of East Jersey was not of the brightest in 1683. The public turmoil which had rent the province from its first settlement had its roots too deeply fastened in the economic and social opposition for a slight change in political organization to make much difference. If there was any remedy it was not to be found in a transfer of proprietorship. The proprietary system was itself inadequate, and the constitutional and economic problem which had arisen could only be solved by fresh and unprejudiced minds, by men interested in the colony but not entirely motivated by the desire for immediate profit nor deterred by temporary loss.

One of the chief difficulties, and one which all new countries face, consists in the scarceness of competent and honest officials. The opportunities for private gain and favoritism in the building up of an undeveloped country are a temptation which only a professional service with a high *esprit de corps* can withstand. With twenty-four proprietors seeking rapid profits it was obvious that here would be the danger center. Such, in fact, was soon shown to be the case. The new deputy governor, Rudyard, was a proprietor, and being one of the two or three in New Jersey, had views respecting the province not consistent with the best interest of the Twenty-four. In a few months he quarrelled with another proprietor, Samuel Groome, surveyor general. Rudyard had the support of the Council in their attempt to make grants of land without reserving the proprietors one-seventh as required. The general body of the proprietors in England upheld Groome in opposing this practice and after a short delay Rudyard had his powers as deputy revoked.

The man named to succeed him was Gawen Lawrie, experienced in West Jersey as trustee and creditor of Byllynge. He arrived in East Jersey in 1684 with new projects for the pacification of the colonists and for the rapid development of the plantation. It was indeed inconceivable that any body of men in that period of constitution-making could secure control of a government without adding their scheme to the many constitutions of government. The Twenty-four likewise drafted their *Fundamental Constitutions* for East Jersey.[8] Of the provisions which became effective but two were important. One was that a proprietor, Robert Barclay, apostate Catholic, now noted as ardent Quaker apologist, should be Governor for life. He was not expected to go to the plantation but might supervise at a distance by deputies. The other was that the nomination of important officers, decisions of policy, and changes in government were to be made only with the signature of two-thirds of the proprietors, that is by sixteen of them.

In other respects the *Fundamental Constitutions* may be regarded as a documentary antiquity. There were many novel and some highly desirable provisions, but with the exception of the two provisions noted, the *Constitutions,* so far as practical application in New Jersey was concerned, remained a dead letter. Among the innovations suggested but unrealized was the now

[8] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 395; or Leaming and Spicer, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

familiar scheme of retiring one-third of the Legislators annually, and disqualifying ex-members for two years. A property qualification for representatives was set, election procedure was protected to provide free elections by preventing bribery and corruption. A complicated system of nomination by lot was proposed to prevent candidates seeking office or being run on a party or factional basis. They proposed to have the Legislature contain proprietary representatives—144 deputies and the twenty-four proprietors or their proxies. The most interesting feature of these legislative proposals was the suggestion of a permanent Council to remain in session during dissolution of the Assembly and to be composed of twelve deputies elected annually by the Assembly and the Twenty-four proprietary proxies. There was an interesting proposal of three standing committees on public policy, trade and finance, and land settlement. Change was forbidden by a declaration that this "primitive charter, is forever to remain in force" unless changed by eleven-twelfths of the proprietors and eleven-twelfths of the deputies. And to maintain this permanence they fell back upon the old scheme of proclaiming as traitor any person who advocated a change. Significant was the provision "for avoiding innumerable multitude of statutes, no Act to be made by the Great Council shall be in force above fifty years after it is enacted." As might be expected with Quakers among the proprietors additional problems presented themselves. Some settlers "declare that they have no freedom to defend themselves with Arms, and others who judge it their Duty to defend themselves, wives and children with Arms." Accordingly they agreed not to "force each other against their respective judgments and consciences," *i. e.*, those who "cannot for conscience sake bear arms need not do so nor need they provide substitutes nor need they vote on war measures, but might leave these things to those who judge it their Duty to bear arms for the publick Defence." The injustice is overcome by a fine sophistry. "Provided that, the others, that for conscience sake do oppose the bearing of arms, shall on the other hand bear so much in other charges, as may make up that Proportion in the general charge of the Province." The document also contains many other provisions of the type one would expect to find, and in addition some one would not expect.

The privileges of the *Constitutions* were only to be brought into operation upon acceptance by the New Jersey Legislature as then constituted. But the New Jerseymen never seemed to regard these new provisions as highly as did the drafters themselves. Governor Lawrie did not urge the early enforcement of the *Fundamental Constitutions* until his last year, for as he wrote to the English proprietors "it is not possible for you to understand what is for the good of the province as I do that am here."[9] However, as the proprietors insisted, the matter was brought before the deputies in 1686, when the latter replied "that they apprehended the same do not agree with the Constitution of this province and they understood that the same were noe wise binding

[9] Whitehead: *East Jersey*, p. 102, n.

except past into a Lawe of the General Assembly."[10] The *Fundamental Constitutions* therefore remained unadopted and unpracticed.

In other respects also the proprietors were not successful in their policy. The source of trouble lay in the clash of land title and rights of ownership between New England settlers and English proprietors. Through all the period the Twenty-four continuously instructed Lawrie to enforce the payment of back quitrents and to have the Nicolls patentees make their submission. When the proprietors found that their professed "gentleness and tenderness" did not produce a "just and respectful disposition," they denounced the "too many dissatisfied and self-ended Persons" among the settlers who were denying the Proprietary rights.[11]

**The Scotch Immigrants**—One of the enterprises upon which the proprietors, especially the Scottish owners, had set their hearts was the creation of another capital. For this they had selected Ambo Point, later Perth Amboy, which should serve as seat of government, be removed from the independent and rebellious Elizabeth townsmen and be capable of development into a port of entry for trade, and be beyond New York influence. Surveyor Groome laid it out; Gawen however continued to live at Elizabethtown and it was some years before the courts and assembly were removed to Perth Amboy. Moreover, this favorite project of the Scottish proprietors never throve as a community. It was too artificial a creation and lacked the spontaneous internal unity of town purpose by which the other towns were actuated. Yet in the course of time this city became the center of Scottish influence, and the official seat of the proprietors in their economic aspect, if not in their political sphere. It was also of social importance, being the proper place of residence of those proprietors who dwelt in the province.

The most notable result of the change of proprietors was the introduction of a stream of immigration from Scotland to New Jersey. Although never very great numerically it became an increasingly important factor in provincial politics. Both English and Scottish proprietors had published pamphlets advertising their new acquisition. Finally in 1685 George Scot, of Pitlochie, published at Edinburgh a more pretentious volume of nearly three hundred pages, *The Model Government of East New Jersey; and Encouragements for such as design to be being concerned there.*

We have already seen that the first settlers were Congregationalists from the expanding population of New England or were Quakers seeking freedom from religious persecution. This new group of Scottish settlers came as have done all immigrants from mixed motives of bettering themselves and securing liberty and wider scope of action. It was patent to all that Scotland in the Seventeenth Century was not underpopulated, but was poor because the growth of capital and industry and the returns from agriculture had not kept up with the growth of population. Much of the surplus population had

[10] *Journal of Governor and Council,* April 19, 1686, *New Jersey Archives,* XIII, p. 158.

[11] *New Jersey Archives,* I, pp. 426-54.

been drawn off into the service of Continental princes. The rule of primogeniture in inheritance resulted in the younger sons entering already overcrowded professions of which there were then very few—the church, army, bar—so that the most enterprising cadets found it best to enter foreign military service.[12] Scot could truly say that there were at one time twenty-seven Scottish colonels in the Swedish army, while the Douglas regiment in France was said to have absorbed thirty thousand Scots since 1660. There were also three regiments in Flanders.[13]

The condition of the poorer classes was of course still more depressed. "It is also generally known, how hardly the husbandmen here do live," said another pamphlet issued by the Scots proprietors, "and with how much toil and Difficulty they are able to pay their Rents, and have any comfortable livelihood"[14] on account of the poor soil. The same overpopulation had occurred among the Scots who had settled in Ireland and it was estimated that 40,000 could easily be spared from Ulster. The solution by emigration to America had been strengthened by the recent example of the Scots taken at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, 1650-51, who had been transported to the Barbados and sold as servants. When their terms of service were up it was said "most of them have purchased notable Plantations for themselves, both in Barbados and Maryland, and live very plentifully" making them glad of their fortune and condition, which contrasted favorably with the difficulties facing a struggling young farm laborer in Scotland anxious to marry and settle down in his own place.

For traders and merchants the proprietors had a more subtle but equally convincing argument. The repressive effect of English navigation laws and their curtailment of Scotland's trade had long been a grievance. Now, they argue, while no Scotsman nor Scots ship may enter the Empire trade, yet by emigrating to the colonies this may be evaded—for though a ship may "be not a *Scots* ship, yet it may belong to Scotsmen dwelling in the colonies, and sailed with seamen belonging thereunto." This illustrates also the importance they attached to having Perth Amboy as a separate port.

These pamphlets were advertising tracts and contained eulogies of the beneficent climate, fertile soil and great mineral wealth. Indeed they had to emphasize the exceptional nature of their lands, for it must be confessed they are charging, as becomes canny Scots, a higher price than the other colonies, £100 for 500 acres.

There was of course an appeal upon religious grounds. George Scot himself was released from prison that he might lead an expedition to America. As the government's policy was to suppress Presbyterianism there was only the choice of conforming or of seeking a refuge where toleration

---

[12] In a recently published letter from one of the Scotch proprietors, Robert Gorden says he became a proprietor because of his second son "since I had not estate whereby to make him a Scotch laird, that he might not hang on his elder brother." New Jersey Historical Society Proc., N. S., VII, p. 10.

[13] The Scot book is reprinted in the latter half of Whitehead's: *East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments.*

[14] *A Brief Account of the Province of East Jersey,* App. 3, Smith: *New Jersey.*

was permitted—"such a retreat doth at present offer itself in America; and is nowhere else to be found in His Majesty's Dominions," he said. This was of course but one of the many influences, yet it led Bancroft to his rhetorical question, "Is it strange that many Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came to East New Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising Commonwealth a character which a century and half has not effaced."[15]

From the standpoint of the province the importance of the Scotch immigration was of quite another type. Most of the immigrants from Scotland were laborers whose passage was paid by a proprietor, and who were bound to service for a term of years. They worked upon his land; he received the headlands of twenty-five acres which were offered for persons coming in; and not till their time was up might they enter upon the purchase of land on their own behalf. The result was that the new land grants were totally different from those of the past. Whereas the earlier New England settlers of the province had from fifty to one hundred and fifty acres within the bounds of a town, nominally subject to the disputed quitrent, and self-governing, the new type of landed estate amounted frequently to thousands of acres. Because they were interested in New Jersey primarily as a land speculation the proprietors demanded immediately a part dividend of 10,000 acres apiece. And though the subdivision of proprietary shares continued the land holdings tended to increase in area. Gawen Lawrie is quoted by Scot as writing home that "The richest Planters (to this time) have not above 8 or 10 servants; they will have some of them, 1 Dozen of cows, yet some 20 or 30; 8 or 10 oxen . . . ." Lawrie therefore writes to a friend in London, "If thou wilt send a dozen of servants, most of them country men: I will set thee out a gallant plantation of 500 to 1000 acres upon a River side." He is a considerable "booster" and in another place he says: "Here wants nothing but people." He commends the new policy. "The Scots have taken a right course: They have sent over many servants, and are likewayes sending more; They have likewayes sent over many poor Families, and given them a small stock, and their families, some for 1, some for 10 years give the half of their increase to the Landlord, except the milk, which the tennent hath to himself." This practice, together with the English and New Yorkers coming in, he says, will raise the price of land here.

These large holdings were not within town limits, and where held by proprietors were of course not subject to the quitrent. Many of the proprietors were absentee landlords and their interests soon diverged not only from those of the colonists but also from those of the resident proprietors. The best lands, especially those easily accessible along the coast or near the rivers, were soon taken up, the poorer immigrants were pushed out into the western reaches. Those who remained within the towns found themselves disfranchised, as they were not freemen of the town unless owning the

[15] Bancroft: *History of the United States*, II, p. 414.

requisite land or buying out an original townsman, and few were able to do this.

The failure of the East Jersey Assembly to accept the *Fundamental Constitutions* upset the plans of the proprietors. Those in England had agreed that all official acts be by the consent of sixteen of the Twenty-four. Under their proposed *Constitutions* the proprietors would have had a predominant influence, but as that was not attained it was necessary to institute some other mode of control. Accordingly in August, 1684, the home proprietors proposed that the resident proprietors in New Jersey or their proxies form a council of "Commissioners" presided over by the Governor to undertake the management of the land system. Such a Council was accordingly set up and formally organized on April 9, 1685. The purpose was quite openly to separate the proprietary economic interests from their interests in governmental and political affairs. The new Council for instance was "to make orders and regulations with regard to the management of the landed property in that district."[16] It was doubly necessary at this time, for there were no proprietors on the Governor's Council save the Governor himself. The later governors, Campbell and Hamilton, appointed proprietary members.

Energetic as he was in pushing the colony's settlement, Lawrie did not give satisfaction; he was unsatisfactory to the Council upon the same grounds as Rudyard had been. Perth Amboy did not advance as rapidly as the proprietor had desired. He was charged with favoring himself and friends in the choice of land grants and was accused of favoring the sale of quitrents to settlers contrary to the regulations. Accordingly, he was removed in 1686, and died at Elizabeth the following year. His successor was Lord Neil Campbell, who found New Jersey a comfortable retreat at the close of 1686, after his brother's (Argyle) defeat in Scotland. Lawrie had summoned but one assembly and that had been critical of the new administration; especially did the new practice of individual instead of community grants seem to aggravate the people, for many of these included areas already claimed by the first settlers. Moreover, the Assembly began to oppose the proprietary demand that they pay the maintenance of the government. They would not pay the expenses of Council sessions, nor the justices as "they see no Reason that the Country ought to pay for the same for that they have not Liberty or Power to choose such officers etc."[17] They would accept responsibility for highways and roads, but would not pledge themselves to "defray the charges for the maintenance of the Government" without consulting their "neighbours in Each Towne and County."[18] By the time Lord Campbell had arrived there had been riots and the opposition had displayed itself in violence. The deputies, through the speaker, Richard Hartshorne, quite openly assisted the settlers' animosity against the proprietors by declaring that "the

---

[16] D. MacGregor: *The Board of Proprietors of East Jersey,* New Jersey Historical Society Proc., N. S., VII, p. 191.

[17] *Journal of Governor and Council, New Jersey Archives,* XIII, p. 158.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 159.

planters and inhabitants of this Province have bin att equall charges with the proprietors in England," and did not propose to grant supply "for that they were not willing to maintaine a government agt themselves."[19]

Lord Neil Campbell remained but a few months in New Jersey, and upon news of James II's policy of indulgence to Catholics, he left for England after naming one Andrew Hamilton, another Scotchman, his deputy, March 12, 1687.

In the next few months war with France broke out and the fear of invasion from Canada led the New York Governor, Governor Dongan, to ask aid from New Jersey to withstand anticipated attacks. An Assembly met in May, 1688. Hartshorne of Middletown was again speaker of the deputies, for the Assembly was controlled by the popular party. The Council, under Hamilton's influence, persuaded the Assembly that the aid required "was as well for the Defense and Safety of us here as them of the province of New York"[20] and procured a grant of £500. The tax was levied upon property ld in the £, 100 acres being assessed £10, oxen at £4, cows and horses at £3, males over sixteen years were to pay 10d. The only disagreement arose when Hamilton asked "what they ment by taxing all lands in this province" *i. e.*, of both proprietors and colonists, "notwithstanding that clause of the Concessions . . . . that positively says that the proprietors' land before settlement shall not bee subject to any taxe."[21] Accordingly a compromise exempting unoccupied proprietary land was finally agreed to. Whether the tax thus voted was collected is another matter. Whitehead suggests that it was not, "accustomed as the inhabitants were to almost entire exemption from taxation for the support of their own government." He thinks that they would not readily contribute to the defense of so dangerous a commercial rival as New York and believes that the passage was "done more for its effect in England than for its use in war."[22]

**West Jersey Under Byllynge and Cox, 1681-88**—The same fate of non-operation which had overtaken the new constitutions of East Jersey was reserved for the paper charter of West Jersey. The division of the province into one hundred proprieties and their grouping into tenths was never accomplished. No Assembly met in the first five years of West Jersey settlement. The Government was conducted by the trustees of Byllynge and Fenwick, through their Commissioners, James Wasse, Richard Hartshorne and Richard Guy. The satisfactory conclusion of the Jones award removed obvious defects in the title. Controversy among the proprietors ceased temporarily when Fenwick sold out his interest to William Penn in 1682, reserving for himself 150,000 acres later to be known as Fenwick's Colony. But by the time the proprietors were thus properly established, William Penn's interest in the Jerseys had begun to subside. He was by now far more devoted to the

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 180.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 183-84.
[22] Whitehead: *East Jersey Under Proprietary Governments*, pp. 120-21.

THE GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT MANSION, ELIZABETH
Built Prior to 1763

*Courtesy of New Jersey Historical Society*

THE VROOM HOMESTEAD, SOUTH BRANCH
Birthplace of Gov. Peter D. Vroom (1791-1874)

*Courtesy of Somerset County Historical Society*

development and planting of his own provinces of Pennsylvania and Delaware acquired from the Duke of York in 1682.

Nevertheless in the years following, the province of West Jersey progressed rapidly. Although the artificial mathematical system was given up for settlement purposes, shares were still sold in fractions to investors. It was provided that the possession of one thirty-second of one of the hundred shares should entitle a person to vote and receive dividends. A first dividend was made of 5,200 acres for each of the hundred shares, and soon after a second of 5,000 acres, both to be taken up in any order desired, and not according to the original scheme. With the exception of the Fenwick troubles (now removed), there had been none of the obstacles to peaceful settlements such as had hindered East Jersey. There were no old established chartered towns. The few Finns and Swedes living along the Delaware were easily reconciled, and when a definite system of land registration was adopted they were accommodated with recognition of their titles.

A constantly increasing stream of immigration set in. Danckaerts estimated in 1679 that within four years over a thousand Friends had entered the province. He accused them of seeking to displace the Swedes as far as possible on the east bank of the Delaware. The natural resources of South Jersey, its mild climate, great forests and numerous rivers giving ready access to its interior, led to many highly enthusiastic and frequently overdrawn pictures of the life and ease of the country. Indeed the conscientious Penn had found it necessary as early as 1676 to issue a caution and correction of a current *Description of New West Jersey*. Many of its exaggerations had to be toned down—such as its account of the short winter. He denied that the pamphlet was issued by the Society of Friends as a religious body, as a bait to lure investors, yet confesses that "we did in real tenderness and regard to Friends, and especially to the poor and necessitous make friends the first offer; that if any of them, though particularly those that being low in the world, and under trials about a comfortable livelihood for themselves and families, should be desirous of dealing for any part or parcel thereof, that they might have the refusal."[23]

Generally speaking the Quaker colonists to West Jersey were of a better social class than those settlers who went to East Jersey at this time. Few settlers purchased less than a hundred acres, the most frequent sizes were two, three and five hundred acres—considerably larger than those of the generality in the eastern half. A greater number of settlers had a proprietary interest in the colony, and many were also proxies for non-migrating owners. The unfortunate problem of quitrents did not disturb the western half. The proprietor who sold his land made his own arrangements with the purchaser, collecting such rents from his tenants as they mutually agreed upon and undertook himself the maintenance of the proprietary claims.

While, therefore, no discord resulted from quitrents, a conflict arose in the proprietary body regarding the Governor. Few claimed that the purchase

[23] *New Jersey Archives*, I, pp. 232-35.

of a part of a propriety carried with it private political jurisdiction, but many claimed that a voting share, one thirty-second of a propriety, entitled the holder to vote for the Governor. But Byllynge had no hesitation in claiming sole rights under his grant. Accordingly he appointed one Samuel Jenings as deputy Governor. When the first Assembly met in 1681 it took immediate precautions to render Jenings dependent upon itself. Burlington was made the chief town of the province; an act was passed defining the power of the Governor and other officials. Ten Land Commissioners were chosen to draft rules for the regulation of land settlement. Then an act made by the "governor, proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants" to set forth the fundamental agreements "to be held invoidable."[24] It was a short document chiefly devoted to protecting the Assembly in its powers, making annual sessions necessary, removing the Governor's powers of veto, dissolution, declaring war, making laws or levying taxes; and finally confirmed liberty of conscience. The significant provision was that "upon the governor's acceptance and performance of the proposals herein—before expressed, wee the general free assembly, proprietors and freeholders of the province of West Jersey aforesaid do accept and receive Samuel Jenings as Deputy Governor."

But this was not the end of the matter. Within two years of this time Byllynge became distrustful of Samuel Jenings and finally sought to remove him from his post. The Assembly immediately took up the issue, protesting their rights under the *Concessions*. Under the leadership of Thomas Olive and Thomas Budd they resolved that the settlers had purchased both land and government under these guarantees, that Byllynge was bound by these terms, and that the Assembly was resolved to enforce them. Accordingly disregarding Byllynge's dismissal, they re-affirmed Jenings' appointment. In this it appears they had the support of William Penn (apparently he was the one who proposed continuing Jenings in office) and also of Fenwick. On May 11, 1683, therefore, Jenings again became Governor "freely and faithfully promising (according to the best of my ability) to act in that capacity according to the laws, concessions and constitutions as they are established in the said province."[25] Jenings was ordered to act as speaker as well; the members of the Council, chosen by the Assembly, were also bound by similar promises. Amendments, it was claimed, could be made only by the Assembly.

As the controversy with Byllynge continued, Jenings and Budd were dispatched to London to present the people's case. Finally, an arbitration was made by George Fox, the famous Quaker leader, who tactfully decided that Edward Byllynge did actually have right of government, that he could not sell it piecemeal, but that having signed the *Concessions* he was bound thereby.

In the period of interregnum Byllynge had sent out two men as governors. The first nominee, William Welsh, was refused acceptance by the Assembly which twice, in 1684 and 1685, during Jenings' absence selected

---

[24] Leaming and Spicer: *Grants and Concessions*, pp. 423-25; Smith: *New Jersey*, pp. 126-29.

[25] Leaming and Spicer, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

Thomas Olive as Governor and speaker of the Assembly (the two offices went together, the Assembly and Council sitting jointly "in the common hall").[26] The second nominee, John Skene, proved less objectionable, and was accepted in September, 1685. Confusion was again threatened that year when Byllynge arrived in the province. But he took no part in stirring up trouble and peace continued till his death in 1687. His interests were thereby transferred to a Dr. Daniel Coxe, court physician to James II.

The death of the proprietor in whom were vested the rights of jurisdiction led to a definite breach between the functions of the Legislature and those of the proprietors. There was a numerous group in the colony claiming proprietary rights and shares to warrant their influence in control. The major interest was in the hands of Dr. Coxe. Those in the colony thereupon determined to organize as had the local proprietors in East Jersey. A meeting at Burlington on February 14, 1688, attended by forty-four proprietors or their proxies resolved that "the great difficulty of getting them together upon several emergent occasions have been greatly detrimental not only to the carrying on our progress of some necessary public concerns, but also very changeable and burdensome to us the said Proprietors, especially those of them who live at a great distance, and also complained of by the members of the General Assembly taking up a great part of their time."[27] The Council of Proprietors then brought into existence[28] was composed of six representing Burlington and five Gloucester "who shall be and are empowered to act and plead in all such affairs as do and shall generally concern the body of the said Proprietors."

With the withdrawal of proprietary business from the political body the complicated machinery of the *Concessions and Agreements* was definitely allowed to lapse. West New Jersey resumed its place among the proprietary provinces, the close union of ownership and jurisdiction was forgotten; the Governor named again by the proprietors withdrew from the Assembly, the Assembly represented the freeholders, though still electing the Governor's Council.

We have seen before that the weakness of the proprietary government consisted largely in its impermanence, in its dependence upon the personal whim of the proprietor. Again this defect was revealed. No sooner had Dr. Coxe realized his position than he began to lay claim to prerogatives and rights. He declared himself free from the *Concessions* except in so far as he might ratify them. He made a great show of having sought a solution, of having asked if they could "contrive any method whereby the government might be legally and severally invested in the proprietors or people without a governor" and declared his willingness "to sign or convey all my estate power, authority as I had received it" but had met with no satisfactory response.[29]

---

[26] Leaming and Spicer, *op. cit.*, p. 467; Laws of 1683, cap. 21.
[27] New Jersey Historical Soc., *Proc.*, 3rd Ser., VII, p. 131.
[28] *New Jersey Archives*, III, p. 222.
[29] Smith: *New Jersey*, p. 190, note k.

It seems that Coxe had become impressed with Penn's proprietorship and was led to picture himself also as a miniature monarch in West Jersey. He therefore claimed full powers of government, accepting, he said, certain of Byllynge's *Fundamentals*. In another place (1687) he entered upon an eulogy of the Englishment Government as "the best of Constitutions" declaring that such a constitution in your province had his full and free approbation. "I shall," he continued, "confer upon your Assembly all the powers and privileges consistent with the ends of good government, the redressing grievances and promoting the peace and prosperity of the province." Do they desire, he asks, a nominated or an elected council?[30]

Ideas of this sort, or at least their open expression, by a speculative investor in a colony already settled and possessing a working constitution, are absurd. He was carried away by pictures of benevolent leadership and near-monarchy. But further comment is unnecessary, for at this very moment a new turn in New Jersey affairs was given by occurrences in England.

**The First Surrender of East and West Jerseys, 1687-89**—One problem which does not seem to have occurred to the proprietors of the two provinces was the effect which the accession of the Duke of York as King of England might have. At first it had been anticipated that Charles II would have heirs, but as time dissipated that expectation one is astonished that precautions were not taken to deal with the inevitable succession of the Duke of York. For nearly ten years William Penn had guided affairs for the colonists at the Court of St. James. In America Lawrie had maintained friendly relations between East Jersey and the Duke's deputy in New York, Governor Dongan. The West Jersey proprietors were really less independent. Despite the previous freedoms in both provinces William Dyre, the collector of Customs at New York, was peacefully permitted to execute his function under the Navigation Laws.

Thus as the reign of Charles II drew to a close the old conflict developed afresh. Jerseymen raised the cry that despite the Jones decision vessels were being forced to repair to New York to "enter" and pay duties on cargoes intended for New Jersey. If this policy were carried out it would mean the ruin of the plans for Perth Amboy as a port at the mouth of the Raritan, a project upon which depended the success of the Scots proprietors in making it the commercial and governmental centre of the province. The proprietors were not so much afraid of the Duke's authority as they were afraid of its exercise on behalf of the neighboring port of New York. This fear was justified, for it was as a commercial rival that the local officers of New York encouraged attack upon East Jersey. So far as West Jersey was concerned the necessity of entry and discharge at New York would inevitably reduce if not prevent trade and settlement.

New Jersey was naturally limited and definitely bounded in its western regions. New York was almost limitless. There were few Indians in New Jersey, and the Indian trade to the west was either through Pennsylvania or

[30] Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 193.

through New York. Indeed all indications seemed unfavorable at this time to New Jersey's development. Penn was too absorbed in Pennsylvania to encourage her trade expansion beyond the Delaware; Dongan, Dyre and the New York merchants were jealously watching New Jersey on the Hudson. In 1684 York had instructed Dongan that "if you find that ye inhabitants of East Jersey have any other way of trading with the Indians than by the Province of New Yorke, that you will use your endeavors to prevent it. . . . My desire being to preserve the Indians trade as entire as I can for the benefit of the inhabitants and traders of New York preferably to all others."[31] A year later the mayor of New York sent a petition praying for the annexation of the Jerseys, the freedom of which they said had reduced New York's trade "at least one-third parte thereof; And hath ever since much Lessened and Decayed both in number of Inhabitants, Rents and Buildings."[32] One other ground of opposition, or more probably excuse offered was in Dongan's words that with the Jerseys "paying noe custom and having likewise, the advantage of better land and most of the settlers there out of this Government, wee are like to be deserted by a great many of our merchants who intend to settle there if not annexed to this Government."[33]

Most of the royal officials were in agreement regarding the inadvisability of leaving affairs as they were. Governor Dongan wrote home in 1687 that it was common knowledge that regular traders as well as privateers were landing goods in New Jersey, chiefly at Sandy Hook. Such quantities of goods were entering East Jersey that they could not possibly be consumed in East and West Jersey together. He concluded that they must therefore be intended for transport overland to New York or to the Indians. This conclusion, he said, was strengthened by the rumor that the Indian beaver trade was attracted to New Jersey because the goods offered in exchange were cheaper (as custom free).[34] Dyre also had the same complaint to make with respect to smuggling. On many occasions he had found it impossible to secure convictions before New Jersey juries who returned "verdicts against him contrary to the most undoubted facts."[35] In fact, in 1685, despairing of proper enforcement in New Jersey he took the cases to the New York courts. Appeal was made to England and he returned thither to state his side. The result was to confirm his policy. But the home government now realized how confused affairs were, and in July, 1685, Charles II authorized the Attorney General, on advice of the Lords of the Council of Trade and Foreign Plantations to enter writs of *quo warranto* against New Jersey if he found "a great and growing prejudice" to the royal prerogative in an independent government; in other words, to commence proceedings to cancel their separate governments.[36]

Before matters had gone any further Charles II died, and was succeeded by the Duke of York, as King James II. The attack upon New Jersey inde-

---

[31] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 473.
[32] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 491.
[33] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 524.
[34] *New Jersey Archives*, I, p. 524.
[35] Whitehead: *East Jersey*, 2nd Ed., p. 143.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

pendence was merely postponed, and the *quo warranto* proceedings were soon instituted again. Meanwhile in 1686 Dongan had seized a vessel off Sandy Hook for not entering at New York. In some way Richard Hartshorne, of Monmouth, was implicated. Dongan sought to have the case brought to New York. Upon this, the East Jersey Assembly reaffirmed their trust in Hartshorne by reëlecting him Speaker. The Council wrote to Dongan denying his jurisdiction and refusing to send Hartshorne. Moreover they pushed the case along, and made appeal to the Crown in London. Finally the Board of Trade effected a compromise, 1687. Dongan was instructed that vessels might "goe directly to New Perth" (Perth Amboy), while the proprietors of New Jersey were ordered to permit Dyre, now his Majesty's collector at New York, to name a deputy to act in the province."[37]

It was an illusory victory. New Perth might be free from New York, but it was still subject to duties, though no one knew what duties; the New York duties were levied by authority of the New York Assembly, but the New Jersey Assembly had authorized none. The "Twenty Four" of East Jersey were now thoroughly worried as to their position; attacks had been so continuous; successive victories had not ended the disputes, but led to further accusations; they were never sure from whence the next opposition would come. Accordingly soon after the Perth Amboy decision they proposed a general surrender of the government of East Jersey to the Crown. Having paid £12,000, they said, for the province but received as yet no benefit, and though it was the most recent American grant they were prepared and desirous of preserving "the King's good opinion of them by a Dutiful surrender of it."[38] They offered the surrender saving the "soile and quitt-rents to remain the proprietors property." Politically they were content with a royal government, if unconnected with the province of New York, and suggested union with West Jersey. Among the most important requests was that some of the proprietors be always members of the governor's council.

A similar though less aggressive movement had been under way for West Jersey. The result was that on April 30, 1688, formal surrenders were prepared and signed by the requisite proprietors of both provinces declaring that His Majesty "for severall weighty reasons of State is desirous to resume, and to take said Province(s) into his more immediate Protection" and that the proprietors had acquiesced.[39]

Neither the proprietors nor settlers had an intercessor at court. The surrender was absolute; there was no friendly voice raised to insure acceptance or continuance of the promises or imagined terms. Would the old *Concessions* endure? No one knew. But one thing was plain. That the Crown did not respect the demands of the province for independence was evident from the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros, named to succeed Dongan. Both the Jerseys formed a part of the dominions of the royal favorite, whose authority was now made to extend from the Delaware to the northern bounds of New England.

---

[37] *New Jersey Archives,* XIII, pp. 174-75.
[38] *New Jersey Archives,* I, p. 535.
[39] *New Jersey Archives,* II, p. 26.

The change was of little significance in New Jersey's local institutions. Andros simply visited Elizabethtown and Burlington in turn in the middle of 1688 to proclaim his jurisdiction. The existing officials were continued in place, and when he left the province Francis Nicholson was named Lieutenant-Governor. Andros himself was far too busy with affairs in Boston, to which he immediately repaired, to pay any attention to his new provinces.

Meanwhile the century-long struggle against the Stuarts had culminated in the overthrow of the last King of that line. News of the flight of James II and accession of William III and Mary arrived in the colony the following spring (1689). Andros was overthrown and himself confined by the Bostonians. No great changes were produced in New Jersey by the surrender. The local governments continued the general work of administration and maintenance of peace and order. There was, however, one result. The colonists were awakened to a sense of the insecurity of their institutions. It was becoming very evident to all that there was something wrong with a government so slenderly established that the signatures of some score or so speculators in England could surrender it or subject it to confiscation. The next decade was a period of strife in which the most stubborn of the proprietors were convinced, as were the people, that the fault lay not in the arbitrary conduct of a Stuart King, but in the type of colonial government. It required fourteen years of dissension and anarchy under a liberal Whig monarchy to teach the lesson that the system must be abandoned.

**Hamilton and Basse, 1692-1700**—The outburst which greeted the English Revolution in New England and New York had no counterpart in New Jersey. In the colony it was assumed that the proprietary authority would be restored. Accordingly Andrew Hamilton, who had not declared himself for either James II or William of Orange, was the logical person for Governor. He found it necessary to return immediately to England for instructions; but in so doing was captured by the French. There was thus no legitimate authority left in the province. "Will you know with how little government a community of husbandmen may be safe?" asks Bancroft. "For twelve years the whole country was not in a settled condition. From June, 1689 to August, 1692, East Jersey had no government whatsoever, being in time of war without military officers, as well as without magistrates."[40] This is unquestionably an unnecessary use of hyperbole, for the immediate needs of peace, justice and local order were served by the town governments. The English proprietors sought to resume control by sending first to West Jersey one Edward Hunloke, later to both East and West Jersey, John Tatham in 1690, who was rejected or passively resisted, for the settlers "scrupled to obey" him as a reputed Jacobite.[41] The next candidate or appointee was a Colonel Joseph Dudley, who died before the test of obedience was made.

Whether the proprietors were restored to their colonial government still remained unsettled. Indeed it seems strange that they should ever have

---

[40] Bancroft: *History of the United States*, III, p. 147.
[41] Smith: *History of New Jersey*, pp. 191-92.

thought a change of monarchs with no further ratification would undo their surrender. They proceeded, however, to gather up again the loose ends of the administration. But by this time a new factor had entered into the proprietary constitution. We have seen that Byllynge's right of government and a predominant interest in land title had come to Dr. Daniel Coxe. Now, on March 4, 1691, Coxe sold twenty proprietaries of West Jersey to a new group, the West Jersey Society, retaining in his own hands four proprieties (*i. e.*, shares), which descended to his son. The Society of West Jersey, which now came into control, was composed of fifty stockholders, and was far more of a speculative land company than had been any previous group of Jersey investors. There were issued 1600 shares of stock, each ten of which carried one vote, no one person to have more than ten votes. Few of the investors were interested in settling in the country themselves, though all were vitally interested in its settlement by others. In 1692 the Society appointed one Jeremiah Basse as its agent in America. As the company was very largely anti-Quaker in sentiment, most of its officers in the Jerseys—as Thomas Revell, register of deeds, Daniel Leeds, etc., as well as the nominee governors, as Tatham—formed a distinct party of opposition to the local council of proprietors, which was under Quaker influences, and was led by Samuel Jenings. The operations of the West Jersey Society were not confirmed to West Jersey. It secured large holdings west of the Delaware and soon purchased an increasing influence in East Jersey. There they became aligned very early with the opposition to the Scots proprietors, and therefore came into alliance with William Dockwra, of London. Dockwra had been recently made proxy for most of the English proprietors of East Jersey, who found it difficult to meet to sign documents, and so confided this authority upon this one of their members.

On March 25, 1692, Colonel Andrew Hamilton, who had proved satisfactory to settlers in both provinces, was re-commissioned by the proprietors of East and West Jersey. Upon his arrival one of the first problems he faced was to put New Jersey in a proper posture of defense against the French. The legislature summoned in East Jersey not only provided him with £300 for the first year's support, but reënacted that old tax for defense that had never been collected. When levied it amounted to £365 1s. 10d. The proprietors thoroughly realized their precarious position and dubious title, for one argument they used to persuade the deputies to grant the money was that such an act would "Improve our loyalty to our advantage," in England and in New York.[42] Twenty men were sent to join the troops at Albany. In West Jersey the opposition came from Quakers who could not bear arms themselves and could only be persuaded by much coaxing to permit others to fight for them. Finally the argument that "the liberty that we claim to ourselves may not justly be denied to them, lest we should do as we would not be done unto," prevailed to secure its passage."[42a]

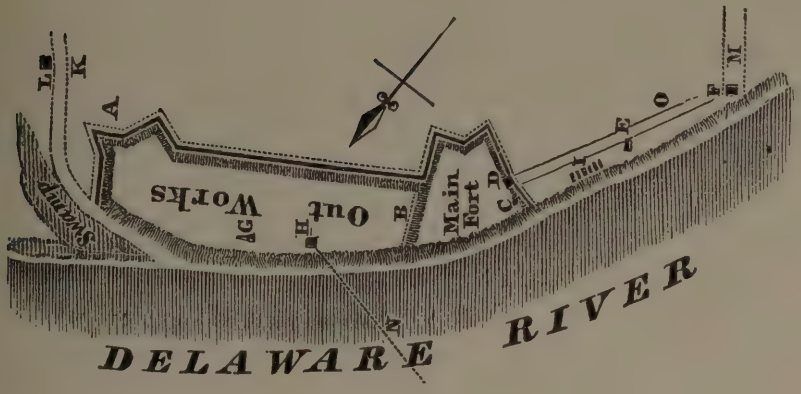
Taking all in all, there was little cause for complaint at this colony's con-

---

[42] *Journal of Governor and Council*, October 26, 1693; *New Jersey Archives*, XIII, p. 197.

[42a] Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, November 3, 1692, p. 507.

THE OLD AMERICAN HOUSE AT HADDONFIELD.
(In this hotel the Continental Congress held many sessions, and here "Dolly" Madison once held sway.)



*Friends Meeting-house, Haddonfield.*

tribution. Governor Fletcher of New York wrote in 1694 that he "could obtain no assistance from the adjacent colonies except the Jerseys."[43] But Hamilton looked for easier results, saying two years later, "I am really ashamed, grieved they are so awkward, they still object the exemption and non-compliance of the neighboring colonies."[44] The real problem was to persuade the New Jerseymen who were safe from French and Indian attack that a war on the New York frontier was a war in defense of New Jersey. It will be recalled that such troubles and difficulties led to Penn's plan for united colonial defense at this same period.

There was one important respect in which Hamilton proved unable to cope with the colonial point of view. He had been instructed to enforce the collection of quitrents. In 1693 occurred the first legal suit against Nicolls' claimants—Fullerton *vs.* Jeffery Jones. Jones, an original associate of Elizabethtown, one of the 1670 rioters, was sued by Fullerton, possessing a proprietary title to land at Cedar Brook, for ejectment and trespass. The "jury being all planters" found for Jones. The case was appealed to the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster and the judgment reversed. No one knew upon what grounds the reversal took place, whether upon the ground that twenty years' possession gave no right by prescription, or whether upon the merits of the Nicoll's titles.[45]

The continued attempt on the part of the owners to collect quitrents, which had not been collected in the thirty years of occupation agitated the colonists. It was the ultimate cause of dissatisfaction with Hamilton. In 1695 at a conference of Council and Assembly "Mr. Speaker did propose that ye paying of ye quitrents was a Generall Grievance to ye Country and therefore did propose to buy them off."[46] The Governor would only answer that he was not instructed to sell them, but proposed they send a representative to England, for he "did not doubt . . . . that the proprietors would consent to sell of ye quitrents on reasonable terms, they settling a fund for ye future support" of the government. Negotiations were thus undertaken and in 1697 George Willocks, representing the Scottish owners, was sent to East Jersey to sell quitrents to those willing to buy at twenty years' purchase price and who had no arrears unpaid.

Meanwhile the same ambiguity and uncertainty of the jurisdictional right remained. It was made the basis of defense by the deputies of their failure to maintain the government, raise soldiers or collect the rents. They were as they argued "tennants at will and ye proprietors may surrender ye Government to ye Crown when they please, they having no Certainty of Government."[47]

The proprietors were thus under attack from several quarters. From

---

[43] Whitehead: *East Jersey*, 2nd Ed., p. 191, note.
[44] *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 113.
[45] *Instructions to Thomas Gordon*, counsel for the proprietors, *New Jersey Archives*, II, pp. 106-13; *The Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery*, p. 44; *Answer to the Bill*, pp. 29f.
[46] *New Jersey Archives*, XIII, p. 218.
[47] *New Jersey Archives*, XIII, p. 224.

England came frequent challenges of authority. Lawyers began to see clearly, now the Stuarts were gone, that the claim of the first proprietors to carve the Jerseys into smaller sections carrying political as well as economic rights was bad at law. From 1693 a constant stream of protests from New York governors, appeals from the colonists, accusations by royal customs officers began to flow in upon the authorities in London. In Assembly the money given for war was used to further their claims, despite the Governor's pleas that they should support the civil officers. Money had to be raised and spent to retain party influence in Parliament—£30 was voted for use in England against the New York customs. The following year the Assembly determined to have its own customs and so it authorized a customs house at Perth Amboy.

It is clear to us now that the whole system was fundamentally wrong. Its defects were pointed out contemporaneously by Edward Randolph in a report to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs.[48] The governors of colonies of the proprietary type were named by proprietors, who "omit to nominate fitt persons," but appoint men "of very indifferent qualifications for parts & Estates. Their maintenance is Inconsiderable, which renders their Governmt Precarious also." There has never been any requirement that English statutes should be enforced. And as the trade of many colonies depends upon illicit commerce with the West Indies and the Indians, it is contrary to the interest of the proprietors to suppress it and always contrary to the interests of the sea-board colonists. The governors therefore are rarely concerned to put the Acts of Trade into execution, being "accountable & always lyable, to be turned out at the pleasure of those who imploy them." And in many colonies the people "have bin long Endeavoring to breake loos & set up for themselves."

This disorganized colonial system was now subjected to great pressure. The war with France, the necessity of increasing revenues, the need for preventing evasion of customs duties resulted in a tightening of imperial control. An act for preventing frauds on revenues in colonies (1696) disqualified from royal approval all but English-born governors. Hamilton as a Scotsman was at first held ineligible and was removed. Basse was thereupon substituted in his stead in 1697, although he did not come into the exercise of his office until 1698.

At the same time (1697) orders were issued for the more careful collection of customs duties, and the New York officials were told to supervise New Jersey. Again the proprietors were forced to defend their province. But by this time the townsfolk, especially of Elizabeth, had been displaying a preference for union with New York rather than the continuance of the proprietary régime. The Lords of Trade were meanwhile informed by the government legal advisers that the creation of ports was vested in the Crown, that such a power had not been granted to York and could not be delegated by him to the present proprietors of East Jersey. Accordingly Lord Bellomont, at New York, was re-instructed that it was his duty to control collection at Burlington and Perth Amboy, the two proprietary ports concerned.

---

[48] *New Jersey Archives*, II, pp. 116-24.

The appointment of Basse had not made things any better in the colony. Hamilton had seemed ineligible by the new statute, but upon Basse's arrival it gradually became apparent that only ten proprietors instead of the requisite sixteen had signed the latter's commission, and that he had not secured royal approbation as the statute required. The result was that Basse soon found himself opposed by influential if not numerous proprietors. It appears that he had previously been in the colony, "but in very mean circumstances," as Lord Bellomont reported, "and his carriage now is very foolish which makes him contemptible to the people."[49] At any rate he lost the support, if he ever had it, of the Scots proprietors in East Jersey and alienated the Quaker group in West Jersey, thus becoming in self-defense the leader of the popular party.

Realizing his unpopularity, Basse informed the Lords of Trade that this was due "to my discountenancing the Scotch and pirates in their illegall trades."[50] His Council soon contained no proprietors, but was composed of the smaller and older settlers. Lewis Morris, one of the most energetic and influential of the younger proprietors, heir to the large holdings of Col. Morris, of New York, soon became associated with the Scottish party and joined the opposition to Basse. This preoccupation with local politics did not prevent Basse maintaining New Jersey rights, for while not daring to call an Assembly, he went so far as to proclaim Perth Amboy a free port. Bellomont wrote back to England resisting this as ruinous to New York, "The rib rock of defense and support of His Majesty's neighbouring provinces."[51]

The provincial opposition had gone so far as to be ready to challenge the newly constituted authority. Morris, being in Perth Amboy when the Court of Common Right was sitting, denied its authority, was fined £50 for contempt and jailed till he paid it. He was released, it is said, by friends breaking through the log prison. Troubles also occurred in West Jersey, the Courts being challenged by a "riotous crowd of Quakers"![52]

To what extent Basse really enforced the Navigation Laws cannot be ascertained. Quarry, surveyor of customs, says in more than one place, that Basse was one of the few governors who sought to put down piracy.[53] Yet in June, 1698, acting by the advice of his Council, Basse refused to surrender two pirates to Bellomont, whose commission and jurisdiction in admiralty were questioned. Finally, to the anger of the local populace, he surrendered them to New York.

The New York collector of customs had a difficult time seizing vessels in New Jersey waters. One such vessel, partly owned by Basse, was confiscated in New York, after seizure by the collector of customs accompanied by fifty armed men. But unfortunately just when Basse needed all parties behind him he lost the support of the proprietors. He had just won over the Assembly (first called 1699) to the point of voting £675 to help in the defence of the "Hester," ten pounds of it being "to gratify the best and ablest Council

---

[49] *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 246.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 287.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 216.
[52] *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 379.
[53] *New Jersey Archives*, II, pp. 279, 285.

in Law, the better to state and represent our case in London."[54] Basse was not so successful with the proprietors and local factions which had become more bitter in their hatreds.

There were by now no proprietors left upon the Governor's Council, in fact the popular party upon whom Basse depended was so strongly entrenched that it was able to provide against proprietors, their proxies, or the members of the Council being chosen to the house of representatives. And when George Willocks came to the province instructed by the proprietors to sell quitrents, a conference committee determined that he ought not to be heard, and refused to admit him. Another act was passed in East Jersey changing the wording of land patents to their benefit after reciting "their extream hardships and difficulties in subduing a wilderness . . . . supported only by the encouragement that their posterity will reap the benefits of their labours."[55] Finally an act (cap. 4) declaring the rights and privileges of His Majesty's subjects in East New Jersey proclaimed that the "Supream legislative power and authority of this province, under His Majesty . . . . shall be and reside in a Governor and Council, and the people by their chosen representatives in Generall Assembly," which Assembly must be held annually. Then, having apparently overthrown the *Concessions,* they enumerated the popular and individual rights usually found in a bill of rights. But in giving his assent to such legislation Basse sided too definitely with one faction. Several of the towns had petitioned for union with New York. Newark in particular disavowed participation in his assembly, denying their assent to the vote of money to defend the "Hester"; the second session of the Assembly was so torn by dissension that it broke up partly by reason of its members simply disappearing, and partly on account of the threats of Lewis Morris.

Then, to add to the confusion, the Attorney General in England had changed his mind, and declared a Scotchman-born quite eligible and "capable of being appointed Governor of any of the Plantations, he being a natural born subject of England in judgment and construction of Law as much as if he had been born in England."[56] This provided a way out and the proprietors of East and West Jersey availed themselves of the opportunity to reappoint Hamilton, under date of August 19, 1699.

**The "Revolution" and Final Surrender of New Jersey to Crown**—Affairs had now reached an indescribable confusion. Rioters overthrew Basse's authority, the Courts were closed, the jails broken open and government from the Governor's seat ended. Basse returned to England in December, 1699. But on Hamilton's arrival early in 1700 he found himself subjected by the popular party to the same treatment that Basse had received from the Scottish and Quaker group. The lawless disregard for official action which had brought Basse's government to a close was now turned against him. The Assembly which met set to work preparing a petition against the proprietors and demanded union with New York. They would not give their approval

---

[54] Leaming and Spicer: *Grants and Concessions: Laws of 1699* cap. 7, p. 362.
[55] *Ibid.*, cap I.
[56] *New Jersey Archives,* II, pp. 250-51.

of him and he, knowing that what they sought was "the getting the government out of the proprietors hands," dissolved them.[57]

The Assembly's objection to Hamilton appears well founded. He had been appointed without royal approval expressed by Order-in-Council as the law required, and the opposition which was denominated by the proprietors as that "of some factions and turbulent persons impatient of any government" were doing no more in denying his authority than Morris had done in questioning Basse's commission.[58] Indeed the very words Morris had used were turned against them: "At this rate, my lords, we may have new governors by every ship from England, and none of them with the sanction requisite."[59]

Accordingly a Grand Remonstrance was drafted by the inhabitants of East Jersey, signed by nearly two hundred and fifty men and dispatched to the King.[60] They stated their sufferings under the acts of the proprietors, and asserted that "notwithstanding their Pretence to Government, yet they left us from the latter end of June, 1689, till about the latter end of August, 1692, without any Government, and that too in time of Actual War." They make much of the dispossessions and ejectments under color of quitrent claims. Then they protest against the appointment of Hamilton again as well as of the other Scottish officials, the Secretary, Attorney General, Clerk of the Supreme Court, etc., which they feel cannot but be of ill consequences "the Power of Government being Chiefly in the Hands of Natives of Scotland," who will retard prosecution of "illegal and fraudulent Trading by Scotchmen or others in this Province." They conclude by asking for a Governor who is "a fitt Person Quallified according to Law; who as an Indifferent Judge may decide the Controverseys Arising between the Proprietors and the Inhabitants of this your Majesty's Province: And suite all the Differences which at present they Labour under."

The most extreme violence broke out in March, 1700. More constant and determined opposition was offered to the government than had hitherto occurred. A mob led by one Samuel Carter appeared at the opening of the Essex County Court at Elizabeth and repudiated its authority. When there was an attempt the following day to arrest Carter there arose such a "Generall noise and hollowing with unseemly actions and insolent gestures" that the Court was forced to adjourn.[61]

So systematic was the interference with the course of government that this bears in New Jersey history the name of the "Revolution." Hamilton, residing chiefly at Burlington had appointed Morris to the Council and made him Chief Justice, "believing him to be the only man that can make the province submit to him as Governor without the King's approbation."[62] Indeed with Scottish officers to back him, Morris had declared "that he would obtain his end . . . . or he would Embrue the Country in Blood."[63] The method

57 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 438.
58 Leaming and Spicer: *op. cit.*, p. 592.
59 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 401.
60 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 322.
61 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 313.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 328.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 330.

he adopted for this purpose was that of binding over rioters or prospective rioters to keep the peace. One, Richard Salter, was jailed for refusal to submit, but was rescued from the Monmouth jail by a mob of sympathizers who "beate the said pretended sherif to the shedding of blood on boath sides." A few days later Hamilton came up with a force of forty or fifty armed men, but on being met by another force four times as large, although unarmed, he retired with making the arrests he planned "butt swore biterly he would have them if above ground."[64] The Essex Courts at Newark likewise were overturned, the Constable set upon, the Presiding Judge, William Sanford, pulled off the bench, his hat, wig and sword torn away, and he and the other justices "grosely abused, some of their clothes torn of their backs with many other abusefull words & actions Received from the Rabbell of Elizabeth Towne."

For eight months the anarchy continued. In March, 1701, Hamilton attempted the trial of a pirate, Moses Butterworth, one of Captain Kidd's crew, at Middletown. This had been selected as a training day for the town's militia, and the Court proceedings were halted by the noise of a "Drum beating Continually." Finally about a hundred persons "did traytorously seize ye Governor and the Justices, the King's Attorney General and ye under Sheriff and ye Clarke of ye Court and kept them close prisoners under a guard from Tuesday ye 25 March till ye Saturday following."[65] It appears from Hamilton's account that they were held till one of the dangerously wounded rioters recovered, the officials being threatened with execution if he should die.[66]

Less violent but similarly rebellious actions had taken place in West Jersey. Those of the Quaker faction who had previously resisted Basse, it was said, had been "many of them advanced, some of them being chosen of the Govrs. Councell, Assemblymen, and others made Justices, and all offices in their hands." They controlled Hamilton's first Assembly at Burlington, for though they were but a small part of the community, as they admitted, yet they had gained control by a popular appeal directed against Catholics, and "by their close contrivances at pretended monthly, quarterly, and yearly religious meetings, they outdo (the other faction) in elections."[67] Curtailing the number of representatives, they laid a heavy tax on the province for use in defence of proprietary titles. Accordingly in March, 1701, sixty or seventy "disorderly people" came to Burlington in a "Tumultuary and Riotous manner (taking advantage of the Governor being unprovided to Suppresse them because many of the inhabitants of that Towne are such whose Religious Persuasions will not suffer them to bear Armes)," broke open the jails and overthrew the administration.[68]

There were thus two nominal governors, Hamilton on one side, and Captain Bowne, left as deputy by Basse on his departure in 1699. But between August, 1700 and April, 1703, no real government existed in New Jersey.

---

64 *Ibid.*, p. 330.
65 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 362.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 372.
67 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 380.
68 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 379.

The result of Basse's action in London against Lord Bellomont over the "Hester" was to bring up again the subject not only of Perth Amboy as a port, but of the proprietors' jurisdiction in New Jersey. When the proprietors asked a trial of the port issue, as they were bound to do in self-defense, the Lords of Trade recommended that with it "The right of Government of the Province of East New Jersey, upon which the same is grounded, may accordingly receive a judicial determination."[69] This was a great surprise and unforseen calamity for the proprietors had disregarded all along their precarious standing. Therefore upon this challenge many influential proprietors concluded that the safest thing in view of conditions in the colony was to surrender a second time, without a trial, their claim to rule, and to procure union politically with New York, if they could have the proprietary title to the soil preserved and confirmed. When they were properly advised they concluded that it was too dangerous to have their rights to the soil, quitrents, a free port, etc., stand or fall with the right of government. They rejected the demand for trial of this upon a feigned issue. The course they took proved the safest policy, for in every way they were at a disadvantage. Legally they had no ground upon which to found their case; in equity they had nearly forty years' prescription and exercise, but politically their authority was so widely challenged in the colony that there was little reason for fighting to maintain the shadow without the substance.

The Lords of Trade agreed in October, 1701, that the circumstances of the province were "too urgent to have a trial,"[70] and recommended drafting a surrender. The Proprietors of East and West Jersey presented a joint memorial embracing some fourteen demands or guarantees, the chief of which were the confirmation of land proprietorship and quitrents; Perth Amboy, Burlington, and Cohansey as ports; a united legislature for both halves meeting alternately in the two provinces; continued exemption from religious penal laws; the proprietors to name the first Governor.

The resident East Jersey proprietors, led by Lewis Morris, and the West Jersey group, proposed Hamilton for Governor. They were opposed, they said, "by none but Mr. Dockwra, and a small number of the meaner sort, who sides with one Bowne, who we can by no means admit to be Governor unless we design to have our interests in that country totally ruined."[71] They recommended nine men of East Jersey for the Council, as "Persons of the Best Estates in East Jersie," including Morris, Sandford, Dennis, and named eight of West Jersey of whom five were Quakers. To many of these names Dockwra and Basse presented objections. A documentary war was waged by petition and counter-petition, advice and criticism to the Board of Trade, to His Majesty and to every other source of authority and influence in England.

At last an unconditional surrender of the Governments of East and West Jerseys was presented by the proprietors to the Crown, January 29, 1702. William III died in March, 1702, before its acceptance, and a final formal

---

69 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 265.
70 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 420.
71 *New Jersey Archives*, II, p. 416.

surrender was made to and accepted by Queen Anne on April 15, 1702. On March 20, 1702, Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, had been ordered to take over the command of the militia, proclaim Queen Anne and continue all offices till further notice. On April 26, 1703, Colonel Andrew Hamilton died, and when Lewis Morris as President of Council wrote Cornbury it was tantamount to announcing the end of New Jersey's independence as a proprietary colony.

Thus came to an end the illegitimate right of the proprietors to rule New Jersey, a right which had been accepted for political reasons in England for thirty years, but which had no foundation at law or equity. The exercise of this right in the colony had not extended so far, for it was almost as frequently rejected by the colonists as accepted by them. In the colony passions had been so highly inflamed, and economic, religious, and racial groups so stirred to exaggerate their interest that no government was now possible without this surrender by all parties of their political claims. The New Jersey "Revolution," which means that subversion in 1700-01 of authority, showed that no government was satisfactory to the populace which was too closely dependent on the owners of the colony; the riots under Basse showed that the owners would not give way to popular demands. The only solution was the appointment of a royal nominee.

OLD VIEW OF CAMDEN, FROM PHILADELPHIA

The engraving shows the appearance of Camden, as seen from Walnut Street Ferry, Philadelphia. Windmill or Smith's Island appears in front of the city. The canal, for steam ferry boats, through the island, is seen on the right.

FIRST RAILROAD TRAIN INTO CAMDEN

## CHAPTER VII.

### UNITED NEW JERSEY: THE FIRST ROYAL GOVERNORS, LORDS CORNBURY AND LOVELACE.

**The New Governor**—In 1702 Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, had journeyed to Perth Amboy and Burlington in order to declare the accession of Queen Anne. At that time, however, he left Andrew Hamilton acting as Governor and returned to New York to await receipt of his commission. Upon Hamilton's death on April 26, 1703, it was the common expectation that Cornbury would immediately take charge; yet he did not do so for the commission was unreceived. When finally it did arrive in midsummer, Cornbury journeyed by boat to Amboy and from there over land to Burlington to assume his duties. On August 14, at a council for the purpose, he published his commission, took the oaths and administered them to the Councillors named in the Commission.

New Jersey was now a single province; the two halves, East and West Jersey, being reunited for all purposes of government, and the new province joined with New York under a single Governor. In all other respects than the person of the Governor, New York and New Jersey were separate, having independent councils, legislatures, and officials.

There is little doubt that this executive union with New York was largely detrimental to New Jersey. The chief reason for its adoption was economy, the colony being regarded as too poor to bear the full expense of a royal Governor of its own. A mitigating feature was that it "placed New Jersey under the oversight of men of more prominence and reputation than would have otherwise been the case."[1] But in every other respect it was disadvantageous to the province. Every Governor paid more attention to New York, a larger province, more important commercially and in a military way more exposed to attack from the French and Indians. No Governor resided in New Jersey with any degree of permanence; and it was a common thing for Cornbury to be absent for nine months without paying a visit. There was, of course, fairly easy access from New York to the eastern half of New Jersey across the river Hudson, and council meetings were frequently held at Perth Amboy, Bergen or Elizabethtown; but Burlington and Salem on the Delaware were clearly liable to neglect. Perhaps most disastrous from a political point of view was the fact that the Governor's closest advisers and friends were residents of the other province, and until legislation prevented it, New Jersey offices were frequently held by New Yorkers.

Great controversy had developed in the course of the surrender of the government respecting the first royal appointee. The factions among the body of the proprietors had eliminated their nominees, and the anti-proprie-

---

[1] Tanner: *The Province of New Jersey, 1703-38*, p. 139.

tary party of course could not hope for a colonial Jerseyman. When the choice fell upon Cornbury all indications seemed to point to the good fortune which had befallen the province. Edward Hyde (b. 1661), Lord Cornbury, was the grandson of the distinguished Earl of Clarendon, first chief advisor of Charles II upon his restoration, and whose daughter had married the Duke of York, later James II. Cornbury was thus a nephew of the last of the Stuart monarchs, and a cousin of Queen Anne, which accounts for the appointment. From 1685 to 1695 he had been a member of Parliament for Wiltshire, having joined the Whigs in 1688, and for Christ Church from 1695 to 1701. Unfortunately he did not display any of the talents promised by his distinguished connections. He was, we are told, the "typical black sheep of an illustrious house, his career in the colonies must stand as a reproach against the system which could give such a man such wide power."[2] His conduct in New York caused as much dissatisfaction as it soon did in New Jersey. He quarreled with the Assembly, alienated popular opinion by prohibiting the preaching of a non-conformist minister, and soon had a committee of grievances petitioning the home government against his violation of their rights. "We never had a governor so universally detested," says the colonial historian of New York,[3] "nor any who so richly deserved the public abhorrence. In spite of his noble descent, his behaviour was trifling, mean and extravagant." One of the most notorious stories told of him, one which has got into all the school books, and shocked the puritan sensibilities of the day is from the same source. "It was not uncommon for him to dress himself in a woman's habit and then to patrol the fort in which he resided"; such freaks of low humor, we are told, exposing him to the universal contempt of the people.

**Local Government of the Province**—The population of New Jersey at this time numbered probably between 12,000 and 15,000. While the settlements of East Jersey had proceeded largely by the migration of Long Islanders and Connecticut colonists, the problems of government and regulation had been solved by the creation of townships modelled on the New England plan, with magistrates, constables, overseers, etc., popularly chosen by the town meeting; and in most cases these privileges were based upon charters from the Governor and Council. In West Jersey the settlement had been undertaken at first by means of "tenths" and "hundredths," These tenths had begun to serve as agencies of local government, in 1680 being authorized to levy taxes for the making and repairing highways, having six "honest and able men to be assessors" and two collectors chosen at a general meeting of the freeholders. "Tenths" in the western half and "towns" in the eastern had formed the basis of representation in the general assemblies of the provinces.

But this mode of grouping and governing by towns and tenths was possible only when they conformed to the nature of the settlements and were co-extensive with the communities involved. In the northern half the mass

[2] Tanner: *op. cit.*, p. 140.
[3] William Smith: *History of New York*, p. 116.

or group migration made the township the most natural unit; in the southwestern part the first tenths had been laid out for migrating groups of Quakers practically forming solid communities. But as settlers began to push inland to the northwest and southeast, and as the interior development was undertaken, community or group movements were not as frequent. The "frontier" expansion was largely dependent upon individual settlers, often squatters, and upon large grants of land to private persons. Further organization became necessary, both more extensive than the townships and less arbitrary than the tenths. In 1688 courts of the township type were created for the "outplantations" of New Hackensack in Bergen, and for Acquickanick and New Barbados on the Hackensack. In West Jersey the tenths remained the smallest units, with the exceptions of the towns of Salem and Burlington, which were incorporated in 1693 with a government vested in a popularly chosen Burgess, the presiding officer of the town meeting of freeholders.

The first really extensive improvement of local government took place in the creation of counties. As early as 1675, the Legislature of East Jersey had instituted four counties to include the following towns and adjacent plantations: Bergen, Elizabethtown and Newark, Woodbridge and Piscataway, and "the two towns of the Nevysink."[4] In 1682 the names of Bergen, Essex, Middlesex and Monmouth were given these counties and their boundaries roughly delimited, much more extensive of course than the counties are today. In 1688 Somerset had been set off as a county from Middlesex, as it had special interests although no townships had yet been instituted. The statute creating Somerset declares: "For as much as the uppermost part of Raritan river is settled by persons whom in their husbandry and manuring their land (are) forced upon quite different ways and methods from the other farmers and inhabitants of the County of Middlesex, because of the frequent floods that carry away their fences on their meadows, the only arrable land they have and so by consequence their interest is divided from the other inhabitants of the said County."

The West Jersey counties arose almost at the same time upon the failure of the plans for settlement by "tenths." Six tenths had in fact been laid out in 1677, of these the first and second became of the county of Burlington, the third and fourth the county of Gloucester, and the fifth and sixth the county of Salem. The origin of these counties is a little doubtful, but it seems that they were instituted under legislative authorization of an Assembly of 1686, whose records are lost. Cape May was constituted a county by acts of 1692 and 1694.

The counties were at first chiefly judicial districts, with county courts for trial with jury of criminal causes arising under indictments by grand juries (of each township in East Jersey), or of civil causes up to £20 without appeal. But the counties were soon required to undertake other functions, such as maintaining a gaol and convicts, paying the 15/- wolf

[4] *East Jersey Laws* in Leaming and Spicer, p. 96.

bounty, constructing highways, etc. The difficulty in East Jersey had been that no revenue was provided for these purposes, and accordingly in 1693, to the justices of the county court in its December sessions, was added one representative from each township to make assessments, establish rates and levy them equally "according to the value of every man's estate."[5] Rates had already been levied in West Jersey by the tenths, so that the counties simply fell heir to those powers. Thus in Gloucester County the grand jury in 1681 declared that "for the public use and concerne of the County of Gloucester there should be a tax levyed and raised upon the Inhabitants thereof—(then follow the rates per 100 acres, herd of cattle, per male over 16, etc.)."[6]

The use of tenths as the bases of representation in the Assembly of West Jersey had been given up in 1694, when there were allotted to Burlington and Gloucester counties twenty representatives each, to Salem ten, and Cape may five. A further curtailment reduced these numbers to ten, five and three, respectively, when the former members were found "superfluous, unnecessary and bothersome."[7] In East Jersey the towns remained the basis of representation, though the trend away from the town basis was shown by the fact that after 1682 provincial taxes were levied by counties. The modes of representation were made uniform for the two provinces upon the Surrender of the Province to the Crown. The first royal governor's instructions (Section 15) provided that there should be twenty-four representatives—two each from the city of Perth Amboy and Town of Burlington, and ten each from East Jersey and West Jersey. Two years later, at the governor's suggestion this was altered to two each for Perth Amboy, Burlington and Salem, and two for each of the five counties of East Jersey and four counites of West Jersey. Members' qualifications were at first the possession of a thousand acres of land freehold within the district for which chosen, to which as an alternative was added in 1705, £500 personal estate in money, goods or chattels. For voting the requirement was one hundred acres freehold in the county, or in 1705, £50 personal estate. Burlington and Salem representatives were chosen by the "freeholders and inhabitants."

**The Constitution of the Province**—Although the proprietors sought to show that they had surrendered upon certain terms, this view never received legal acceptance. New Jersey was thus enabled to start with a clean slate, so far as any community may do so. The source of the new Constitution is to be found in the *Commission* and *Instructions* with which the Governor was equipped. Where the source of authority had formerly been proprietary *Concessions* and *Agreements* it was now royal appointments and commands.

The Commission of Lord Cornbury as Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, gave him very wide powers—both wide in discretionary authority and extensive in duties upon which he was directed by the Home Government. He was to govern according to his Commission, his instructions

[5] Leaming and Spicer: *op. cit.*, p. 333.
[6] See Mickle: *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester.*
[7] *New Jersey Laws*, c. 3, 1699.

(composed of one hundred and three articles), amended from time to time, and such reasonable laws as the General Assembly should pass. No one challenged the binding nature of the *Commission;* the Governor also regarded his Instructions as absolutely binding, but in the colonies they were not always admitted or acquiesced in. The Governor was to keep and use the seal of the province; to act as chancellor; to administer at his discretion oaths appointed by Parliament instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to all persons residing in or passing through New Jersey; to suspend any member of the Council if he saw "just cause for so doing"; "And to the end that nothing be passed or done by our said Council or Assembly, to the prejudice of our heirs and successors . . . . (he) shall have and enjoy a negative power in the making and passing of all laws, statutes and ordinances as aforesaid"; to adjourn, prorogue and dissolve all general assemblies; to pardon offenders in criminal matters saving treason and wilful murder—in which cases to have power of reprieve till the home government may be informed; to collate persons to churches; to levy and command the militia for defense from enemies, pirates, rebels; to commissionate officers to administer martial law in time of war.

More especially as the representative of the Crown in the province, the Governor was to see to the suppression of piracy, prevention of evasion of customs duties, enforcement of acts of trade and navigation and of the plantation trade—the neglect of which would be punished by the loss of his place. He was to encourage the Royal African Company's trade in Negroes; to make a map of the province, take a census of masters and servants; list the officials employed in the province.

For some purposes, Cornbury was to be assisted by a Council composed of twelve members—six from each half or division. In the *Commission* the quorum for action was named as three but in his *Instructions* he was commanded not to "act with a quorum of less than five members except in case of necessity." He was to permit the members of the Council "to have and enjoy freedom of debate and vote on all affairs of publick concern that may be debated in the Council." The matters requiring Council consent were: summoning assemblies; exacting courts of judication and public justice, criminal, civil, of law and equity, setting their fees, etc.; a special instruction named as court of exchequer, an appeal court composed of Governor and Council; judges might be removed by the Governor alone "with good and sufficient cause signified to England," otherwise there was to be no time limit to appointments in order "to prevent arbitrary removal of judges and justices of the peace"; they were also to erect forts, cities, defenses, authorize fair markets, ports, declare martial law; care for the poor by providing poorhouses and employment; authorize all expenditures and warrants for salaries, etc.

With respect to the Legislature it was provided that the Governor, Council and Assembly might "make, constitute and ordain laws, etc. for the public peace, welfare and government of our said Province . . . . not

to be repugnant to and as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of this, our Kingdom of England"; they must be transmitted within three months "for our approbation or disallowance"; "each different matter to be accordingly provided for by a different law" with no clauses foreign to the title; "all laws whatsoever for the good government and support of our said province to be made indefinite and without limitation of time"; he was to secure from the Legislature a revenue bill "for defraying the necessary charge of the Government," the salaries for the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Councillors and Assemblymen. Such grants were to be made in a special form with the "humble desire of the Assembly that the sum be applied to the use and behoof of such governor, etc. . . . . if we shall think fit"; all moneys were to be accounted for in England to the High Treasurer," though the Assembly "may be permitted from time to time to view and examine the accounts of money or value of money disposed of by virtue of laws made by them." In addition the Governor was directed to prevent discrimination against New York trade and must get laws passed establishing the same duties and impositions upon commodities exported and imported as were paid in New York; no law might impair the value of coined money, nor lessen the revenue of the crown; he must get a mutiny act passed; have the canons of marriage fixed according to the Church of England; set a property qualification for jurors; restrain inhuman treatment of slaves and servants; encourage the conversion of Negroes and Indians; raise troops and procure fortifications and munitions for defense.

Many provisions had been inserted in the *Instructions* at the request of the proprietors on their surrender—alternate sessions of the Assembly at Perth Amboy and Burlington; revision and compilation of past laws; to quiet the minds of the inhabitants and settle the properties of persons concerned, the Governor was to propose a "bill whereby the right and property of the said general proprietors, to the soil . . . . may be confirmed to them, according to their respective rights and title; together with such quit-rents as have been reserved, or are or shall become due to the said general proprietors, from the inhabitants . . . ., and all such privileges as are expressed in the conveyances made by the said Duke of Yorke, excepting only the right of government which remains in us"; and he was not to consent to "any tax upon lands which lie unprofitable"; nor permit any but the said proprietors to make land purchases from the Indians; but was to accept the surveys and titles of the proprietors and "assist those appointed to collect and receive the quit-rents which are or shall be due unto them." The many protections of the former *Concessions* were no longer in effect but some private rights were guaranteed: "no man's life, members, freehold or goods be taken away or harmed . . . . otherwise than by established and known laws, not repugnant to, but as much as may be, agreeable to the laws of England." Not only was liberty of conscience (except to papists) ordered, but an act was to be passed permitting the solemn affirmation by Quakers instead of oaths in usual forms required for qualification for office.

The position of the Governor is thus seen to be a very difficult one. As imperial representative he is to do certain things and prevent others; as part of the Legislature he is to propose and push certain legislation in the Assembly and to veto other types of legislation. As chief executive he must enforce imperial statutes, act according to English instructions, and at the same time enforce provincial laws. But more important still, he is dependent on the provincial Assembly for the salary and government expenses with which to conduct the administration of his imperial as well as provincial duties.

**Cornbury and the Parties**—The most difficult task was that of keeping out of the local quarrels and factions. When the proprietors had proved unable to agree among themselves upon any person for Governor it was expected that the appointment of a royal nominee totally unconnected with the province would render him free from embarrassing relationships. An attempt was made to give representation to all factions in the first Council named.

From contemporary accounts it is evident that there were still remnants of these factions in East Jersey. There was the Scotch group of proprietors, centered about Perth Amboy, owning the majority interest apparently of the land of the province. The leaders were Doctor Johnstone of New York, and George Willocks, Jacobite enemy of Dockwra. They had engaged largely in land deals and speculations often of a questionable nature. It was complained of them that by buying the good land and selling it to great advantage, they had not only got control of the land but were "masters of all the money in the country," and while contributing nothing to the improvement of the land, had left that burden as well as the support of the government "on the Poore industrious Farmers or Freeholders of a 100 or 50 acres of improved land." "There were not more than twenty of this group," said Colonel Robert Quarry, "and yet they have always by the advantage of a Scotch Governor carryed it with a high hand against the rest of the inhabitants, though more than a thousand in number, and ye greatest part of them, men of substance and sense: The hardships they have incurred from this small number of Scotch have so prejudiced the whole country against them, that it is impossible to reconcile them."[8] Lewis Morris frequently insisted on acting as leader of this group, although he was not strictly of the Scotch group.

The English party was almost negligible in the colony, having its center in London, whence William Dockwra, acting for the minority stockholders had encouraged Basse and Bowne against Hamilton and Morris before the surrender, and soon were to have as representative and agent in the province, Peter Sonmans, heir of Arent Sonmans. Lastly there was the great popular party of New Englanders and their descendants, holding land under the Nicolls patents, and who attracted to their side all the opposition elements or odds with the Scots or with the monied and landed aristocracy.

---

[8] *New Jersey Archives*, III, 14.

The West Jersey factions were not so bitter. There the Quakers were at first heavily predominant at Burlington, and Gloucester. Samuel Jenings and Thomas Gardiner were the chief members of this group. Their politics were in the main dictated by their religious scruples against oaths, military service and compulsion. The Quaker party had controlled the Assembly, and had gained entire authority when Colonel Hamilton had gone over to their side. The West Jersey Society (purchasers from Dr. Daniel Coxe) had tended to anti-Quaker sentiments at first, but when the alignment into parties took place, its agent in New Jersey, Lewis Morris, drew it over to the Quaker side. The opposition to the Quakers was not so much popular as personal, *e. g.,* on the part of Colonel Daniel Coxe, son of Dr. Coxe, who still held the third largest interest in the colony. By his opposition to the controlling group he was brought into alliance with Dockwra, Sonmans and Basse, the minority proprietors of East Jersey. Their chief claim to distinction was the pretense of orthodoxy and the constant parade of extreme loyalty to the Church of England and to the Crown.

Cornbury's *Commission* and *Instructions* referred to the "miscarriages which have happened in New Jersey, the disorder and confusion," the numerous petitions and the surrender of the province by the proprietors who were "sensible that the said country and our good subjects, the inhabitants thereof, cannot be defended and secured by any other means than by our (Queen Anne) taking the government of the same under our immediate care." The Governor was therefore especially instructed to "avoid the engaging yourself in the parties which have been formed amongst them, and to use such impartiality and moderation to all, as may best conduce to our service and the good of the colony." This was almost an impossible instruction. If he was to get a "constant and fixt allowance," as Governor, "without limitation of time" and to have a bill passed confirming the proprietary titles, he must of necessity fall into their hands. Indeed even before publishing his *Commission,* Cornbury was given a hundred pounds worth of plate, Dr. Johnstone testified later, "hoping he would kindly observe his instructions," *i. e.,* for the benefit of the proprietors; and this was soon followed by another bribe of £200.[9] Unfortunately for the Governor, the proprietors were familiar with his *Instructions.* The *Commission* was of course published to the world, but the *Instructions* to a Governor were supposedly private. An early conflict took place showing either the ignorance or the prejudice of the Governor. At the first meeting of the Council at Burlington in August, 1703, when the Councillors were sworn in, two Quakers, Deacon and Davenport, sought an affirmation instead of the oath. One of the Council objected. Cornbury thought Article 49 of his *Instructions* required oaths for all; but Morris, to Cornbury's annoyance, "desiring me to look further, I found in the 52nd. (53rd) par.," reports Cornbury, "that qualification by affirmation was permitted."[10]

---

[9] *New Jersey Archives,* III, pp. 207-09.
[10] *New Jersey Archives,* III, pp. 1-6.

SANDY HOOK FROM ATLANTIC HIGHLANDS
The latter is the highest point on the coast south of Maine

DELAWARE WATER GAP
An unusual view of the Kittatinny Range in New Jersey

Upon the advice of the Council the Governor appointed the officers for both East and West New Jersey. Finally an Assembly was called. All parties were extremely active in the election campaign. Nor were they any more restrained in their conduct than they have been at later times. The historian of the courts of justice writing in the midst of the nineteenth century corruption wrote, "It may be some consolation to find that nearly a century and a half ago, while the colony was almost in its infancy, and with a population composed a great part of quiet Quakers and peaceful Puritans, the spirit (of party and faction) was as ripe and as rampant as it has ever been since."[11] The election was organized and manipulated with as great ruthlessness as was ever produced by later politics. In East Jersey "there appeared upon the field in the Scotch interest but 42 persons (and a great part of them came from New York and Long Island) who were qualified to vote, whereas on behalf of the Country there appeared betwixt three and four hundred men qualified and had they thought necessary could have brought severall Hundred more." But Thomas Gordon, of Perth Amboy, appointed sheriff by Cornbury on advice of the Council, did "Contrary to all Law, Reason, Justice or President accept the choice of the 42 victors against the choice of more than 300 men."[12] The popular party did in fact lose the election as one of the proprietary group later admitted "through an artifice"[13] which was Gordon's adjourning the poll "to a place without all accommodation" so that few could attend.[14] At any rate it is evident that whatever were the results of the elections, there was a great preponderance of anti-proprietary sentiment in Monmouth, Essex and Bergen.[15] Accordingly five prominent members of the popular party—Sutter, Bowne, etc.—protested the election of five members. But the house would not give them summonses for the compulsory attendance of their witnesses, and after a simple hearing of Gordon's witnesses, affirmed the regularity of the election.[16] At the same time the proprietors attacked Richard Hartshorn's membership, refusing to allow him to sit till he prove his qualifications.[17] It was obvious, says Tanner, that "in the choosing representatives there was much carelessness and irregularity," and "the assembly was nearly always guided by a party spirit."[18] At that same election the Quaker party prevailed in West Jersey, owing to the mode of electing ten representatives for the whole province. Choice being made at Burlington where Quakers were most numerous, they naturally prevailed, "whereas had the election been in each County they could not have carryed it but in Burlington City."[19]

The Governor was drawn at first into the proprietary camp. At the

---

11 Field: *Provincial Courts*, p. 81.
12 *New Jersey Archives*, III, p. 14.
13 *Idem*, p. 276.
14 *Idem*, p. 15.
15 Tanner: *op. cit.*, p. 354.
16 *Journal of House of Representatives*, November 18, 1703.
17 *Journal of House of Representatives*, November 17, 1703.
18 Tanner: *op. cit.*, p. 352.
19 *New Jersey Archives*, III, p. 16.

opening of the Legislature the customary privileges of the House of Representatives were asked for by the speaker—freedom from arrest, freedom of access to the Governor, freedom of speech and favorable construction in their words, and lastly conference committees to settle difficulties between Council and House. All were granted but the latter—which Cornbury thought an innovation. It was certainly not Parliamentary practice but was nevertheless the custom in New Jersey. In his opening address to the Assembly he made a somewhat extravagant speech upon the glories and advantages of the Queen's government, and then called upon the Assembly to provide for the support of the government and to pass laws confirming proprietary titles. The latter was of course close to the heart of the Assembly, controlled as it was by the proprietary interest. There was consequently introduced what was known as the "Long Bill," the terms of which have come down to us only through the descriptions in Cornbury's dispatches. As he outlined it, not only did the "Long Bill" confirm proprietary titles, but it completely extinguished the Nicolls grants, overthrowing even the Woodbridge charter from Carteret,[20] and injuring, he asserted, the joint tenancy claims of the English proprietors.

Having now found that he could get no more than £1000 for one year from the Assembly, Cornbury began to turn to the opposition. A month after the session commenced, he says, "I adjourned the Assembly to the 18th. May, 1704 at which time, I hope to find them in a better humour, if not I must try another Assembly."[21] The Assembly did not meet till the following September; and then "fell upon the proprietors' bill again," finally offering him £1500 per annum for three years, but he reports "I saw very plainly that they did not intend to doe anything."[22] This indeed was true, for even the mild Samuel Smith in his history says very guardedly "it does not appear but they intended to make such provision on these occasions as suited the circumstances of the province, yet their proceedings on the whole, were not to his mind."[23]

The issue was now clearly drawn. Morris and the proprietary group were intent upon using their influence in the government so that they might exercise the same control as they had done before the surrender. The only difference they expected was that while before they had the appointment of the Governor, now they must work through the royal appointee, and by means of laws which they would make with his consent. It was their idea that the surrender had been in the nature of an agreement or contract, returning the government to the Crown without legal dispute in return for certain definite provisions respecting their rights, a definite *quid pro quo*. The Crown officials in London several times denied this interpretation; the surrender, they averred, was definitely unconditional and absolute, with no reservations, and was made without legal trial in hope of preserving the

---

[20] *New Jersey Archives*, III, 28.
[21] *Idem*, p. 35.
[22] *Idem*, p. 66.
[23] Smith: *History of New Jersey*, p. 283.

proprietary land interests which might have been lost with the government had it been brought to trial. From that angle the proprietors had remained in possession of land rights by favor rather than by right. Accordingly the "Long Bill" was regarded as a highhanded endeavor on the part of the proprietors to go beyond their rights and beyond the needs of the case. Cornbury was commended by the home authorities for preventing its passage. And indeed from what we can see of it, this will did violate the principles of justice—it was in the nature of an effort to settle legal and equitable claims to property by a legislative enactment made in the heat and prejudice of class interest on a question "which could have been settled justly only by a judicial decision."[24]

**Cornbury Joins the Anti-Proprietary Party**—But the popular party was now ready to play the same game of politics. And Cornbury was also willing to listen to the anti-Quaker and anti-Scotch faction led by Colonel Coxe. Accordingly two of the opposition, Richard Salter and John Bowne, raised a fund amounting to 700 or 800 pounds by popular subscription. Many of the contributors did not understand the purpose of the tax nor its destination and it received the name of the "Blind Tax."[25] It was given to Lord Cornbury to induce him to dissolve the first Assembly, controlled as it was by proprietors and which he was quite prepared to do because it had not met his demands as to salary.

A new Assembly (the Second) was called. The "election was industriously managed,"[26] by Colonel Coxe and Robert Quarry who sought to have men chosen "who would effectively answer all the ends of Government."[27] In return Cornbury was to prevent the proprietary claims being pushed against Elizabethtown and help Coxe against the Quakers. The result was that the opposition now came into office. Salter, the collector of the tax, became a justice of the peace and captain of militia in Monmouth, despite the protests "that he was of a notorious character." The proprietary members of the Council were weakened at this time by the deaths of three members whose places Cornbury filled with Colonel Daniel Coxe, Richard Townley, and Robert Mompesson, the latter being appointed Chief Justice. When Samuel Jenings resigned in protest, his place was filled by the appointment of Peter Sonmans. Most obnoxious of the new officials to the proprietors was Alexander Griffith, attorney-general, who soon distinguished himself by the numerous prosecutions upon information against insignificant persons on the charge of slandering the Governor, but whom no grand jury would indict nor trial jury convict. As soon as the success of the new "ring" was seen, Lewis Morris came into open opposition, becoming in fact the most outspoken critic of the Governor. For this conduct he was suspended from the Council.

---

[24] Tanner: *op. cit.*, p. 607.
[25] *New Jersey Archives*, III, pp. 198-219.
[26] Smith: *History of New Jersey*, p. 283.
[27] *New Jersey Archives*, III, pp. 16, 37.

At first, parties were so evenly balanced in the new Assembly that there was a deadlock upon the vote for speaker—Bowne and Fretwell being candidates. The clerk appointed by Cornbury sought to disarm suspicion of a "deal" by voting for Fretwell, the proprietary candidate. But the tricks of the proprietors in the former Assembly had not been lost upon the opposition. No sooner had the proceedings commenced than Revell and Leeds, two of the Council, protested that three Quaker members for West Jersey, Thomas Lambert, Thomas Gardiner and Joseph Wright, were not qualified. They were therefore compelled to withdraw and, though showing surveys of land in their names, were given fourteen days to make their case stronger.[28] With these excluded little impression was made upon the resultant popular majority when five Quakers petitioned against the unfair returns by the sheriff of Burlington. No hearing of this latter protest was given till the first week in December and they were postponed from day to day till finally voted "frivolous" and dismissed.[29] Not till the following day, December 7, were the three suspended Quakers admitted. Meanwhile the legislation desired had been passed, and on December 12 Cornbury ended the session, after signing eight bills, with praise for the way they had joined the Council "to pass such Bills as are most necessary at this time."[30]

The first bill met Cornbury's demands for revenue by giving him £2000 for two years. He recommended it to the Lords of Trade even though it was not indefinite in time "because they have never had a Generall Tax throughout the whole Province," and "could make noe manner of computation what the Country was able to bear," so that they might give more in future.[31] A second bill was for "quieting men's minds" and preventing a revival of prosecution; and he reports that Morris had previously attempted to recommence prosecutions against Elizabethtownsmen for riots committed under Hamilton. This act was to protect the anti-proprietaries from such proceedings. A third act was intended to increase the power of the popular party by "altering the present constitution" of the province by a more democratic extension of suffrage, substituting for the 100 acres property qualification a simple freehold, and replacing the election of ten representatives at one place by the following distribution among the counties and towns: Bergen 1, Essex 3, Middlesex 2, Amboy 2, Somerset 1, Monmouth 3, Town of Burlington 2, County of Burlington 3, Gloucester 3, Salem 4, Cape May 1. A militia law was passed, by "the unnecessary severity of which," says Smith[32] "those conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms in many parts were great sufferers." A further law for laying out highways was purposely administered to the hurt and detriment of the proprietors. According to Morris "the Commissioners made every effort to injure the proprietors by pulling down enclosures, and laying ways through orchards. They even laid a road across a

---

28 *Journal of House of Representatives,* November 16-17, 1704.
29 *Idem,* December 6, 1704.
30 *Journal of House of Representatives,* December 12, 1704.
31 *New Jersey Archives,* III, p. 70.
32 *op. cit.,* p. 284.

mill pond to make a proprietor pull down his dam and mills, though he offered to build a bridge for them which would cut off ¾ of a mile."[33] All these laws, with the exception of one respecting vice and immorality, were disallowed by the Crown. It is however only fair to Cornbury to add that his advice respecting money qualifications for voting and for representatives was followed by instructions to that effect the following year.[34]

The Governor became involved in a further controversy involving the proprietary rights. Upon the proprietary surrender of 1703, the East Jersey Council of Proprietors had ceased to speak as a body, for they could no longer seal their titles with the seal of the province. The offices of register general, surveyor general and receiver general thus became of cardinal importance in handling land transactions once the Council ceased supervision of their work. The officers were actually members of the Scotch clique—Gordon, register; Barclay, receiver; and Lawrence, surveyor. Some of these men were members of the Governor's Council. Upon the occurrence of another vacancy, Dockwra sought to have Peter Sonmans named to represent the English group. This man had arrived in the Jerseys in 1704 with a commission to act as agent of the proprietors for selling land, authorizing surveys and patents, settling the quitrents claims, etc. The Scotch proprietors fought the nomination of Sonmans to the Council alleging that as his father had died an alien the property escheated to the Crown or should be held in trust by one Ormiston, husband of Rachel Sonmans, daughter of the deceased, with the result that Peter Sonmans would not have the land in New Jersey qualifying him for the seat. There was sufficient influence behind the appointment to prevent Sonmans' removal from the Council, and when he appealed to Cornbury for recognition, the Governor, now in the hands of the opposition, was only too glad to take the chance of humbling the Scotch group. Sonmans was therefore acknowledged as agent, Barclay was made to surrender his commission as receiver general and compelled to appeal in London in suits dragging on till 1709. Sonmans also removed Gordon from his post as register general and Cornbury's aid was invoked to compel him to hand over the papers of the proprietors to their great enemy, Jeremiah Basse, whom Sonmans appointed. By Basse they were transferred to Sonmans and supposedly removed from the province. These men, having come into the control of the land system, made considerable grants of land, such as the Ramapo tract in Bergen County to seven French Huguenot immigrants, among whom were Fauconnier and Boudinot, whose patent for 42,000 acres was limited only by the annual payment of a pepper-corn when demanded. Strenuous attempts by the proprietors at a subsequent period to recover this and similar areas were unsuccessful.

In West Jersey a similar attack upon the entrenched Quaker proprietors was made. Colonel Daniel Coxe was successfully named to the Council despite Quaker opposition, which was technically based on the charge that

[33] *New Jersey Archives*, III, p. 280.
[34] May 3, 1705, Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 235 n.

his property claims in West Jersey had been lost by the sale to the West Jersey Society of his father's estate. This was easily disproved and he became a member of the Council. The West Jersey Council of Proprietors had not dissolved after the surrender as had the East Jersey Council of Proprietors, and in 1703 it made further purchases from the Indians of about 150,000 acres above the Delaware Falls. Before alloting to proprietors their shares, they advertised for each stockholder to bear his share of £24 to cover the cost of the purchase. At this the influential West Jersey Society owners in London, especially Paul Dominique, son of the Commissioner of Plantations, called upon the Lords of Trade to prevent the "self-styled Council of proprietors" from buying land without consent of the English proprietors. As the Quakers had no influence upon the Governor's Council they were quite unprotected when Cornbury required "those that call themselves the Council of proprietors of ye western Division" to attend him and explain what they were and by what right they acted. Upon their appearance he suspended them from further functions, as they were not properly qualified by the oaths his instructions required of all proprietary officers. But this success only added to his enemies. Lewis Morris, as the agent of the West Jersey Society in the colony, was soon able to put the case in such a light that the entire influence of the Society's owners in London was directed against the Governor.

**Conflicts With the Assembly—Removal of Lord Cornbury**—Such another Assembly as that of 1704 was not to be expected once the contested seats were filled by the proprietary claimants. Few members met upon the appointed time in May, 1705, and the second session was further postponed till November. By this time the protests to England had secured for Cornbury a rebuke for interfering in elections, and most of the 1704 laws had been annulled, while Morris was reinstated upon the Council. Yet in one important respect the Governor was upheld, in his opposition to the "Long Bill." When the Assembly actually met, Lord Cornbury's party was no longer in control. Sarcastic thanks were offered to the Governor for allowing them "the opportunity to propose laws."[35] When the Assembly set to work upon the "Long Bill" again to the neglect of the subject of support of the government, Cornbury adjourned them. When they were to meet a year later in October, 1706, the Assemblymen had decided that no better treatment could be expected so by pre-arrangement prevented a quorum being obtained, and as they did not appear later, the session was again adjourned.

In the spring of 1707, upon the advice of his Council the Governor dissolved the Second Assembly and summoned a new one to meet on April 5, 1707. The proprietary party was now thoroughly organized and carried the elections. Lewis Morris had again dropped out of the Council and together with Jenings, Lawrence and Gardiner was elected to the Assembly. Jenings was chosen speaker, and these men managed the affairs of the house from the very first day. It was obvious that they had come prepared for business.

[35] November 1, 1705, *Journal of House of Representatives.*

Indeed one strange distortion of the contest was that Morris, who ten years before was prepared to "imbrue" the country in the blood of the anti-proprietary rioters, was now forced to appeal to the democratic sentiments of those very people. "Morris is one of those who have endeavoured to possesse the people here, that they have a right to have Generall Assemblys, and that the Assembly in these Collonys have the same Priviledges, Powers, and Authoritys as the House of Commons in England . . . . and said that the people here were Englishmen, and were intituled to all the Priviledges of Englishmen . . . . and that they were to be governed by laws of their making."[36] "Nor ought it to be forgotten," says the legal historian,[37] "that the eloquent leader of the popular party, Lewis Morris—the man who penned most of the addresses of the Assembly at this time—when at a subsequent period he became Governor himself, was denounced almost as strongly, and handled as roughly by the representatives of the people as ever Lord Cornbury had been."

This group of proprietary leaders were now the guiding force in opposition to the Governor and Council. First they secured their own secretary for committee to ensure privacy for debates in committees where the work was to be done. They next procured a sergeant-at-arms. Then wide-spread investigation of the Governor's conduct was made, and witnesses were summoned and forced to testify regarding the "Blind Tax." Bowne was held in contempt for refusing to disclose the destination of the money. A petition was proposed for transmission to the Queen, and a remonstrance drafted to be read to the Governor. This was done very defiantly by Speaker Jenings, who had, Cornbury averred, "impudence enough to face the D—!" Jenings read the remonstrance[38] to Cornbury, who frequently interrupted him with "Stop, what's that," etc., at the same time putting on a countenance of authority and sternness with intention to confound him. Nothing daunted, Jenings read on and "with due submission, yet firmness whenever interrupted, he calmly desired leave to read the passages over again, and did it with an additional emphasis upon those words complaining." These complaints enumerated his actions respecting the proprietary agents, Quaker representatives, grants of monopoly, wagon rights, failure to execute two convicted murderesses, and many other abuses grouped in seven heads. To this list of grievances Cornbury replied a week later and made counter-claim of six irregularities with which he accused the Assembly, such as failure to provide support of government, expulsion of members, etc. The Assembly now proceeded to investigate the government. The accounts of the treasurer, Peter Fauconnier, were demanded; but the vouchers were not forthcoming and the Assembly was dismissed before it had completed its work in this respect.

By the time the petition had reached England, the West Jersey Society

---

[36] *New Jersey Archives*, III, p. 77.
[37] Field: *Provincial Courts*, p. 77.
[38] Smith: *New Jersey*, p. 295.

had presented a similar memorial against Cornbury's interference in Assembly and proprietary matters. Particularly were they anxious about the transference of the papers to Basse, "our great debtor," as they called him, In order to counteract this flood of opposition denunciation, the Lieutenant-Governor and Council of New Jersey addressed the Crown in explanation and for the removal of some of the scandals and libels reported of him, asking the use of the prerogative in vindication of Lord Cornbury, for fear that Her Majesty might get neither revenue nor militia from the Assembly in the future. Investigation later indicated that this memorial was drafted and circulated by Cornbury himself among the Council, one member of which testified to having signed it without reading, thinking it a document to be signed as a formality. Several later dissociated themselves from it and its contents.

The Assembly met for the last time under Cornbury on May 5, 1704. He again requested a support bill for £1500 for twenty-one years, and revision of the provincial laws among other things. For the last time the Assembly in reply recalled the grievances noted a year before "most of which doe yet Remain, and we are very sorry we are forced to say that they have and doe still dayly increas; we find Her Majesties good subjects of the province have been and dayly are prosecuted upon information, upon verry frivolous pretences, a method which renders that excellent and happy Constitution of Grand Jury's useless—and if continued put us in the power of an Attorney-General to raise his fortunes upon the Ruins of our Country."[39]

The matters came before the Board of Trade, and most of the questions at stake were decided against Cornbury. Morris was again restored to the Council, further condemnation was received by Cornbury for interfering in elections, no fees were to be levied by the royal offices for proprietary grants of land, and the papers removed from the proprietary offices must be returned. More important is the fact that Lord Cornbury was removed from his post as Governor of New York and New Jersey, and when his successor was commissioned, he was instructed upon many of the matters which had proved so fatal to Cornbury: not to pardon murderers till the will of the Crown was heard; costs to be levied upon accused persons only if indictments were returned; not to grant monopolies; no fees to be levied but what were levied by prescription or legislation; and one clause directed the establishment of officers for the probate of wills for East Jersey, one of the matters wherein Cornbury had not satisfied the Assembly.

It was undoubtedly true as the Lieutenant-Governor's memorial had declared that much of the trouble was due to the "turbulent, factious uneasy" natures of such men as Lewis Morris, Samuel Jenings, who might easily be described as "men notoriously known to be uneasy under all government" but their own, and who did in truth maintain "that Your Majesty's Instructions to your Governors in these provinces, shall not oblige or bind them." Yet one need not conclude as did the more violent "pre-

[39] *Journal of House of Representatives,* May 12, 1708.

OLD VIEW OF CAPE MAY ISLAND

OLD VIEW OF WOODBURY

rogative" men that this was carried to the point of seeking "to throw off Your Majesty's royal prerogative." The truth was that the proprietors had become bitter against Cornbury when he had failed to fall in with their program to make sure their titles, rights, privileges respecting the soil of New Jersey. That he interfered in the proprietary offices of receiver general, surveyor general, etc., in the case of Sonmans to oust Barclay is true, for it should have been left to the courts to decide, but that there was some justification is evident, or his conduct would have been censured earlier and Coxe and Sonmans would not have been named to the Council. Nor must it be thought that all his appointments were bad. Basse, a most capable man, after a strangely varied past was to rise to still further prominence under a later Governor. The Chief Justice, Mompesson, despite the unpopularity attaching to him as a friend of Cornbury's never seems to have behaved in such a manner as to prevent justice. But the personal dishonesty of the Governor nearly everyone admitted. All agree that he could be bought.

Next to taking the bribes, Cornbury's chief offense was lending himself to low political tricks in the management of elections. In this respect both parties were equally culpable. Indeed not only trickery and fraud but actual violence and intimidation remained a characteristic of New Jersey elections for another half century.

The position was not an easy one for a Governor. Whichever side he had joined he would have been opposed by the other. He was expected to hold himself outside local factions, but each side tended to make his salary dependent on supporting its views. It was the misfortune of the home government to have appointed a man who had not tact enough to moderate his opinion of the importance of his office and worth. As it was, each party soon took his measure and he proved as bad as they expected him to be. Having been misled by royal instructions as to what to expect, Cornbury sought to recoup himself to selling out to the highest bidder. The only condition upon which a Governor could live in any degree of security in New Jersey was by a readiness to cajole and encourage legislation rather than by enunciation of the royal commands. Indeed it must not be forgotten, as a recent writer has said, "that in spite of the fierce political quarrels in New Jersey the attacks upon the governor's rule as such were not as bitter or as continuous as in some other provinces, nor was that power (the governor's) in the end so limited."[40]

**Lord Lovelace and Colonel Ingoldsby**—A very different man was the next Governor, Lord John Lovelace, who appeared before the Council at Bergen on December 20, 1708, to publish his commission. But the promise of good rule was short lived, for he had not been long in the province before his death occurred; and all we know of him is that he won the respect of all with whom he came into contact.

The Fourth Assembly met during March and April, 1709. In his address

[40] Tanner: *op. cit.*, p. 163.

Governor Lovelace asked that "past differences and animosities be buried in oblivion," and avowed His Majesty's desire "not to be burdensome," leaving it to the Assembly to hit upon a proper revenue, as "you know what the province can conveniently raise for its support, and the easiest methods of raising it."[41] The House was now under the sway of the proprietary faction, and Thomas Gordon elected Speaker (Jenings being dead). A bill raising £1,722.10.4d. for the government for one year was passed and accepted by the Governor, and the severity of the former militia bill was moderated. The qualifications for voters and representatives were changed from £50 to £500, respectively, in *current money* (as in the Queen's *Instructions*) to those sums sterling in *personal property* value. Among other things, the Assembly protested its lack of confidence in the personnel of the Council, and proceeded to investigate the memorial suit on behalf of Cornbury to the Crown. But the only immediate result in changed officials was the substitution of Miles Foster as treasurer and receiver general for the former treasurer, an office now made dependent on the Assembly. As Basse as provincial secretary, and Griffith as attorney general, held under royal patents, they could not be touched. Basse and Sonmans were, however, indicted by grand jury upon charges of corrupt proceedings, forgery and jury manipulating, and the latter charged in addition with adultery, but was acquitted by a packed jury, as it was alleged.

Within four or five weeks of the prorogation of the Assembly, which took place on April 4, Lovelace's death left the administration apparently devolving upon Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby. Colonel Richard Ingoldsby was one of the royal officers who had resided in New York for twenty years or more. Lord Bellomont had regarded him as "rash and indiscreet." Nor had Cornbury trusted any affairs to his discretion, and had on one occasion severely reprimanded him for actions performed in his absence, as a result of which Ingoldsby had lost his commission as Lieutenant-Governor of New York. In New Jersey he was feared and distrusted largely because of his having signed the Council's memorial to the Queen.

Ingoldsby's accession to the office of acting Governor would not have been very successful had things not been made easier by the appearance in the colony of Colonels Veitch and Nicholson with orders from England to organize an expedition against the French in Canada. For this purpose the quotas of men requisitioned were: New York, eight hundred; New Jersey, two hundred; Connecticut, three hundred and fifty; and Pennsylvania, one hundred and fifty. To these fifteen hundred were to be added twelve hundred for the other New England colonies and the Five Nation Indians. In order, therefore, to secure authorization for these forces, Ingoldsby summoned a special session of the legislature in May, 1709. The hostility of the Assembly to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, which Morris again ceased to attend upon Lovelace's death, was soon apparent. Not only did they dispute Ingoldsby's right to summon them, and forced Basse to present to them the commission of the Lieutenant-Governor, but they sought to have the quota reduced.

---

41 *Journal of House of Representatives,* March 4, 1709.

Veitch and Nicholson denied their authority to make any reduction. Thereupon the Quaker group, which was sufficiently in control of the House, prevented the legislation ordering a levy of troops, and would only permit the quota to be raised by voluntary enlistment, and at the same time defeated the Council bill to prevent persons leaving the province to escape military service. But the bitterest fight took place over the financial measures. A bill in the House proposed £3,000 for the expenses. The Quakers declared they were willing to support the government, but that "to raise money for raising soldiers is against their Religious Principles and for Conscience Sake cannot agree thereto."[42] This was utilized by the anti-Quaker group for the ruination of the proprietors and Quakers. The parties were so evenly balanced that the vote of the £3,000 would have passed had not "Elisha Lawrence and Gershom Mott, Representatives for the County of Monmouth, who are not Quakers, . . . . joyned with the Quakers . . . . made a majority to reject the Bill."[43] Of course, the scheme was for these men to assist the rejection and then throw the blame on the Quakers, and "put them in the position of disobeying the royal commands."[44] Ingoldsby and the Council prepared to memorialize the Queen upon "the prevalency of a Sort of People amongst us who though not above one Sixth of the Inhabitants of the Province, yet by a peculiar Address and a Religious Cunning Influence Too many well meaning men with most Ridiculos and Injurious principles such as are contrary to Civill Government prejudishall to your Majtys Honner and Dignity and the Safety and Welfare of the Country."[45] Fortunately Veitch and Nicholson would not allow their expedition to be ruined by such partisan tactics, and though the Assembly had been dismissed on June 13, yet it was recalled on June 23. The three thousand pounds expenses for the expedition was then passed, with the bill authorizing the issue of paper money to cover it. Finally an act to encourage volunteers was agreed to.

The Fifth Assembly was summoned for November 21, but did not convene till December 1, 1709. The membership was more largely anti-proprietary than the previous, although it continued a quarrel handed on from the last Assembly respecting the style of enactment—the House persisting in calling itself "General Assembly," the Council stubbornly deleting the word "General." The House won in all these contests, for the Council found that if it desired legislation it must accept the bills as offered. Party struggles were continued in the Assembly. Bills were introduced for the settlement of the proprietary titles in East and West Jersey. The bill respecting East Jersey was in the hands of a hostile committee, with Gordon as chairman. He reported that "Mr. Elisha Lawrence, one of the sd. committee did contrary to his Consent blot out and Cancell the sd. bill and had left nothing remaining except the title. And that Mr. Gershom Mott another of the sd. committee forcibly detained him when he would have departed the room whilst Mr.

---

42 *Journal of House of Representatives,* June 10, 1709.
43 *Journal of House of Representatives,* June 13, 1709.
44 *New Jersey Archives,* III, p. 470.
45 *New Jersey Archives,* III, p. 365.

Lawrence was blotting and cancelling same part of the said bill."[46] Lawrence and Mott were accordingly made to apologize at the bar of the House, but the legislation was not continued. The West Jersey measure was killed in Council. It is interesting to note that it was not the Elizabethtown representatives who fought these bills, but the English proprietors and the Monmouth delegates.

Much time was spent by the Assembly upon investigation of the money issue to pay for the Canada expedition. The expedition proved surprisingly successful. Having left Boston on September 18th, it had been victorious in the seizure of Port Royal, by which event Nova Scotia came into British hands. When the Assembly came to attend to the note issues, several irregularities in the issues were proved and reprimands administered, but no prosecutions were undertaken.

A political act was passed requiring residence by members of the Assembly in the district represented, which was leveled, says Robert Hunter later "against Captain Farmer and Dr. Johnstone, of wealth and estate in this province but residence in New York."[47]

Far more discreditable was the act to explain the previous appropriation for Lovelace, the chief effect of which was to give £500 to Ingoldsby, £100 for contingencies, and leave Lady Lovelace only £200. It was put through, according to one of the gentlemen concerned, by the Council who "thought that since such a sume was given to him (Ingoldsby) for support of government they had a just title to a share of it, so before they would agree to pass the Act they were promised each a piece of plate." Not long after this, the Board of Trade decided that Ingoldsby's commission had lapsed by his suspension in 1706, and that he was not acting Governor. His place was accordingly taken by William Pinhorne, as president of the Council. The new Governor on arrival reported "that the difficulty will be to gett back the money, Coll. Ingoldsby haveing already toucht it and his necessitious circumstances will hardly allow him to refund as I am informed."[48]

---

[46] *Journal of House of Representatives,* January 2, 1710.
[47] *New Jersey Archives,* IV, p. 68.
[48] *New Jersey Archives,* IV, p. 10.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF HUNTER, BURNET, MONTGOMERIE AND COSBY.

**Colonel Robert Hunter and Removal of the Council Party**—Colonel Robert Hunter, the next Governor of New York and New Jersey, did not arrive in America until June, 1710. Hunter was a Scotchman, who as a boy had run away from his apprenticeship to an apothecary in order to enter the army. Rising rapidly he had attained a colonelcy; and his charm of manner, wit, and handsome appearance had won him the friendship of celebrities such as Addison, and the hand of a Lady Hay.

His *Commission* and *Instructions* were similar in the main to those of Cornbury and Lovelace; the Council remained largely composed of members of the popular party, though Morris, Davenport and Deacon were now added. Indeed his whole policy at first was that of compromise and impartiality, for he sought to avoid the snares set by the factions. Quarry, who had experience under many governors and was not liable to inordinate praise, pays him some good compliments, particularly in reference to his impartiality, asserting that in the main conflict over "Property," "he will not interpose or concern himself, but leave it wholly to the determination of the law."[1] Unfortunately the party lines were now so rigidly drawn that the very best intentions could not avert the contest. The majority of the Council remained anti-Quaker, anti-Scotch and aggressively Church of England (to which Church Hunter adhered).

The Sixth Assembly, summoned to meet Governor Hunter, December 6, 1710, was controlled by the Country (proprietary) party. Knowing that there had been some hotly contested elections and several disputed returns, Hunter recommended to the leaders of both parties that "there should be noe objections started on either side to any elections."[2] But this required a tolerance quite beyond the parties of the day. The Council's party in the Assembly protested against two elections, whereupon the majority made short work of their opposition by expelling Sandford and Mott,[3] the first for having previously signed "the false and scandalous representation" of 1707 to the Queen, and the second for his share in the Veitch-Nicholson vote of 1709. Despite the reëlection of Sandford, Mott and Lawrence (previously expelled) they were refused their seats.

That these expulsions were unjustified from a modern point of view is quite obvious. But it must be remembered that in the eighteenth century, especially in its early decades, few statesmen and no politicians had any conception of the essential tolerance implied in party government. They did not perceive the advisability of permitting disagreement and opposition. This

---

[1] *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 7.
[2] *New Jersey Archives*, IV, pp. 59-60.
[3] *Journal of House*, January 17, 1711.

essential of party government is born of the prospect of being one's self in the minority at a subsequent period. Indeed until the time of Sir Robert Walpole in England the success of one party over another was accompanied by the impeachment, proscription or exile of the defeated leaders by their victorious opponents. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the first thing sought by the "Country" party should be the exclusion and prosecution of the obnoxious members of the opposition. Despite the constant fluctuations of party success there is little evidence in colonial politics that these mutations were developing an attitude of "give and take" and of mutual restraint. Majorities usually sought to complement their political success with a legal justification, and to translate expedience into right by penalizing their opponents and proscribing their principles and purposes.

The desires of the proprietary party were quite frankly to secure a settlement of the proprietors' titles, to extend the holding of office upon equal terms to Quaker candidates, to mitigate the severities of the militia law and to develop the country in the interest of the chief proprietors. With the Council controlled by the opposite faction they concluded, as Dr. Johnstone's Committee reported that "it will be to no purpose at present to spend time about such bills, seeing the Council has put them out of all hopes of having any such pass."[4] They confined themselves therefore to attempts to oust, indict and convict the Councillors of specified illegalities. A memorial to the Governor deplored the government under Lord Cornbury, enumerated the illegal actions of the Council and refuted the charges of the Council's address. They accused Hall of extortion; Sonmans of perjury and living in open adultery; Pinhorne of miscarriage of justice in the Supreme Court; Basse of the theft and destruction of important provincial papers and laws. They added that the present "ring" so controlled the administration that "all persons not friends to the Gentlemen of the Council or some of them, were sure in any tryal at law to suffer; everything was done in favour of those that were; Justice was banished, and trick and partiality substituted in its place."[5]

The first session of the Sixth Assembly was a long one. Nineteen bills were prepared by the Assembly, including one for £944 for support of the government for two years. But the proprietary party's expectation regarding the policy of the Council was correct, all but three of the nineteen bills were killed by the Council. "Their method of proceeding in relation to Bills was at first rejecting them on the second Reading, and at last when prevailed with to commit them, they either reported them without amendments, and soe rejected them or clogged them with such as made it impossible, or at least very improbable they should pass the other house."[6] A good example of this method was the tacking to an act dealing with the corruption in the courts, a clause confirming the Protestant Succession Rights of the Church—which bill would necessarily be vetoed as containing two subjects.

So seriously were the houses opposed to each other that Hunter finally

---

[4] Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 373.
[5] Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 376.
[6] *New Jersey Archives*, IV, pp. 60-61.

reported to the Home Authorities that without the removal from the Council of William Pinhorne, Daniel Coxe, Peter Sonmans and William Hall "there are noe hopes of peace and quiet in that province."[7] Mompesson voluntarily withdrew as Chief Justice and Jamison of New York was appointed.

From this time on Hunter went over wholeheartedly to the proprietary party. He was convinced that the proprietary party in control of the lower house represented the true sentiments of the province, and this to a recent student of the period is conclusive. "That he, a shrewd and upright outsider, should come to such a conclusion is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the 'Country Party.' Whatever our sympathy for the original settlers of Elizabethtown, it seems certain that Sonmans, Hall, Penhorne and their followers constituted a corrupt clique of officeholders. The argument that Hunter as a Scotchman was actually favourable to his fellow Scots, the leading proprietors (as was charged by Sonmans), is counterbalanced by the fact that the leaders of the Council made great parade of Churchmanship, while among their opponents were many dissenters and Quakers. Hunter though tolerant was himself a good Churchman."[8]

**The Canada Expedition**—In June, 1711, a conference was held at New London of the Governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey for the purpose of planning a further expedition for the reduction of Canada. The following month a special session of the Assembly was called and the project of the attack on Montreal disclosed. New York had voted £10,000, New Jersey voted £5,000 in bills of credit, and it was arranged that the troops of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut should proceed overland under Nicholson to the St. Lawrence there to combine with the naval expedition to sail from Boston and Royal under Admiral Walker. The naval side was mismanaged; it had never been laid before Parliament (for the sake of secrecy, it was said). The provisioning to be performed in Boston led to interminable delays, naval opinion as expressed by Admiral Walker being "that the government of this colony (Massachusetts) have prejudiced the present expedition, instead of assisting it."[9] While according to Lord Harley's account, the whole business was simply a contrivance of Bolingbroke, Moore and the Lord Chancellor Harcourt, to cheat the public of £20,000.[10] When finally the sixty-eight vessels, men-of-war, transports, etc., set sail, they did so with bad pilots and with inaccurate information. On August 23, 1711, eight vessels and nearly a thousand men were lost in a fog in the Bay of Gospee, whereupon the fleet returned to England after ordering Nicholson to abandon the attack on Montreal. Thus after considerable expense and preparation of men and munitions, much of which were lost, the enticing project of driving out the French was postponed.

Between July, 1711, and November, 1713, there were no Council meetings

---

[7] *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 61.
[8] Tanner: *The Province of New Jersey*, p. 418.
[9] Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 401.
[10] Gordon: *History of New Jersey*, p. 89, note.

nor sessions of the Assembly. The reasons, as Hunter wrote home, frequently were that he was detained in New York and that "it is absolutely needless to meet the Assembly so long as the Council is so constituted, for they have avowedly opposed the Government, in most things and by their influence obstructed the payment of a great part of the taxes so that I wait with great impatience for the remedy your Lordships have made me hope for."[11] At length after a two-year wait the Lords of Trade recommended to the Crown the removal of the obnoxious Councilors and the new appointments were confirmed, June 15, 1713.[12] These were John Anderson, William Morris (by this time deceased), John Hamilton, son of the former Governor, John Reading, Elisha Parker, and Thomas Byerly. This constituted what one might call an entire change of ministry. Thomas Gardiner became proprietary surveyor-general, leading to a fight with Basse over his qualification, for in 1712 Coxe had captured the West Jersey Proprietors' Council and had the anti-Quaker, Leeds, elected. Thomas Gordon became receiver general and treasurer general. Farmer replaced Sonmans as colonel and judge of common pleas; Ferry Morry replaced Pinhorne as judge in Bergen County; Lewis Morris superseded Bowne in Monmouth; Tomlinson displaced Spicer in Gloucester County. The old popular opposition was entirely broken up. "In short the greatest part of those put in by Earl Clarendon (*i. e.*, the former Lord Cornbury) and Collonel Ingoldsby were turned out of commission and several Quakers, and men recommended by Quakers put in."[13] Hudde upon removal from his county was in danger of prosecution for a wagonage monopoly and was contemplating leaving the country. Mompesson and Townley died; Sonmans fled to Pennsylvania; Coxe went to England; Fauconnier retired to New York, being in fact the only one prosecuted. Two were still left, that "Vilest of Prostitutes, Basse,"[14] secretary of the province, and "that vile fellow, Griffith," as Hunter called him, the attorney general,[15] and he was removed in 1715, but had remained long enough to hinder the prosecutions. The whole machinery of government was turned over to the adherents of the proprietors, especially the Scotch and the Quakers. "In a certain sense they undoubtedly constituted a new governmental clique, but though not all of them were above reproach as politicians, they were at least a great improvement upon their predecessors."[16]

At any rate the new system worked successfully for some time. The Assembly session of December, 1713 to May, 1714, went off harmoniously. Thirty laws were passed, many of which had been sought for years: Quakers might qualify as jurors with affirmation instead of oath; malicious prosecutions upon information were forbidden; the militia system moderated so that Quakers might purchase immunity by reasonable fines. William Bradford,

---

11 *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 171, note, June 23, 1712.
12 *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 182.
13 *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 129.
14 *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 234.
15 *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 209.
16 Tanner: *op. cit.*, p. 193.

OLD VIEW OF THE COUNTY BUILDINGS, SALEM

OLD CENTRAL VIEW IN WOODSTOWN

printer of New York, became clerk of the Assembly, and his editions of New Jersey's laws are today counted among his most valuable publications.

On August 1, 1714, George I succeeded Queen Anne. He was proclaimed by Governor Hunter on October 18, and the following day the oaths appointed were taken. As new commissions to all offices would now be issued, the Governor's opponents in England began virulent attacks upon his policy and honesty. Particularly bitter was the fight conducted by Samuel and Daniel Coxe, and by Earl Clarendon to prevent a renewal of Hunter's commission.

So far, at least, Hunter's government had run quite smoothly. As early as 1712 the Grand Jury of Middlesex and Somerset counties had acknowledged Hunter's encouragement of rapid justice by "appointing persons as well qualified for judges as the infant circumstances of the country would allow," and "by appointing surrogates in remote parts of the province." Moreover the abandonment of the hated procedure of prosecution by information and the restoration of indictment met with wide and popular support and appreciation.[17] Yet the easy relation of the Governor and Assembly had not been won without difficulties. The militia system, remodeled in order to satisfy the Quakers, produced such a state of inefficiency as to remain a constant weakness throughout the royal period. In the realm of finance, all the surrenders and compromises were made on the part of the Governor, for while carrying out scrupulously the essential instructions, Hunter was forced to acquiesce in what amounted to complete control of the revenue by the Assembly. Not only did he name treasurers and collectors for the two halves of the province agreeable to the will of the Assembly, and allow their auditing of the accounts, but he permitted special collections for special funds such as the tax for the Canadian expedition. The revenue was approximately £1,100 a year. In 1713-14 it was exactly £1,162.10.3d. It was produced by duties on the import of negroes, by excise duties on wines and liquors and by a general property tax. The whole cost of government was approximately £1,000, which was just met by the usual revenue. Additional expenses, such as for war, were met by the issue of paper money. There was a provincial debt of £8,000.[18] That the finances were atrociously managed we can well imagine. When a hostile legislature investigated Thomas Gordon's accounts in 1716, it was found, among other things, that Burlington County's contribution was £246.8.10d. in arrears.

Hunter received £500 as salary and £100 for house expenses. That he was dissatisfied with this, is revealed by his frequent appeals for support by Parliament. "For I must with confidence affirm that some men in my station would have made concessions of any kind how prejudiciall soever to the interests of the Crown, either than be reduced to that misery that I have groaned under these five years past."[19] He was, however, ready if necessary to "continue to beg his daily Bread" from year to year and did not anticipate getting

[17] *New Jersey Archives*, XIII, p. 35.
[18] Gordon: *History of New Jersey*, p. 91.
[19] *New Jersey Archives*, IV, p. 208.

what was required for the full expenses of government. Thus when Lewis Morris was appointed Chief Justice, for which he was recommended as a sensible man, Hunter thought it equally important that he was "able to live without a salary, which they will most certainly never grant today in that station."[20]

By this time Hunter's opinions respecting the trial at law of the proprietary land claims had changed. It may have been due to the control by his friends that he anticipated an easier result than by interminable and inextricable law suits and confusions."[21] Accordingly he proposed to secure an act settling the doubtful and precarious titles.

**Defeat of the Coxe Party**—But just at this point Hunter was doomed to another struggle with the former council party, and the legislative settlement of the long standing controversy was never completed. The accession of George I had necessitated calling a new Assembly. By careful preparation the Coxe party, the anti-proprietary faction and such of the former council members as were left, managed to secure a majority in the elections. It was said that Colonel Coxe had secured his election "by the surprise of an inundation of Swedes" in Gloucester.[22] At any rate upon the meeting of the Seventh Assembly on April 4, 1716, at Amboy, Coxe was selected Speaker. The opposition came largely from West Jersey, and was of an anti-Quaker nature, due, said Hunter, "to the restless spirit of that turbulent man Coxe, assisted by the furious zeal of one Talbot, which has inflamed the lower rank of the People."[23] Talbot, the High Church Anglican priest, as we should now say, at Burlington, was very vigorous in his opposition to the Quakers. He and his followers had, in fact, secured an indictment by the Grand Jury against Lewis Morris, Chief Justice, for admitting Quakers to jury service without swearing them. Intolerant and misguided as was their zeal for the Church this group were not Jacobites as their opponents freely charged. It may be, however, that their success at the election had been won, as was alleged, by "Palpable Lyes, Contradictions and Absurdity backed with a larger rum bottle."

Taking advantage of patriotic sentiment and the recent defeat of the Scottish rising of 1715, Governor Hunter opened the Assembly with an ultra-loyal harangue against the "Devices and Hellish Endeavours of the Young Pretender and Jacobites" and concluded it by defying anyone to attack his administration.

Immediately there arose a controversy over the place of session. The Governor's *Instructions* had named Perth Amboy and Burlington alternately. But a statute in the time of Colonel Ingoldsby confined sessions to Burlington. The old Council had resisted attempts to follow the royal *Instructions,* and the new *Instructions* again named Burlington and Perth Amboy for alternate sessions. By calling the Assembly to Amboy, Hunter was following his *Instructions* and indicating his opinion that they were superior to a provincial

---

20 *New Jersey Archives,* IV, p. 209.
21 *New Jersey Archives,* IV, p. 197.
22 *New Jersey Archives,* IV, p. 210.
23 *New Jersey Archives,* IV, p. 230.

statute. It was, he informed them, "by his Majesties Letters Patents by virtue of which alone you sit as an Assembly," and are "entrusted with a Third share in the legislature."[24] But as the Coxe party was in the majority in the Assembly, no headway was made in the business of the session, so the Assembly was prorogued.

At the date set for assembling, May 14, only nine members appeared, Coxe and his followers staying out in protest at not being summoned to Burlington. This was, of course, the very trick which had been used so successfully against Cornbury ten years earlier. Now, however, it failed because the nine attending members joined in alliance with Hunter to compel the attendance of the absentees. Warrants were issued against the recalcitrant members who were commanded to "attend or answer the contrary at their peril."[25] Four members obeyed the summons and the resultant thirteen being a majority, and thus a quorum, chose a new Speaker, John Kinsey, a Quaker, in place of the still absent Coxe. Though the proprietary party was now in control the month's session produced but one bill—to compel payment of taxes. But they found ample time to play politics. Coxe's absence was declared a defeat of service of King and Country, a contempt and breach of trust, and that Coxe was in consequence a person unfit to sit in the house. The Governor was praised for his "justice and moderation," and the late Speaker condemned for adding "this instance of folly to his past misdemeanours."[26] Another member, William Lawrence, was brought to the Assembly by the sergeant-at-arms and found it necessary to make his submission. But the other members could not be found at their homes, so were expelled from the Assembly; namely, Elisha Lawrence, of Monmouth; Henry Joyce, of Salem; William Hall and William Clews, of Salem County; Jacob Hulings, of Cape May; Richard Bull, of Gloucester; and Ackerman and Brockholst, of Bergen. Not only were they expelled, but together with the late Speaker were declared incapable of new election, and upon the reëlection of Bull and Hall, these two were refused seats by the Assembly.

An attempt was made to follow this up by an attack on the other opponents. Basse, whose commission as Secretary of the Province had not been renewed, was charged with forgery and the use of a counterfeit seal; Griffith was displaced from the office of Attorney-General; and the Council sought to test the Reverend John Talbot, "pretending to be a Presbyter of the Church of England."[27] Coxe fled to Pennsylvania and ultimately to England. Basse, however, was acquitted, and later entering the Assembly as representative from Cape May, finally made his peace with Governor Hunter. Indeed the variations of fortune experienced by this colorful and apparently maligned figure are among the most interesting phenomena of the early eighteenth century. For another ten years Basse continued in prominence. Not only was he the first assemblyman to have a speech fully reported in the Assembly

[24] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 11.
[25] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 14.
[26] Smith: *op. cit.*, pp. 407-08.
[27] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 18.

minutes,[28] but by 1719 he had so completely won the Governor's favor as to be appointed Attorney General. He died in 1725.

But on the main issue of the struggle the Governor and Council seemed to lose. The Lords of Trade upheld the Ingoldsby act confining the Assembly sessions at the town of Burlington. Yet this was overcome finally by a new enactment repealing this statute, because it was "contrary to royal instructions and prejudicial to the interest of the eastern division."

**Last Years of Hunter**—At the request of the Representatives, no Assembly was held in 1717. But at a session of the Council, a protest of New Jersey traders and merchants was read enumerating alleged evils of Hunter's administration. The following year Hunter had his last session of the Assembly. It was very successful, increasing his salary to £600, and raising the pay of the inferior officials. The Assembly, however, was not yet ready to bear the expense of an agent in London as had been proposed, and as was the practice of other colonies, they put forward the province's poverty as adequate reason for being the only unrepresented colony.

It was at this time that the Assembly grudgingly named a surveyor to join with one from New York to run the disputed boundary line. All that was done was to fix the north station point. The boundary line should be run, said the Assembly, at the proprietors' expense. Considerable local opposition was manifested against the surveyors by the residents of the disputed regions. Conflict frequently had broken out between different persons who received grants to the same land from the two authorities in New York and New Jersey; and similar violence occurred upon the attempted collection of taxes by the county officers of the two colonies Morris thought settling the line would produce "Bloodshed and Murders"; but the Council more wisely thought they would continue until the line was surveyed.[29]

The second judicial case involving the Elizabethtown tract was brought to issue in 1718. A long-considered test case in the form of an action of ejectment had been commenced in 1714 on behalf of the East Jersey Proprietors by the Rev. Edward Vaughan against one Joseph Woodruff. In 1718 judgment was rendered for the plaintiff and though appealed to the Governor and Councel (by the Royal Instructions, the Court of Errors), the judgment was never considered and, after years of postponement, was dropped by the appellant Woodruff. The result was that instead of a clear victory for the proprietors, the matter was never allowed to come to final trial.

That the Council was acting occasionally as a Court of Errors is demonstrated by the rather interesting case of Will and Bella, negro slaves of one Burnet, deceased. Their master had by will granted manumission to take effect after ten years' service. But a statute of the province declared that as negroes are a slothful race, manumission must be accompanied by security of £20 a year against their becoming public charges. As Burnet died insolvent, the question as to their liberty or servitude was raised. The Council decided

---

28 January 15, 1717; also in Hills: *History of the Church in Burlington*, pp. 149-52.
29 *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 136.

that their case came within the operation of the statute, and they were accordingly held not to be free.[30]

All attempts of the Governor's opponents were of no avail to secure his removal. "His Majty is very well satisfied with the Conduct of the said Governor," reported Addison, Secretary of State. But a relief from his duties now became Hunter's desire, and in 1719 he managed to arrange an exchange with William Burnet, who held a position in the customs department in England, and to whom the government of New York and New Jersey represented a promotion.

The verdict of most historians has been unfair to Robert Hunter. William Smith, the historian of New York, and from whom many have copied their estimates of the period's characters, declared that "he had a ready art at procuring money, few loved it more." This does not seem justified. To secure £600 for two years at a time neither indicates avarice nor the ability to win money from a legislature. That Hunter was successful in most of his dealings with the Assembly may be credited to his tact and moderation. It may have been unfortunate that he should have gone over so completely to the proprietary party, when popular sentiment seems so clearly on the side of the other party. But at least he could reply that Cornbury's embracing the popular party had certainly resulted in no good to himself or the province. It would have been fortunate for the colonies had there been many more royal officials as honest and just and as moderate and tactful as Colonel Robert Hunter.

**William Burnet and the Old Assembly**—The new Governor was commissioned June 24, 1720, and arrived in America the following September. William Burnet, another Scotsman, was the son of the noted publicist and historian, Bishop Burnet. More of a student than his predecessor, his interest in theological speculation frequently brought ridicule upon him. In New Jersey Burnet's administration proved as successful as Hunter's, for among other things he had the advantage of the advice and information which the latter freely gave upon the situation and problems of the province. His removal and transference from the government of New York and New Jersey to that of Massachusetts shortly after the accession of George II was in no way the result of New Jersey affairs, but was solely due to the opposition of certain New York traders whose traffic with the Indians he sought to regulate. By and large, Burnet was quite as popular and as efficient in his administration of New Jersey as Robert Hunter had been.

In one important respect Burnet found it possible to pursue a more equitable policy than preceding governors. He did not find it necessary to commit himself to any faction. The Coxe party had been so thoroughly broken that it was easy for him to continue to advance Basse and even Coxe himself to posts which their influence in the province warranted. The Council remained largely the same in personnel, saving vacancies caused by death.

The only conflict of any importance during this very quiet period came at

[30] *New Jersey Archives,* XIV, pp. 284-86.

the very start, arising out of Burnet's calling the old (Seventh) Assembly. The date set for assembling at Burlington was February 27, 1721, but at that time only seven members appeared, and Speaker Kinsey declared that "he looked upon himself as a private man and not as an assembly man."[31] The other six members were instructed to choose a new speaker; but the threat was sufficient, and a day or two later a full attendance of Assemblymen was secured. This first dispute had involved the right of a new Governor to continue the old Assembly of his predecessor. That he had acted properly was the verdict, he was soon able to report, of the Lords of Plantations that "the practice was exactly conformable to that in Ireland, where one Parliament has subsisted under different Governors since his Majesty's accession to the throne."[32]

The hard feeling which accompanied this preliminary quarrel led to other conflicts. Of twenty-four members, Burnet reported in August "I had 9 firm to my interest, and 13 determined by mutual promise to stand out against me and two wavered."[33] Petty opposition was experienced over the qualifying of new members in the Assembly, which resisted his right to have them sworn before himself personally. Connected with this contest the one raised by Burnet's message in which he averred that their change of the property qualification for suffrage from sterling value to proclamation value was illegal and unapproved by the Crown. Further tension resulted from one of the Governor's sympathizers being ejected by the Assembly. Controversies over finances occurred; Burnet censured the Assembly for its injustice in condemning the accounts of the treasurer, Gordon, "without hearing him"; and he rejected soon afterwards a revenue bill authorizing the issue of money by the speaker contrary to the royal *Instructions*.[34]

When the Assembly offered support of the government for two years only, whereas the *Instructions* required an indeterminate time, Burnet was greatly incensed, and when the Council's proposal of five years' support was rejected his anger was unbounded. How could they expect royal confirmation of their laws, he asked, when they do not prepare laws for support in the manner required? Finally the irritated Assembly addressed the Governor in protest. They denied making any attack on the royal prerogative, and pointed to their expeditious resolves for the support of the government in full conformity with the practice of former assemblies "for which Brigadier Hunter told this House that they deserved the thanks of the King and Country." Finally they very pointedly declared "Your Excellency's intermeddling with the busyness of the house we take to be a manifest breach of our priviledges."[35] To this he replied hotly by asking who is to tell them what the King's Service requires if he does not? Then he fell back upon that defence which was so open to abuse, "It is evident you are not so much contending with me and the Councill, as directly with his Majesty whose Instructions you have entirely

---

31 *New Jersey Archives,* XIV, p. 145.
32 *New Jersey Archives,* XIV, p. 183.
33 *New Jersey Archives,* V, p. 11.
34 Nelson: *Original Documents of Burnet's Administration,* p. 94.
35 *New Jersey Archives,* XIV, pp. 180-81.

disregarded."[36] The unproductive Assembly after being adjourned to Perth Amboy, was finally dissolved, and hope placed in a new and more pliable Assembly.

The real source of the opposition Burnet regarded as centering in George Willocks and Dr. Johnstone. The former, not a member of the Assembly, had been advised not to attend the Assembly, but persisted in visiting Burlington, where the first meetings were held. He was perhaps the first "lobbyist." Burnet had been told that Willocks "would put the Assembly mad if he got amongst them," and indeed many members became "very conversant at his Lodging."[37] Burnet sought to attack him through his well-known Jacobitism, by tendering the prescribed oaths to him, and upon his refusing them took security for his good behavior. Now, as for Dr. Johnstone, it will be remembered that upon Lord Cornbury's arrival twenty years earlier, Dr. Johnstone had sought to secure his adherence to the proprietary party by bribery. So at the commencement of Burnet' administration he was seeking a similar control of the Governor. Willocks had drawn him into a shady land deal. A previous governor (Hamilton or Cornbury) had issued land patents for unspecified areas. One of these that they had got hold of had been intended as 3,150 acres in the Raritan Valley, but they were now seeking to have it recorded and surveyed as some thirty or forty thousand acres. In order to have this done the scheme involved an act incorporating the East Jerseys proprietors (since 1702 the proprietors had had no executive body) "in such manner that the Proprietors living in and about Amboy would have been sure to have been the officers of the corporation and had the Disposal of all the lands and that without any obligation."[38] Johnstone had sought to intimidate the Governor by stories of his control over the Assembly and of his defeating Lovelace Ingoldsby, but these were without effect on Burnet, whereupon the doctor had raised the demand for a new Assembly, and had gone home with fourteen other representatives. "Even the Doctor's friends in the Council who were a plurality did not seem hearty in any of the Governor's measures."

Burnet, however, emerged unshaken from that struggle. When the elections to the Eighth Assembly were announced James Alexander reports that he heard Johnstone promise the Governor faithfully that he would not meddle in politics nor seek to oppose the Governor's friends, Mr. Eiers and Harrison for Amboy.[39] Yet this was exactly what Johnstone did, getting himself elected by importing "three hundred freeholders, most of which came from Monmouth, Somerset, and Hunterdon Counties to whom he and his friends had given small lotts of land in Amboy." Fraud and corruption were even more prominent in these elections than usual.

In the new Assembly Dr. Johnstone was elected Speaker and while still protesting friendship for the Governor pushed the legislation he and Willocks desired. Among their projects was a bill requiring security of county officers,

---

[36] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 198.
[37] *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 59.
[38] *New Jersey Archives*, V, pp. 57-58.
[39] *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 61.

which was of such a type as to destroy the Governor's appointive power; and one respecting the validity of land titles. Burnet very cleverly disarmed these opponents. He summoned William Bradford, the printer, before the Council and asked where the copy of the first bill came from, and upon the printer acknowledging the handwriting as that of Willocks and the order for printing from Dr. Johnstone, "The Governor observed to the board of what ill-consequence it was to his Majestie's Government to consult with professed Jacobites concerning the framing of laws," pointing out that for refusal to take the oath Willocks must be regarded as an enemy of the Government. One Councillor, John Anderson, who protested that he did not take Willocks for an enemy, was immediately suspended from the Council.[40]

The Governor's success was overwhelming. Not only was the obnoxious legislation prevented, but his own projects were passed, including a grant of support for five years, an act against the Jacobites, one to strengthen the militia system and an act to prevent multiplicity of law suits.

**The Years of Peace and Prosperity**—The Council of the Province was at this time strengthened by the accession of James Alexander. Alexander was a Scotsman who had come to America after the failure of the Scottish rising in 1715. Being skilled as a mathematician he established himself as a surveyor in New York. His ability and character soon brought him success, the friendship of Lewis Morris and Governor Hunter, and a wealthy marriage. He became one of the most prominent proprietors of New Jersey as well as one of the most influential men of New York. In 1722, upon the death of Thomas Gordon, he was appointed surveyor general, and a member of the Council in 1723. Much of our knowledge of the politics of these years we owe to his letters, especially those written to the former Governor Hunter, whose property in America was entrusted to his care.

Among Burnet's further successes was that of securing an alteration made in the composition of the Assembly. Under the *Instructions* to Lord Cornbury in order to maintain the equality of East and West Jersey the divisions were allotted twelve representatives apiece; for East Jersey, two for each of the five counties and two for Perth Amboy, at that time the only incorporated town; for West Jersey with but four counties, two towns were represented, Burlington and Salem. Now, however, Burnet found that the members of Salem were the ring leaders of the opposition in the Assembly. The town of Salem he reports to be "a very poor fishing village of about twenty houses and not above seven or eight voters," which adds to the insolence of the Representatives' conduct, "because, they are sure of being reëlected, through the fewness of their electors, which they can manage, tho the rest of the Country were ever so much against them."[41] Moreover, he argued, the occasion for this instruction has lapsed as the great growth of population in New Jersey has been to the northward in West Jersey, so that a new county named in honor of Governor Robert Hunter, Hunterdon, was cut

[40] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 221.
[41] *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 13.

VIEWS ON DELAWARE AND RARITAN CANAL

off from Burlington County in 1724. He proposed that the Salem representatives should be transferred to Hunterdon County, which he thought would "send very loyal men if they may have the priviledge of a choice." This change in *Instructions* was accordingly made in January, 1724, and was followed by an enactment of the next (Ninth) Assembly, 1727.

The peacefulness of Burnet's remaining years was only once broken. In 1725 Colonel Coxe attempted to reënter politics as Representative of Burlington and Hunterdon counties, *i. e.*, before their separate representation. He was opposed by Mahlon Stacy, a noted Quaker. The sheriff, Charles Weston, held the poll open for a fortnight and at one time adjourned it without notice to Stacy to the edge of the county. The return of Coxe as elected was therefore disputed and the sheriff called upon to explain the writ, which he could not. On July 28 and 29, 1725, the Assembly heard the two candidates and decided that Stacy was properly entitled to the seat, although, says Burnet, the "Quaker interest and the contrary party are nearly equal" in the house.[42] He was not concerned in the quarrel.

One result of the abuses revealed in the investigation into the Coxe-Stacy election was the passage of an act for the better regulation of elections. Until this time election officials had been chosen by the voters, but now each candidate was entitled to name to the sheriff of the county a clerk and an inspector. These were to take down the poll and compile a list of electors, recording residence, person voted for, and have this list open for general inspection. Severe penalties were imposed for fraud, such as the conveyance of land to a party to permit his voting, and the heavy fine of £300 was levied upon sheriffs conniving at illegalities. This act is thus the first of the long line of corrupt practices acts in New Jersey's history. Among its provisions are sections penalizing slandering candidates and the influencing of votes by indirect means, half the fine of £20 to be awarded the informer, half to the crown.

There were no further dissensions during Burnet's administration. Two pieces of legislation upon which the Assembly was set, an act for triennial elections (which was disallowed by the Crown), and one for an issue of £40,000 in bills of credit, resulted in Burnet's receiving a support of £1,000 per annum for a second term of five years. It was also under Burnet that New Jersey was finally persuaded to name an agent in London. The first was Peter La Heupe (1723), who represented several other colonies. Four years later Richard Partridge was engaged as agent and Dr. Johnstone and other Assemblymen named as a committee to correspond with him. It must be remembered that the colonial agent was not the agent of the colony or administration, but simply of the Assembly, and communicated with and was dependent upon the popular body.

It was in these quiet years of the Burnet administration that the movement for independence first took definite form. In 1727 the sum of £270 was set aside for the expenses of an agitation undertaken to secure separation of

---

42 *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 106.

New Jersey from New York. Already in 1723 upon the Assembly's request for a New Jerseyman as chief justice, William Trent had been named. The agitation for a separate governor was led by John Kinsey, son of the former Speaker, and at this time practicing law and serving as Assemblyman from Middlesex County. He had, said Alexander, "a great desire for applause and to be Esteemed a patriot." The Assembly contemplated making a petition to the Crown for a separate Governor. It was, they thought, no small disadvantage to them to be united to so powerful a competitor as New York. Burnet had been out of the Province for two years or longer, occupied with promoting the Indian trade, and the Assembly protest that "but a small part of his time falls to our share. We are so far from mentioning this as a Reflection an any part of our Excellency's conduct that the greatest misfortune we complain of is that wee have not had you wholly to ourselves."[43] But Burnet refused to countenance any such movement at that time as he waited daily the arrival of a successor.

Burnet's very successful administration was now coming to an end. The general opinion of him was that expressed by Charles Dunster, a new arrival in 1724, that not only is Burnet elegant, learned and generous, but he "has at heart the promoting the welfare of these provinces."[44] His transfer to the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in which this success was by no means as pronounced as in New Jersey, withdrew from this Province a Governor of whom the people were justly proud. Perhaps it should be noted that he was the first Governor recorded as a golfer. The inventory of his personal estate at death in 1729 included "Nine Goulf Clubs and one Iron Do. @ 4/—£2. Seven Dozen Balls @ 1/—£4 4."[45]

**Montgomerie and Cosby: The Movement for Separation from New York**—The removal of William Burnet inaugurated a decade of instability and uncertainty in the administration of the province. Frequent changes of governors, often accompanied by a lengthy interregnum, produced dissatisfaction in New Jersey and evoked the sentiment that her interests were being neglected.

Burnet's successor, John Montgomerie, a third Scotchman, was appointed in 1727 upon the accession of George II, but did not arrive in the Province for the purpose of taking the oaths of office until April 24, 1728. There was every indication that the new Governor would prove as successful as his predecessor, for Montgomerie soon showed himself kind and peaceable. Unfortunately he died in his third year, 1731, before he had been able to show his worth. "He is remembered," says one historian, "largely because of the amount of household equipment he brought with him to America to support his new dignity."[46] There was, however, a more noteworthy feature by which he might be remembered, namely his declaration that "he carried no depend-

---

43 Nelson: *Original Documents of Burnet*, p. 114.
44 *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 100.
45 Nelson: *Original Documents of Burnet*, p. 42.
46 Tanner: *op. cit.*, p. 147.

ents with him, but really though whatever Posts of Profitt or Honour there was to be given he did not doubt finding Gents. of Merritt enough amongst you."[47]

Two additional articles had been added to the *Instructions* given the Governor; but they were only partly the result of New Jersey experience. One was that he was not to assent to any issue of bills of credit unless suspended for the consent of the home government; the other was that he must not accept any act for less than two years' duration. But as a matter of fact two years later, Montgomerie did accept an act which appropriated the interest of money from bills of credit.

The only conflict, and that not an important one, came from the agitation for a separate Governor. Montgomerie had called the Second Session of the ninth Assembly (Burnet's old one), and business had gone along quite properly, including the voting of a revenue for five years, until Kinsey, supported by the Quaker majority, had sought and secured the passage of a resolution that "having a Distinct Governor for New Jersey be in the Opinion of the House of Advantage to the Province."[48] A committee was named to join the Governor and Council in considering "the most effectual method of obtaining a Distinct Governor." Montgomerie was quite hostile to Quakers whom he reports as very insolent and stubborn when they had nothing to ask, but quiet when they wanted some favor. He thought their action highly disrespectful to His Majesty," who has it solely in his power to appoint a Governor of the Province." Accordingly with the assent of the Council, he dissolved the house.[49] But his view was not upheld by the Lords of Trade, who soon informed him that His Majesty's subjects when loyally met in Assembly "should not be discouraged from Applying to the Crown by Address."[50]

A new Assembly, the Tenth, was summoned on May 7, 1730. Another of the many attempts on the part of the proprietors to get their land bills passed was made, but failed for they did not have sufficient control of the Assembly, although there were still numerous Quakers in it. The Assembly, with Kinsey as Speaker, passed an address to the Crown, in which they are careful to state that not dissatisfaction with the present Governor, but other reasons lead them to seek separation from New York. Nor would it hurt New York, they contend, while it would infinitely assist New Jersey. The reasons they enumerate were: the need for a resident Governor, whose time will not be taken up in another province; the desire for officers who would reside in New Jersey and spend their salaries here instead of benefiting another province; and the fact that the province had now outgrown its infancy and was as able and willing to support an independent government as any neighboring Colony; moreover they expected that "such a Governor might tend to increase our wealth, and put us in a condition to emulate our neighbours in

---

[47] *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 184.
[48] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 398.
[49] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 399.
[50] *New Jersey Archives*, V p. 248.

trade and navigation."[51] It was true that a very strong case could be made out for separation. Undoubtedly the practice of appointing New Yorkers to New Jersey offices, for the inadequate remuneration in New Jersey made the holding of posts in both provinces necessary, had resulted in a neglect of New Jersey affairs, and had produced a lack of proper information and advice upon the politics of this province. Very frequently, too, posts remained unfilled for months and even years, as the Council asserted in the Memorial it prepared for transmission to England.[52] If the wealth of the province was sufficiently great to enable it to support a separate government, and if it were willing to do so, there was really nothing that could be alleged in opposition.

In addition to its resolutions for separation, the Assembly of 1730 produced much needed legislation. Fifteen bills were passed in the two months of May and June, dealing with appropriations, duty on imported convicts, naturalization and more speedy winding up of estates in chancery.

Upon the death of Governor Montgomerie in July, 1731, the president of the Council, Lewis Morris, assumed the administration and conducted it until the arrival of William Cosby in August, 1732. Cosby was a naval officer, it is said, of rather low type. He had just been removed from Minorca upon charges of mal-administration; and the bad mistake on the part of the home authorities in appointing such a man illustrates the weakness of the eighteenth century colonial system. Before he had been in America many months similar charges were made regarding his administration, and both his ability and his honesty were soon attacked.

Of all the Governors he paid less attention to New Jersey than any other. Between August, 1732 and April, 1736, when his death occurred, there was but one Assembly, a session of the old Tenth. Nor are the Council minutes for this period very full. Most of Cosby's time was taken up in the conflict which developed in New York between himself and the Morris-Alexander faction, of which the high mark is the prosecution of the printer Zenger for publication of libelous matter. It was unfortunate that these men were also influential in New Jersey, and thus tended somewhat to disrupt affairs here, too.

Cosby had a bad beginning in New Jersey. Upon his arrival in Perth Amboy to take over the seals he came to the house of Lewis Morris, acting Governor, but was kept walking up and down an hour or two, by Morris, who was occupied in a last moment Chancery decree—which, says Cosby, "was given hastily before the witnesses were fully examined and in favour of Morris's Son's wife and her sister."[53] Shortly after this the quarrel in New York over the back pay of Montgomerie's allowance and its allocation between the acting Governor and Cosby led to the removal of Morris and Alexander from office. This was soon followed by Morris' secret departure for England to protect his interests.

On April 27, 1733, Cosby met the Assembly at Burlington, and in his

---

51 Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 422.
52 *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 2969.
53 *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 345.

opening address promised to divide his attention between them equally. Little was done by the representatives in the first seven weeks beyond discussion of separation from New York and, accordingly, on June 9, the Governor adjourned them for a month. It was alleged that a bribe of £1,000 ended Cosby's active opposition to separation of New Jersey from New York.

The Legislature made no real attempt to deal with the problems of the days except in one instance. It was at this session of the Legislature that an act to regulate fees was passed similar to that attempted under Governor Burnet. It was actively opposed by the proprietary influence and by the legal adviser to whom the Lords of Trade sent it for study, and accordingly disallowed. It was a long statute, it was reported. "One may fairly presume that the majority of the assembly were Debtors, and not Creditors. And the sum and Substance of this their act tho' so long and much clouded and disguised with a multitude of words might have been couched in these four negatives and one Affirmative:

We will pay no Law Fees
We will have no Lawyers
We will pay no Custom-House Fees
Neither will we pay our Debts

But we will punish every man that shall p'tend to sue for his Own."[54]

William Cosby died March 10, 1736. Thereupon John Anderson assumed the government as senior member of the Council (Morris having previously gone to England upon his suspension from his office). A petition for a separate Governor was made to the home authorities. Then on March 28, 1736, Anderson died and John Hamilton assumed the office of President of the Council.

An unnecessary and nasty quarrel took place upon the return of Lewis Morris from England. On October 20, 1736, he appeared before the Council claiming to have *Additional Instructions* to himself as President of the Council under the hand of Queen Caroline (George II being then abroad in Hanover). He would not show the original, for the Council upholding Hamilton would not promise to return them to him if he did.

There were thus two opposed governments in the colony, a situation which recalls the conflict under Hamilton and Basse, in which Morris had been a ringleader forty years before. On the one hand was Lewis Morris claiming that he was still the president and senior member of the Council, as shown by the Queen's instructions; while on the other hand Hamilton contended that by absenting himself from the province under Cosby without leave, Morris had forfeited his Council seat. Proclamations by Hamilton and the Council from New Brunswick were met by counter-proclamations by Morris at Perth Amboy. Fortunately there was no violence or bloodshed, as in the former riots; no one but the parties concerned took the matter with sufficient seriousness to risk property or limb. Time was permitted to settle the issue pacifically. In June, 1737, Lord Delaware was named Governor of

[54] *New Jersey Archives*, V, p. 393.

New York and New Jersey, but refused the appointment. Shortly after this, Admiral George Clinton was commissioned as Governor of New York, and the home government decided upon the selection of a separate Governor for New Jersey.

# CHAPTER IX.

## NEW JERSEY AS A SEPARATE ROYAL PROVINCE, 1738-1762.

**The First Separate Governor, Lewis Morris, 1738-62**—When the Lords of Trade reported that they were of the opinion that a "separate Governor, whom the province is willing to support, would be a means to give a quicker despatch to their publick affairs, to increase their trade and number of people, and very much advance the interest of the province," there was one man who stood out as preëminently suited for the post. Of all the figures connected with the development of New Jersey, Lewis Morris is the most commanding and impressive. For fully half a century, formative years of the utmost consequence to the colony, this man was at the center of affairs and if not the mainspring of action he was at least one of the regulating wheels within the political mechanism.

Born in the neighboring colony of New York in 1670, the son of a self-exiled Cromwellian soldier, it was inevitable that he should play a large part in the internal politics of the two colonies. Losing his parent in his infancy, Morris came under the care of an uncle whom he succeeded in 1691 in the ownership of the estates of Morrisania in New York and Tintern (Tinton) Manor in Monmouth County, New Jersey. Lacking the proper domestic control, his headstrong nature was given free play as a youth and his talents but improperly developed and disciplined. It is said that he spent some few years wandering about the southern colonies and West Indies earning his living as best he might. It is perhaps at this time that he developed the intuitive insight into men's character for which he was so widely noted.

From the very first Lewis Morris had been drawn into the counsels of the proprietary party, both on account of his own holdings and as a result of his marriage to the daughter of James Graham, attorney general of the province. Becoming a member of Hamilton's Council in 1692, he remained thenceforth almost constantly a member except when suspended under Cornbury and elected to the Assembly. For many years he was a leading figure among the East Jersey proprietors resident in the colony and was at one time also agent for the West Jersey Society. He had been the leading opponent in turn of Basse, Dockwra, Cornbury, Coxe and Sonmans and was for long the mainstay of the Amboy clique of Scottish proprietors. He had taken an active part in the riots of 1699 and 1700, and in all these land contests he was of course to be found upon the side of the proprietors. On two occasions he had been in England upon the business of the province. Indeed it was largely due to his efforts among the proprietors in New Jersey and the proprietors in England that the surrender to the Crown was made in 1702. As a result of this leadership it had been confidently anticipated that he would be the first royal Governor of the province. Instead of this Lord Cornbury had been appointed, and as might easily be expected, Morris, on

the Council, could not feel very friendly. When Cornbury began to meddle in politics and invade the rights of the proprietors and privileges of the people, Lewis Morris fell naturally into the position of spokesman for the colonists and the people's tribune. Thirty years later he had played the same rôle in appealing to England in person against Governor Cosby.

Respected and revered as the "grand old man" of the colony, the disillusionment experienced in the first months of Morris' rule caused the greatest popular indignation and wrath. And before very many months had passed the domineering and cranky old man had made for himself a reputation as hateful as that of Cornbury. Many writers have thus been surprised to find that the rule of such a distinguished champion of popular liberties should prove so unpopular and so arbitrary. But the truth is that he was champion of popular rights only when they coincided with the privileges of the proprietors. His threats against the Basse partisans should have given away his views. More important perhaps is his conduct when acting as Governor in the three periods of interregnum. Instead of being, as Cornbury pictured, one unhappy under any government and constantly seeking the restriction of His Majestey's prerogative, he was but too keen on the prerogative if used in the way he favored. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle in 1732, he expressed opposition to the scheme for separate Governors. "The rendering of governors and all other officers entirely dependent on the people is the generall endeavour of all the plantations in America, and nowhere pursued with more steadinesse and less decency than in New Jersey, and were they indulged with a separate governour before they had made propper provision for his support and that of the officers of the government he must be a man of very uncommon abilities who will be capable of working them up to their duty."[1]

The worst features of his character were revealed in Lewis Morris, who was nearly seventy years of age, and obscured from view his undoubted services at an earlier period. "With advancing age," says one writer, "his egotism led him to believe that his worth was not appreciated, and his administration, instead of being a popular one, was a disappointment to the people," who[2] soon "learned by experience that the new governor assumed a different attitude upon public questions from that which he had previously taken."

A constitutional innovation of value was introduced by Morris at the very start. He had formerly advocated the abandonment of the Governor's attendance and presiding over the Council when it acted as a legislative body. For this reform he received the thanks of the Assembly who thought the former practice "had not only very much influenced their debates, but often produced very bad effects, and greatly thwarted and obstructed the dispatch of publick business."[3] It was a politic move, says Gordon, for "by it he relinquished no power, since his right of absolute negative upon all bills was not

[1] *New Jersey Archives,* V, p. 365.
[2] Fisher: *op. cit.,* p. 29.
[3] *Journal of the House,* October 28, 1738.

TARGET ROCK, BERGEN COUNTY
Part of a pillar fallen from Palisades centuries ago

ONE OF THE HIGHEST STRETCHES OF THE PALISADES CLIFFS
Height 540 feet

impaired, but he avoided much trouble, and maintained more securely the dignity of his office, which, in the debates of a legislative council, must often have been in danger."[4] One of his chief difficulties with the Council was in getting a quorum to attend. At last he solved the matter by arranging for quarterly meetings on the last Tuesdays of March, June, September, and December. He was in fact in full control of the Council upon which his son, Robert Hunter Morris, Chief Justice of New Jersey, sat together with his son-in-law, Edward Antill. This close connection of Governor and Council, both of them in the proprietary interest, merely embittered the Assembly and made it keener to misinterpret the policy of the administration.

**Conflicts With the Assembly**—We have seen that under other Governors the antagonism between executive and Legislature was largely dependent upon the character and ability of the Governor, and his tact in steering clear of the deepseated antagonism in the colony. Now Morris was unfortunately not only lacking in tact and self-restraint, but had also committed himself wholeheartedly to one party, the proprietary group. There were severe causes of conflict between Governor and Council on the one hand and the popular Assembly on the other. The chief ones concerned the support of the government, the question of military aid in the wars of 1739 and 1744, and the problem of land titles.

With respect to the first of these, support of the government, Morris declared his opinion to the first Assembly (the Eleventh) that he met on October 27, 1738, at Perth Amboy. Assembly grants of supply, he said, should come before, not after, making laws. As there had been practically no legislation since 1733 and very little then, the Assembly were rightly indignant at his unnecessary presumption. A bitter contest ensued in which a proposal to recompense the Governor for his share in securing separation from New York was defeated and the question of support postponed till late in February, 1739. The bills in which the Assembly was interested: for regulating roads; for more frequent assemblies and elections; for shortening law suits and limiting appeals to the Supreme Court; for obliging sheriffs to give security; and for laying duties on staves and shingles, were rejected by the Governor or Council with the result that the only support granted was £1,000 for the Governor for three years. Though this was twice as much as the former joint Governors of New York and New Jersey received from this province, its value in English money, he said, was but £550 sterling. In addition the bill cut in half the salaries of the other officials. He accepted it, Morris said, simply as an earnest of what they would do. Yet the point of view of the Assembly might have been seen from their refusal to permit the Council to confer upon changes, intending to keep finance definitely in their own hands. The Assembly was therefore dissolved, having passed but four bills, the militia act, support act, one to restrain extravagant interest and an

[4] *History of New Jersey*, p. 98.

act creating Morris County. It was as a result of this contest that Morris proposed to the Lords of Trade that Parliament should set by law the amount of support to be given a Governor and his officials in each colony, which colony must there provide it as best they might, "and in case of their refusal or neglect, to be done by the Governor and Council."[5]

To the question of support of the government was soon added the problem of getting appropriations for war from a Quaker Assembly. The occasion was the outbreak of hostilities of Spain, the Jenkins' Ear War or Third Inter-Colonial War, 1839. A naval attack was planned under Admiral Vernon against Cartagena on the Spanish West Indies. The Twelfth Assembly which was summoned in April, 1740, to give the required assistance, did little for several months, making frequent adjournment to avoid the matter. Finally, they passed a bill for issuing two thousand pounds in bills to bear the cost of victualling and transporting the expedition. It was not in the form desired by Morris, nor could his refusing to prorogue them secure a bill to enlist men and equip and discipline them. Accordingly only three hundred volunteers were enlisted and these almost exclusively from East Jersey. The money proved too little for their support and the expedition was delayed long beyond its time. It appears that the men stationed at Perth Amboy nearly mutinied for lack of pay; moreover the Assembly had refused to pass a mutiny bill. Finally, when they sailed in October instead of in September they were inadequately prepared for the climatic conditions, so that the greatest losses occurred as a result of the weather. When reinforcements were demanded, Morris and the Council thought that the Assembly had done all that they were willing to.

In the next two sessions of the Assembly (October 1741 and 1742) a fair degree of harmony prevailed. Yet the Governor and Council did not become any more popular by the rejection of the long desired bills brought up time after time to regulate fees, register deeds, issue £40,000 in bills, require security from sheriffs and restrict appeals to the Supreme Court. One clever trick used by the Assembly is worthy of note. The Council suspended the fees bill for royal approval, whereupon the Assembly resolved that "it be a rule for the government of the people till his Majesty's will be known."[6]

Three years later the war extended to France, and in June, 1744, Morris summoned a second session of the Thirteenth Assembly to make provision for attack and defense against the French and their Indian allies. The Council now led the way in preparing legislation to reform the militia act, which the Assembly declared was already quite adequate. The latter refused both to impose a money payment upon Quakers resisting military service, and also to make them drill. The result was that Morris dissolved the Assembly, declaring that they were resolved to make no provision for the defense of the country. The Fourteenth Assembly immediately summoned in August,

[5] *Papers of Lewis Morris*, p. 62.
[6] *Morris Papers*, p. 182.

1744, contained but six new members, mostly unfavorable to the Governor. Samuel Nevill was chosen Speaker and promised to take the necessary steps for the support of the government. But nothing was done for this purpose, though before its adjournment to Burlington, the Assembly took action which brought the struggle to a head.

Four resolutions were adopted by the Assembly upon the state of public affairs: (1) That the attendance of only six or seven of the Council was a hindrance to public business; (2) that it was inconsistent with the freedom of the people that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court be a member of the Council; (3) that the need of economy for the war made restriction of expenses imperative; (4) that the colony was unable to support the government as in the past, the Assembly therefore resolved to halve the salaries of officials.[7] From these resolutions we can see that the issues which were later to lead to the overthrow of royal government were becoming clear even at this time. Partridge, the Quaker agent of the colony in London, had sent a copy of a proposed law of Parliament to prevent bills of credit in the colonies. Thereupon the Assembly resolved that its adoption would be an "encroachment upon the fundamental Constitution of this Collony and the Concessions made to the first Setttlers thereof by His Majestie's Royall Ancestors, but also destruction of the liberties and properties of His Majestie's Subjects now inhabiting the same."[8]

This conduct led Morris to assume a very high tone, and he dissolved three Assemblies in 1744 and 1745. "His addresses to the Assembly," says Gordon, "were at times political lectures, delivered with all the air of superiority which he supposed his station and greater intellect warranted and at other times revilings, alike unworthy of him and the House."[9] What offended the Governor most was that the Assembly refused to make the appropriations until the bills they desired were assented to. Indeed in 1745 at an April Legislature, he advanced a very false doctrine respecting the English practice, saying, "that Kings of England have from time immemorial refused assent to laws without assigning reasons and if the House of Commons made it a condition of support could it bear a milder construction than an attempt to alter the Constitution." For his own part, he went on, no assent might be expected "unless sufficient provision be made for the support of the government previous to the passing of any bill. And this, Gentlemen, I desire you to take notice of and govern yourselves accordingly." But the Assembly were not to be browbeaten and replied that they would "defer such bills until some more favourable opportunity when reason and argument may have greater influence." Later they refused anything further "until they have an assurance of obtaining some acts they think they have a right to, and very necessary to the colony." The bills which were so important in the minds of the Assemblymen have been named before. They involved additional security

[7] *New Jersey Archives*, XV, p. 369.
[8] *Morris Papers*, p. 221.
[9] *History of New Jersey*, p. 99.

to be given by sheriffs (the Governor's appointees), a bill reducing fees, one restricting law suits and most of all the very popular project of an issue of £40,000 in paper money. Early in 1745 Governor Shirley of Massachusetts formed a plan for the seizure of Louisburg. The Assembly when asked to take part met the request with the same caution and hesitation, the excuse being the unprotected nature of the New Jersey coast. The attack was accordingly executed by the New Englanders alone, and proved successful, but reinforcements were required to hold the post. Finally the Fifteenth Assembly in June of 1745 voted £2,000 out of the treasury, hoping that this would be all the aid required.

It was at this time that a further matter of dispute arose. The Assemblymen had always been very particular to keep the alternation of session at Amboy and Burlington. It had long been a sore point with Morris that he could not have one official residence, and now his health was giving way he found traveling to Burlington and particularly to Amboy exacting. In August the House was prorogued to Trenton. Upon its Assembly they requested to be informed of his instruction for the meeting place, whereupon he prorogued them, knowing that they would use that as an excuse for lack of progress. His illness at Kingsbury in September caused a further summoning to Trenton. and again the Assembly objected. The committee sent to question him was not received and the House resolved it "a manifest denial of the freedom of access to the Governor, and of the privileges of the House."[10]

But the Governor was really very ill, and the next Assembly (Sixteenth) meeting on February 26, 1746, proved more conciliatory. All was going quite smoothly in the periods of session but the health of the Governor interrupted them frequently. The Governor was accepting bills which he was too sick to read or study and the Assembly was promising revenue, passing the militia laws and other necessary ones, when suddenly the news came that the Crown had disallowed the "fees" act upon Morris' recommendation. Neither Governor nor Assembly trusted the other and the support bill was made conditional upon Morris' getting the paper money bill approved at home. This the Governor refused to undertake. But during one of the House's adjournments Morris died on May 21, 1746. The only bill that had been passed was the militia bill for one year, a precaution intended to ensure annual sessions. Accordingly at his death the Governor's salary was in arrears and his widow petitioned for its payment, for two years, at £1,000 a year. But the Assembly would hear nothing of it, and despite the recommendation of the Lords of Trade to the next Governor they replied with a long enumeration of his sins ending, "But to put the matter beyond dispute, although Governor Morris, in his life time and his executors now, do, insist upon the payment of what they are pleased to term arrears, yet the House have his own opinion in a similar case to justify their not allowing them." The Assembly were thus turning upon the late unpopular Governor the very treatment that he had urged for the first unsuccessful royal representative forty years before.

---

[10] *Papers of Lewis Morris*, p. 276.

**Land Troubles**—More important for the average resident of the province than the political struggles of Governor and Assembly were the economic problems of this period. The population was approximately doubling every twenty years. The 32,442 of the census of 1726 had become 61,383 by the census of 1745. The following census enumeration of the years 1726, 1737, and 1745, however, reveal much more than a simple growth of numbers.

| East Jersey. County of | Census of 1726 | Census of 1737 | % Increase Over 1726 | Census of 1745 | % Increase or Decrease Over 1737 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Middlesex | 4,009 | 4,764 | 16 | 7,612 | + 59 |
| Essex | 4,230 | 7,019 | 66 | 6,908 | — 3 |
| Monmouth | 4,879 | 6,086 | 24 | 8,627 | + 42 |
| Somerset | 2,271 | 4,505 | 98 | 3,239 | — 35 |
| Bergen | 2,673 | 4,095 | 53 | 3,006 | — 37 |
| East Jersey Total | 18,062 | 25,437 | 40 | 29,472 | + 16 |
| Slaves in this | 1,900 | 3,071 | | 3,180 | |
| West Jersey. | | | | | |
| Burlington | 4,129 | 5,238 | 27 | 6,803 | + 29 |
| Morris | | | | 4,436 | +143 |
| Hunterdon | 3,377 | 5,570 | 66 | 9,151 | |
| Gloucester | 3,229 | 3,267 | 1 | 3,506 | + 7 |
| Salem | 3,977 | 5,804 | 47 | 6,847 | + 16 |
| Cape May | 668 | 1,004 | 50 | 1,188 | + 18 |
| West Jersey Total | 14,380 | 21,965 | 49 | 31,911 | + 45 |
| Slaves in this | 650 | 910 | | 1,425 | |
| Province Total | 32,442 | 47,402 | 46 | 61,383 | + 29 |

From this it will be observed that while the growth at Morris' accession was chiefly in Somerset County, at the end of this period it was in the two frontier counties of Morris and Hunterdon. In fact the previously rapid growing counties were in decline, and in East Jersey, Middlesex and Monmouth alone continued to grow. West Jersey pushed to the front as the westward movement gained force and because of its greater expanse than East Jersey it began to take on a larger population. The phenomenal growth was confined to the new counties in the west and northwest of the province.

The occupation of the western wilderness should have proved highly profitable for the proprietors of the lands of New Jersey, but they were not able to maintain their rights in the face of the advancing tide of squatters and frontiersmen. There were many causes of discontent, but the chief one was that the land system had not yet been finally settled. The disputed boundaries were still annoyances to the bordering residents. Because the line from the Hudson to the North Station point had not been officially run, it left the borders under the claims of rival governments. Jurisdiction over New Jerseymen was claimed and forcibly exercised at times to a distance of seven miles within the line claimed by this province, as in the ejectment proceedings brought by John Bayard against the rival land occupants in the inferior court of Orange County, New York.

Then, too, the Elizabethtown claims were put in insecurity again when

victories for the associates in 1731 and 1737 put a check to the apparent success of the proprietors in the long drawn out case, Vaughan and Woodruff. As population pressed farther west the whole problem of Indian titles was revived, for there were so many fraudulent, unregistered or falsely enlarged tracts. Much of this unsatisfactory situation had been due to factional struggles of the proprietors, as in the Sonmans sales of land for which he had no authority. Squatters' rights frequently received theoretical justification, as in the news-letter in 1746 when the doctrine is elaborated that "No man is naturally entitled to a greater Proportion of the Earth, than another; but though it was made for the equal Use of all, it may nevertheless be appropriated by every Individual. This is done by the Improvement of any Part of it lying vacant . . . . and made the Property of that Man, who bestowed his Lobour on it."[11]

The failure of the royal Governors to secure legislation confirming the rights of the proprietors and their quitrents led to violent resistance when the attempt at enforcement was made. Then it was discovered that the Statute of 1703 to prevent purchase from the natives without proprietary permission had never been approved by the Crown, and had to be specially confirmed in 1742. The result was that despite the legislation requiring this consent of the proprietors to purchase from the Indians, many occupants claimed to have attained their land in that manner, or as the proprietors put it, many of the Indian title claimants "set up sham deeds procured from strolling Indians for a few Bottles of Rum."[12]

No attempt at the enforcement of the law in the northwest of the colony was made until the inauguration of Governor Morris, himself a chief proprietor. But upon his accession a concerted movement was undertaken to eject these squatters. From 1741 to 1743 ten ejections were secured in the courts and in 1745 we are told that eighteen actions were still pending. Ashfield and James Alexander of the Council reported that many Assemblymen were saying that the Indian titles were best. The ejections, it was claimed, were secured only by changing the boundaries of Morris and Somerset counties and securing partial juries. As we shall see, such a state of affairs was due to the proprietors not having extinguished Indian claims, and it was not until 1758 that Governor Bernard procured a full and complete cession of their claims from the aborigines.

The prospect of the proprietors profiting by a Governor not only favorable but interested in their claims aggravated the general discontent of the time. The Elizabeth townsmen determined to petition the Crown and employed a lawyer for this purpose, 309 signatures being secured to the memorial. The petition appears to have been read in the Privy Council on July 29, 1744, but then disappeared. At the next move of the proprietors riots broke out over the whole province. The first took place in Newark in September, 1745. Samuel Baldwin, member of an Essex County committee

[11] *New Jersey Archives*, XII, p. 308.
[12] *New Jersey Archives*, VI, p. 300.

to look after popular rights, was arrested for cutting logs upon land claimed by the proprietors, the disputed tracts in the case being the Van Gesin Purchase and the Horse Neck Purchase. A crowd broke open the Newark gaol and released him. The following January, when some of these rioters had been arrested, a mob of 300 attacked the gaol a second time and liberated those held. Other riots took place in the next months at Trenton, and in Somerset and Morris counties. In addition to the violent conflict of the "clubmen," as the rioters were called, and the authorities, whose power the Quaker Assembly would not strengthen with an efficient militia, a very wordy warfare was waged over the merits of the land question. Ministers in the pulpit, letter-writers to the press, poets, petitioners and parliamentarians, engaged in a paper war upon the obvious phases of the matter.

The Assembly, in frequent session, did practically nothing, refusing during the worst riots to strengthen the militia law, and declaring that the law could be enforced if the officers would but do their duty. The Council thought the remedy was to have the trials in other counties than those in which the cases arose. In April, 1746, the rioters petitioned the Assembly for a stay of all actions and process until the royal will was heard. Samuel Nevill who as judge in Middlesex County had been threatened by the rioters made a good speech in the Assembly which is reported at length, against receiving the petition. He and Kearney, both East Jersey proprietors, were the only Assemblymen to vote against the petition. Failing to get any legislative action, the Council issued a proclamation based upon the act of 1683 making it criminal to claim title upon any other ground than the authority of the proprietors grants, and calling upon "the poor deluded people to flie to the mercy of the Laws for the expiation of their criminal riots and to the mercy of the Owners of the lands they have been pilaging."[13] But the riots did not cease, the proprietors could not force through their ejectment proceedings, and finally a compromise was agreed upon to suspend action pending a case before King and Council.

Yet nothing came of these schemes, and riot and violence spread rapidly over the whole affected area. Occupants with proprietary titles in Bergen and Morris counties were forced by threat of physical injury to take leases from claimants under Indian titles or were turned out. The jails were repeatedly broken open at the county seats, including Trenton, June, 1746. Even the courts were threatened in Middlesex. Finally the Assembly was impressed. A great riot had taken place in Perth Amboy on July 17, 1747, when the gaol was broken by a mob of two hundred rioters, the sheriff knocked down and the mayor's authority set at nought. When the Legislature met in August it was prevailed upon for the first time to confer with the Council to consider "of Ways and Means for suppressing the Riots and present Disorders in this Colony."[14] In the winter session they became positively frightened at the threat of Trenton rioters to march to Burlington to apply to the Governor

[13] *New Jersey Archives*, VI, p. 302.
[14] *New Jersey Archives*, XII, p. 394.

(newly arrived) and Council. A bill was therefore agreed upon in December against petitioning or complaining to the Assembly "in a Tumultuous manner" or in company with persons under indictment.

**The Overland Expedition Against Canada**—Upon the death of Morris in May, 1746, the administration came temporarily into the hands of Colonel John Hamilton, president and senior member of the Council. A new attack upon the French was being planned at this time, this time an overland invasion of Canada. Accordingly Hamilton summoned the Assembly in June to confer upon the matter of aid in the undertaking. In all there were held three sessions of the Fifteenth Assembly at Perth Amboy to complete the arrangements. The overland attack had been planned in England, and it was arranged that the quotas fixed for the middle colonies should meet at Albany where they should be joined by British forces. The New Jersey contingent was commanded by the distinguished local patriot, Colonel Peter Schuyler. The House voted £10,000 in bills of credit and provided for the raising of five companies of one hundred men each, enlistment being encouraged by the offer of a bounty of £6 per man.

It was months before the troops got under way. Some of this mismanagement was on the part of the home authorities who held up the British forces, for whom the colonists were waiting at Albany. The ten thousand pounds appropriated by the New Jersey Legislature was placed at the disposal of a commission of twelve who were to equip and arm the troups. The first result was a most criminal negligence and corruption in the supplies provided. The guns were "so rusted and rotten as not to be of the value of old iron," and had, one critic sarcastically averred, been in Cromwell's army.[15] The cutlasses were so poor, that they "would bend and stay bent like lead,"[16] while the beef was so bad and stinking, that "twenty barrels were at one time condemned by the officers." The wits declared that the arms were purposely incapable of use in killing the enemy, so that the commissioners from the western half, all but one of whom were Quakers, might have easy consciences. While the army complained at the poor supplies, the public protested at the open graft. Despite their rottenness the price paid for the guns was thirty shillings and for the cutlasses nine shillings. The commissioners, six Assemblymen and six of their friends, "are appointed," said one critic in the newspapers "to get Money; the very name implies it (they were to receive 5% of the £20,000); a commissioner that cannot make it worth his while is not fit for his office." If a commissioner has been too sparing with salt in storing his beef, is it not most reasonable, asks one, that the country should take his beef rather than he lose it? When it appeared that the cost of transporting equipment from New York to Albany was £10 a ton, but that the New Jersey cost was £30, was it not just that all the New Jersey shippers receive the same price that was charged by one of the commissioners who owned a sloop?

---

[15] *New Jersey Archives*, XII, p. 341.
[16] *New Jersey Historical Society Proc.*, N. S., I, p. 101.

RAMAPO MOUNTAIN RANGE FROM STATE HIGHWAY NORTH OF OAKLAND

HIGH POINT PARK. HIGHEST MOUNTAIN IN NEW JERSEY. HEIGHT 1823 FEET ABOVE SEA-LEVEL. VIEW TAKEN FROM THE STEPS OF THE STATE BUILDING

The Soldiers and Sailors Memorial is shown under construction at the end of the winding road up the slope

Thus being underfed, underclothed, and ill-equipped, the New Jersey troops became restive during the winter. Schuyler reported 75 desertions out of the 500 by March, 1747, and of those not remaining half were unfit for service. Finally mutiny broke out when the arrears of pay were not forthcoming. This trouble was only overcome by Schuyler's offering to pay them out of his own pocket. He was advised not to do so and in fact reprimanded by his superiors, for fear that this would be a bad precedent for the other colonial troops in a like situation at Albany. At last when the expedition was abandoned, the Assembly refunded to Schuyler £623, and the British government, which had promised to bear the fair expenses of the misconceived enterprise allowed £2,231 as proper compensation, in place of the £5,302 spent by the commissioners.

**The New Governor, Jonathan Belcher**—The long line of Scottish Governors had now ceased, and upon the death of Lewis Morris, another native American was appointed to the administration of New Jersey. Jonathan Belcher was born in 1682 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the son of a wealthy merchant. Educated at Harvard he had then traveled in Europe before settling down to business and affairs in America. He boasted that at the Hanoverian accession he was "the only english American, that had been at the Court of Hanover."[17] As one of the most experienced patriots he was sent in 1729 to England as special agent of the Massachusetts Legislature in their contest with Burnet. It was while Belcher was in England and upon Burnet's accidental death that he was named Governor. But Belcher's administration of Massachusetts was extremely unpopular, his case was somewhat analogous to that of Morris in this province; the very views he had so often fought in English Governors were found to be his own when he came into office. His opponents secured his removal in 1741; but upon his successful vindication in England of his conduct he had little difficulty in securing the appointment to New Jersey.

Whether Belcher had learned the lesson of submission to popular will or whether circumstances were quite different in New Jersey we cannot be certain, but at any rate Belcher's policy was quite changed. His conduct was as far as possible mild and conciliatory and he became very popular in consequence. This did not mean, however, that during his period of office affairs in New Jersey were quiet and peaceful, for they were just the reverse of this. It means that Belcher took as little part as possible; the contest raged between the Assembly and the Council, and were not centered upon the Governor and Assembly.

Since the dissensions among the proprietors had been ended, their dominance in the Council was unquestioned. Indeed nine of the twelve members when Belcher arrived were Morris' appointees, and the other three were also proprietary sympathizers. Ferdinand Paris, the agent of the proprietors in London, had already written to James Alexander that Belcher

[17] *New Jersey Archives*, VII, p. 272.

would probably not be friendly to the proprietors, but might pretend it. "And he had so close a way of Acting, that he may deceive those who believe and don't know him."[18] Accordingly James Alexander, Robert Hunter Morris and John Coxe were quite prepared to observe the activities of the Governor and complain at any indifference of his towards the proprietary rights. Indeed so bitter was their opposition to his policy of inactivity as to lead to the suspension from the Council of Coxe for violent language. It therefore became one of Belcher's objectives to have more neutrals appointed to the Council. To the agent of the colony, Partridge, he wrote: "while so many of the Council were such large proprietors of land and are so partial in managing the Affairs of the Legislature, I expect nothing but confusion in the Government."[19] A contest immediately arose over two places to be filled upon the Council, one being that of Coxe. The proprietary influence proved too strong at London and the Morris-Alexander candidates were designated, while the Lords of Trade condemned Belcher's nominations of Samuel Smith, "We find that he is a well wisher to the Rioters, and his family active in that Faction"; and Mr. William Morris also "bore the same character."[20] Then ensued a lengthy struggle between the Governor and the Council in his attempting to exclude the nominees from the Council, who were: L. M. Ashfield, nephew of Chief Justice R. H. Morris, and David Ogden, in which seating Belcher had finally to submit after two years obstinacy.

There were a few other differences between the Governor and Council: among them being his appointment of sheriffs and judges without advice of the Council in 1752, and his refusal to take the Council's advice in 1748 when he had not asked for it; but in general he worked well with his Council, although they suspected his lukewarmness against the rioters.

The Governor's relation to the Assembly was also fairly easy. No direct clashes took place till his last years when illness made him remove his residence to Elizabeth, to which place the Assembly refused to come. The apparent conflict of executive and Legislature was rather a struggle of Council and Assembly. Of course Belcher reminded them frequently of the lack of support—three years having passed by February, 1752, without revenue "a great satisfaction to me," he wrote, "who have been living near three years by running in debt & paying them Lawfull interest of seven per cent. for some large Sums."[21] He frequently had to berate them for passing no legislation against the rioters. But on one occasion (1754) they took their revenge and met the speech declaring his good intentions and government by informing him that an admission of their grievances would have led them to a ready acknowledgment of "the Justice and Care of your Administration and have saved you the Labour of Writing and Sending your own Encomiums to this House by a Message."[22]

---

18 *New Jersey Archives,* VII, p. 12.
19 Quoted by Fisher: *op. cit.,* p. 67.
20 *New Jersey Archives,* VII, p. 586.
21 *New Jersey Archives,* VIII, pt. 1, p. 73.
22 *New Jersey Archives,* XVI, p. 462.

**More Anti-Proprietary Riots**—As the hostilities against the French and Indians drew to a close the attention of the country was again attracted to the land disputes. The Assemblies remained in the control of the popular party which, though it might not openly avow support of the rioters and anti-proprietary party, yet plainly showed it had no intention of assisting the proprietors in maintaining their claims. Indeed the general Assembly contained at this time at least one ringleader of the popular party, John Low. The Council had asked his expulsion, but to no effect, and the public thus got the impression that the Assembly sympathized with the rioters. James Alexander also gave an account of a rumor that an Assembly leader had told Belcher that if he joined the proprietors in representing their case to the Crown he would never receive a penny, "a severe tryal of a man's virtue."[23] Yet it does not appear that Belcher was any better off for not joining the proprietors. He rarely commits himself upon the merits of the controversy, but frequently condemned in forceful language the actions of the "Seditious Pack of villains" who broke open the gaols.

The riots and disturbances which had already continued for four or five years persisted for another eight years—until the outbreak of the Fourth Inter-Colonial War in 1754. The disturbances were of two types. The commoner and more spectacular was the gaol-delivery, an armed attack upon the county prisons in which popular leaders were incarcerated most frequently for a similar assault on another gaol. These gaol deliveries were so numerous that a catalogue of rescues would be difficult to compile. The most noted during Belcher's administration were the release of Bainbridge from Perth Amboy, of Brearly at Trenton in 1747; of Amos Roberts at Newark in 1748 and 1752; of Simon Wikoff at Perth Amboy in 1752; and of Ball and Berwell in Essex, 1750. The other type of riot was the more or less violent dispossession of a proprietary tenant or purchaser by an Indian title claimant. The best example of that is the riot at Horseneck in November, 1749, when the house of one Phillips holding from Morris and Alexander was broken into, the man and his family driven out, the roof and doors torn off, and the grain stacks burnt; because the claims of Thomas Archer under an alleged Indian purchase were disregarded.

By this time the tenants opposed to quitrents, those holding under the Nicolls' charters of 1665, and also the squatters and Indian right claimants of the West Jersey society land were banded together. There are many accounts of their views. One of the best was published to counteract the attacks of the proprietors. Their statement of government based on compact to defend the interests of the contractors, and thus precluding arbitrary seizure of property by the governments, reads like a selection from Locke's "Treatise on Civil Government." Then they argue that even if the proprietors had a royal license to purchase from the Indians, they had not done so. But "We have made a True, Fair, Honest Purchase, by plain Dealing and many of us have large improvements on the Premises, both our Predecessors and our-

[23] *New Jersey Archives*, VII, p. 251.

selves have possessed hitherto and paid all Dues, Duties, Ratio, and Taxes for the same, for over more than twenty, thirty and forty years. And now we have spent our Time and Strength, thereon, to get a poor living for our Families we must (for sooth) be outed, by them who never had any Title, but only a Grant or Liberty to make themselves one by Purchases."[24] After the Wickoff riot—which their opponents alleged was the work of "ignorant High Dutchmen of the back country"—petitions from the rioters to the Crown averred that they were "Possessors of Land in Essex, Middlesex and Somerset" and were led such proceedings by "having been threatened to be turned out of their Possession of the Lands which has been purchased by their Ancestors and themselves from the Indian Sachems."[25]

Such interpretation was of course denied by the proprietors and was finally rejected by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations who, in 1750, denounce the Elizabethtown adherents as a "Set of Freebooters who enter upon Lands, and cut down and destroy the timber, though the Lands have been ever so long granted to others under the King's title."[26] The popular party was well organized. They "appoint Captains and military officers, from themselves into Companies and Committees, levy and raise Taxes," wrote James Alexander,[27] and so great was their influence that no convictions against them could be secured from any jury.

The Assembly refused year after year to take action, contending that the law was adequate if the officers would perform their duties. We have seen how during the administration of Lewis Morris the Assembly was scared into a hasty declaration against persons coming to petition in a tumultuous manner or in company with persons under indictment. Finally after long-delayed negotiations with the Council an act was passed for "Suppressing and Preventing Riots, Tumults and other Disorders." But this was ineffective as was perhaps intended, and it was followed by an act to pardon the rioters who applied for it to a Superior Court justice or commissioner. Yet this was no more successful, for only nine persons had taken advantage of it six months later and only twenty-three a year and a half later.

The Assembly frequently urged the bringing of decisive cases and settling the issue in a judicial manner. It alleged in a defense sent to the home authorities in October, 1749, that the rich proprietors, James Alexander and Robert Hunter Morris, "not yielding to determine the matters in Contest by a few Trials at Law, as the Nature of the Things would admit, but on the Contrary (have) discovered a Disposition to harass those People by a Multiplicity of Suits" and by keeping the leaders in gaol without trial have made the People uneasy and caused riots.[28] As a matter of fact the leading proprietors had commenced a suit in Chancery—the famous Elizabethtown Bill. The title indicates the issue: "A Bill in the Chancery of *New Jersey,* at

[24] *New Jersey Archives,* VII, pp. 30-53.
[25] *New Jersey Archives,* VIII, pt. i, p. 55.
[26] *New Jersey Archives,* VII, p. 466 ff.
[27] *New Jersey Archives,* VIII, pt. 1, p. 2.
[28] *New Jersey Archives,* VII, p. 351.

the Suit of *John,* Earl of *Stair,* and others, Proprietors of the Eastern Division of *New Jersey;* against Benjamin Bond and some other Persons of Elizabeth town, distinguished by the name of the *Clinker Lot Right Men.* With three large *Maps* done from *Copper Plates.—To which is added;* The Publications of the Council of Proprietors of East New Jersey, and Mr. Nevill's Speeches to the General Assembly, Concerning the Riots committed in New Jersey, and The Pretences of the Rioters, and their Seducers. *These papers will give a better Light into the History and Constitution of New Jersey, than anything hitherto published, the matters whereof have been chiefly collected from Records.*" The Bill had been drafted by James Alexander and Joseph Murray and it was published by James Parker in 1747.

For some years there was no response—the popular party declaring that all the leading lawyers were retained in the proprietary interest. Finally in 1751 notice was given that a defense was to be made. It appeared in 1752 in the form of an "Answer to the Bill in the Chancery of New Jersey, at the Suit of John, Earl of Stair; and others, Commonly called Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, Against Benjamin Bond, and others claiming under the original Proprietors and Associates of Elizabethtown. To which is added; Nothing either of the The Publications of the Council of Proprietors of East New Jersey, or of the The Pretences of the Rioters, and their Seducers; except so far as the Persons meant by Rioters, Pretend Title against The Parties to the above Answer; but a great Deal of the Controversy, Though much Less of the History and Constitution of New Jersey, then the said Bill—Audi alteram Partem." This had been prepared for the popular party by William Livingston of New York and William Smith. But the case never went beyond these preliminary proceedings.

The Council viewed the situation as one of civil war and insurrection, and sought to represent it as connected with the Scotch rising of 1745. It was not a simple case of rioting, they said, but actual defiance of His Majesty's authority, and revealed "Combinations to set themselves up in opposition to your Majesty's Authority and Government . . . . deny'd your Majesty's Right to the Soil and Government of your Plantations, Avowing that the Royal Grants thereof are void and fraudulent."[29] Their spokesman in London drew an analogy between these disturbances and Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1676, and asked for military aid to suppress it. In this they were very nearly successful; the Lords of Trade considered for a long time the advisability of transferring troops from New York for this purpose, and also proposed a commission to investigate. The matter got no further. In a lull in the riots (1753-54) the home authorities, the Governor, Council and proprietors all agreed upon a test case as the solution. In Essex County sixty or more of the rioters were indicted, fined and paid their fines. A similar result was obtained in Hunterdon County. And in the Supreme Court at Burlington the case of the proprietors was so evident that not only the

[29] *New Jersey Archives,* VII, p. 109.

counsel for the defense but also the rioters admitted its justice. (This, however, does not apply to the Essex claimants settled on the old Elizabethtown patent.)

Unfortunately a final issue was never reached. The Elizabethtown Bill never came to trial, and no really definite case was carried to the highest courts. Some of the leaders on both sides died, some left the province. Popular attention was diverted first to the Frontier Indian and French War, and later to the defense of colonial liberties against England. The question of land title was therefore never settled in a judicial or legislative manner. There is little question, however, but that the popular agitation and uneasiness produced by these conditions remained as one of the forces which almost made the American Revolution a social upheaval.

**Political Conditions**—The economic and social cleavage between the Council and the Assembly produced bitter conflict between the two legislative bodies, and at one time brought public business to a standstill. Criticism of the Assembly's conduct by the Council brought a speedy claim in 1748 "that this House have a right to enjoy their own sentiments, in all matters and things that shall come before them, without being accountable or censured by the Council for the same."[30] The Assembly maintained the principle that support of the government should follow redress of grievances. They were careful to keep full financial control on their own hands. Attempts of the Council to influence expenditures as in rejecting the appropriation for the colonial agent, were instantly repudiated in 1749. The same rigid authority was maintained by the Assembly over taxation. In 1749 the troublesome "quotas" bill was introduced, to allocate the quotas of taxes upon land among the counties. One provision of the Governor's *Instructions* forbade his assent to any tax upon unprofitable lands. A lengthy controversy took place, the Council interpreting this to mean no tax on quantity, the Assembly demanding the tax not on quality of land, but on quantity. The issue was clearly an economic one—whether acreage or value, quantity or quality be the basis of taxation. The Councillors, said one pamphleteer, having large estates, much of which was unimproved, sought by the "claim of being taxed on unprofitable lands to avoid paying a proportionable tax for those lands"[31] while the general men of freeholders had nothing but improved land. Session after session the Council returned the "quotas" bill with amendments until finally the Assembly informed the Governor there was no chance of a support bill while the Council continued to amend it. At last when the Assembly reported that "all friendly communication between them and the Council is entirely cut off" the Governor dissolved them.[32]

The next, the Eighteenth Assembly, set to work and made a compromise bill placing the tax on both quality and quantity. But the Council objected to this also and as the Assembly would accept no change the House asked

---

30 *New Jersey Archives,* XVI, p. 64.
31 *New Jersey Archives,* XIX, p. 16.
32 *New Jersey Archives,* XIX, p. 31.

to take it direct to the Governor without passing the Council. This was of course rejected and for the fifth successive session of the Assembly no supply was voted. The Lords of Trade upheld the refusal by the Governor to permit this mode of carrying the support bill, saying that it had been constantly urged for the Colonies but "His Majesty had never allowed such a Privilege in the Assembly of other Provinces," so they will not allow it here.[33]

The Eighteenth Assembly proved in many ways more amenable and conciliatory than any previous Assembly. Support was voted in 1752 and considerable legislation enacted. Two new counties had been added: Cumberland County set off from Salem in 1747, but not represented in the Assembly until 1768; and Sussex County carved out of Morris in 1753. The control of county government was a highly controversial matter. Sheriffs and judges were appointed by the Governor and Council. Accordingly in 1750 in the midst of the "quotas" bill controversy the Assembly seized the persons of two justices of Burlington County upon the accusation that they had raised the taxes without consent of the necessary freeholders. The Council advised Belcher to continue the justices in office—which he did—believing the Assembly had gone too far in attacking the rights of the Governor and Council. The following year the Assembly opened an attack upon other appointees, this time sheriffs, this being one of the issues leading to the cessation of business in the two houses in 1752. The Assembly and Council were thus kept at loggerheads until the threat of war and invasion brought a suspension of open partisanship.

**Renewed French and Indian Wars**—It had long been evident to all who viewed the military situation in America that any peace between the English and French must be artificial and serve simply as a breathing spell, before further efforts. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 had provided seed for future conflict in returning Louisburg to the French, and in leaving the western boundaries undetermined. The following years were devoted by France to improvement of fortifications especially along the Ohio Valley, and the cultivation of the Indian relations. The English government also began to negotiate with the neighboring Indians with the purpose of securing their neutrality at least and if possible active participation in the next war. It was thus that the Albany Conference was undertaken.

In September, 1753, the Home Government addressed to the colonial governors a circular letter informing them of a proposed interview between the Governor of New York and the Six Nation Indians, and asking the Assemblies of "all His Majesty's colonies whose interest and security is connected and depends upon them" to send commissioners.[34] The New Jersey Assembly was summoned for this purpose by Belcher in April, 1754, but did not offer any assistance. The members professed approval of closer union on this important matter, but denied special interest in the negotiations as

[33] *New Jersey Archives*, VIII, pt. i, p. 29.
[34] *New Jersey Archives*, VIII, pt. i, p. 156.

they were "not partakers of the Benefits of the Indian trade," and recurred to their request for a paper currency.[35] The Governor was by now grown old and feeble. He had removed from Burlington to Elizabethtown, to which place he began calling Assemblies, which protested at the irregularity. When no provision was made for the Albany conference the Assembly was dismissed and the Nineteenth summoned.

The Assembly elections, in July, 1754, were hotly contested, there being the greatest struggles in electing representatives in some of the counties that that had ever been known.[36] A majority of new members was returned instructed to provide aid in removing the French from the Ohio. Accordingly when the schemes of the English government were presented for frontier forts and garrisons with a unified military command over all colonies, the Assembly promptly voted £10,000, if His Majesty would permit the issuance of £70,000 of paper money. In the meantime the Albany Convention had met and proposed Benjamin Franklin's scheme of union. As is well known, little serious thought was given this scheme by the colonies, jealous as they were of their rights and interests. The Council of New Jersey, for instance, reported "We have also taken into consideration, the plan for the Union of the British Colonies on the Continent of America, as agreed on in the late Congress at Albany, and we are sorry to say we find things in it, which if carried into practice would affect our Constitution in its very Vitals and for that reason we hope and believe they will never be countenanced by a British Legislature."[37]

The following year the number of British regular troops in America was increased by two regiments. The Assembly did not at first desire to give the assistance expected for support of royal troops—though finally acts were passed prohibiting export of provisions to the French and providing £500 for the royal troops if passing through the province. The popular and enthusiastic Colonel Peter Schuyler forced the issue by volunteering to raise four hundred men at his own charge, and shortly after (April, 1755) the Assembly voted £15,000 paper money for five hundred volunteers under Schuyler to join General Braddock. By the end of June, 1755, the New Jersey forces were awaiting at Schenectady, the "place of general Rendezvous,"[38] for the order to march to Niagara. The order never came, for Braddock's forces were cut to pieces on the banks of the Monongahela.

The defeat and death of Braddock not only involved the loss of the regular troops, and the commander-in-chief, but also left the western frontiers of the Colonies exposed to the fury of the French and Indians. New Jersey was quite defenseless. In answering queries respecting the province Belcher had written in 1754 that there was "not one Fort or Place of Defence (that I know of) in the whole Province, nor ever has been."[39] So also the

[35] *New Jersey Archives*, XIX, p. 362.
[36] *New Jersey Archives*, XIX, pp. 382-83.
[37] *New Jersey Archives*, XIV, p. 462.
[38] *New Jersey Archives*, VIII, pt. ii, p. 112.
[39] *New Jersey Archives*, VIII, pt. ii, p. 84.

A ROAD IN THE PINES OF SOUTH JERSEY IN THE COASTAL PLAIN SANDS

MATURE SHORT LEAF PINE TIMBER GROWTH IN SOUTH JERSEY SANDY SOILS. TYPICAL OF WHAT CAN BE RAISED ON THE COASTAL PLAIN

Lords of Trade had reported New Jersey as the colony "in the most naked and defenceless condition." The reason was clear. With Pennsylvania on the west, and New York on the north, Jerseymen might well feel out of danger from the Indians. Now the disappointed expectations of conquest after Braddock's disaster made the Assembly hesitant about hazarding money and men away from home: "We must be well assured the occasion must be very extra-ordinary to induce a Province already loaded as this, to add anything further."[40] But that autumn and winter the Indians came down upon the settlements on the west bank of the Delaware River, and terrorized the scattered settlers, who fled at their approach to New Jersey. The stories of house burning, slaughter and scalping were sufficient to make the bravest forsake the frontier homesteads. The colonels of the militia regiments were ordered out with their men and Belcher could write on December 20, 1755, that there "were between two and three thousand men traversing and patrolling the whole length of one frontier."[41]

The announcement of the plans for 1756 did not occur in New Jersey till August, when it was known that Lord Loudoun was to replace Braddock as commander-in-chief in America. War had in fact only just been officially declared. In the meantime the Assembly had provided a frontier force of two hundred and fifty men, and provisions and pay for these and the Schuyler troops. No further assistance was given in 1756, for a great check had been received by Montcalm's capture of the colony's brightest military ornament, Schuyler, at Oswego on August 14, 1756. Nor was additional effort procured the following year, when William Pitt was directing the world war. Under no circumstances would the Assembly increase its five hundred men to a thousand as desired by Loudoun. And then to make things worse practically all the New Jersey troops were captured at Fort William Henry.

It was shortly after this, on August 31, 1757, that Belcher died in the midst of the war. He had been an indefatigable prosecutor of the war, constantly advocating a supreme effort against Canada, reciting continuously *Carthago Delenda est.* He had called fifteen sessions of the Assembly on war work between October, 1754, and August, 1757, but the efforts of the province were not distinctive. Despite the frontier dangers the Assembly was always asking what other colonies were doing before undertaking any effort herself. When Parliament proceeded to recompense the colonies in accordance with their expenditures, out of a total of £115,000 voted, New Jersey with a population of 75,000 received £5,000; while Massachusetts with a population not three times as great received eleven times that compensation.

**Governors Bernard, Boone, and Hardy**—The five years following Belcher's death were years of critical importance in the Empire and for the English in America. In New Jersey internal strife had largely passed away. Council and Assembly, though frequently of two minds about policy, were

[40] *New Jersey Archives,* XVI, p. 562.
[41] *New Jersey Archives,* VIII, pt. ii, p. 177.

no longer embittered as they had been. Months of interregnum were succeeded by frequently changed Governors. Moreover by this time the disturbing factors in the colony had withdrawn. James Alexander had died; Robert Hunter Morris had become Governor of Pennsylvania, and had tendered his resignation as Chief Justice of New Jersey. Accordingly at Belcher's death it was upon the aged John Reading that the burden of government fell. In anticipation of the Governor's death Thomas Pownall had two years previously been made lieutenant-governor, but when it did not take place he had been appointed to Massachusetts. Reading at first refused to take the oaths of office on account of his infirmity and age, but was finally prevailed upon to do so. Pownall visited the colony within three weeks and while regretting that he could not remain promised that he "would at all Times attend to the Interest of the Province."[42] Under Reading's leadership the Assembly was encouraged to support William Pitt's schemes for the Canadian invasion with one thousand men and £50,000 in paper money. Not till June, 1758, did the next Governor, Francis Bernard, a cultivated Englishman, graduate of Oxford, arrive. Having due regard to the need of money he recommended to the Lords of Trade, and they finally accepted the paper issue under the circumstances, and made a change in the Governor's *Instructions* to permit it.

Perhaps the most significant event under the eighteen months of Bernard's administration was the final purchase of New Jersey Indian rights. When the need for a fully rounded Indian policy became evident attention was directed to the friendly natives resident within the province. These—not numbering more than a hundred families—had been converted to Christianity by the labors of David Brainerd at Crosswicks and Cranbury in the years following 1745. When the hostile Indians crossed the northwestern borders in 1756, these Christian Indians felt the necessity of protection from the over jealous or bitter whites, especially as rewards for scalps were being offered. Accordingly, a conference was held with the friendly Indians at Crosswicks in 1756 and, among other things, it was agreed that natives pledging allegiance might be given a certificate and be distinguished by wearing a red ribbon. Commissioners sought to adjust other grievances but pressure of other matters allowed the plans to be held over till March, 1757. At that time an act to regulate Indian affairs penalized the sale of liquor to natives, exempted them from imprisonment for debt and regulated the method of land purchase. A further conference eleven months later, February, 1758, led to adjustment and settlement of all Indian law claims in the province with the exception of the Minisink and Pompton tribes in the north corner. A few months later, in return for the surrender of territorial rights below the Raritan, the Assembly appropriated £1,600 to purchase an Indian Reserve in Evestan Township, later named Brotherton, "as a Lasting Monument of the Justice and Tenderness of this colony towards them." And finally the Assembly authorized a great conference at Easton. The peace Council took place in

[42] *New Jersey Archives*, XX, p. 139.

October, 1758, attended by notables of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and five hundred of the Six Nations, Delawares, Wapings and Minisinks. All captives were returned by the Indians, then by solemn agreement all further Indian proprietary and territorial claims in New Jersey were released in consideration of one thousand Spanish dollars.

The immediate result of these peaceful overtures was that the frontier forces were withdrawn and the Assembly was enabled to concentrate on aid for the great attack on Canada. At a March legislature in 1759, a thousand men were provided, equipped and despatched by May 21 under Colonel Schuyler (by now exchanged for French officers) and the regiment on arriving at Albany was "universally allowed to be the best Provincial Regiment in America."[43] It was therefore able to take an active part in the attack upon Canada and assist in the attainment of years of effort, the destruction of French power in America. Quebec fell into British hands in September, 1759.

In November, 1759, it was announced in London that Bernard was to be promoted to Massachusetts and that his place should be taken in New Jersey by Thomas Boone. Accordingly with general regret Bernard left, "whose mild and constitutional Administration, during his short stay among us, has given Universal Satisfaction."[44] The new Governor, a native of South Carolina, arrived in New Jersey in 1760, but because of an early transfer to South Carolina, in less than a year he had left no impression behind. It will be noticed that the tone of Governors' expression had considerably changed. In addressing the Assembly on November 3, 1760 Boone said "though our form of Government calls at all Times from those in my sphere for a strenuous assertion of His Majesty's lawful Authority . . . you may depend, Gentlemen, upon your Rights and Privileges being safe from every Violation and Infringement."[45] On January 26, 1761, Governor Boone proclaimed the accession of George III.

In October, 1761, the next Governor, Josiah Hardy, a London merchant, arrived. He appears to have been well liked and amenable to reason and persuasion. He was removed by the home authorities because he made an appointment to the supreme court "during good behaviour" instead of "during the King's pleasure" as required by the new instructions, "and thus horrified them thereby with so premeditated and unprecedented an Act of Disobedience."[46]

---

[43] *New Jersey Archives*, IX, p. 174.
[44] *New Jersey Archives*, XX, p. 438.
[45] *New Jersey Archives*, XX, p. 500.
[46] *New Jersey Archives*, IX, p. 360.

# CHAPTER X.

## THE COLONIAL INDUSTRIES OF NEW JERSEY, 1618-1815.

**By Jeannette Paddock Nichols, Ph. D., Research Historian.**

Today, New Jersey stands within six of the top, in the list of States of the United States, graded according to their industrial output. The immensity of this fact comes home to us forcefully only after we stop to realize that the United States, in which New Jersey ranks so high, is itself the greatest industrial Nation of the world. That is what the age of machinery has done for the State and for the country.

But what of the days long before? When Jersey's web of railroads was yet unspun? When Menlo Park was yet to witness the realization of a young man's dream? When, in fact, most of the articles of necessity now made in the State were not thought of even as luxuries—were quite unimagined?

In their colonial beginnings East and West Jersey gave little promise of industrial eminence. They were backward, perforce; and they remained obscure until the second war with England furnished them with several new kinds of encouragement. Up to that time, even the daring Alexander Hamilton and his far-visioned associates were to fail, strange to say, in their bold efforts to make Paterson a manufacturing town. The fact was that in colonial times New Jersey could not become an industrial region in the true sense. Conditions were not far enough advanced. But New Jersey could develop crude industries strong enough to survive as long as they were needed; and she could foster in their beginnings a few of the many industries which are thriving today. After the colonial period, during which craftsmanship continued to be restricted almost entirely to the modest requirements of the local market, there would come manufacturing of sufficient surplus for considerable export. In that later period, New Jersey would be attaining industrialization. In the meantime, their efforts at colonial industry showed what early Jerseymen could make of their opportunities.

The early Jerseymen—Swedes, Dutch and English—found that their environment severely limited their industrial occupations. Their raw materials they must unearth in the natural resources very near at hand. Their finished products must be of the kind demanded by their own immediate needs for food, clothing and shelter. Lack of transportation confined them in these narrow bounds. The reaction of the individual Jerseyman to his environment determined his weight in the industrial scale—determined to which of three general classes he would belong.

First, there was the isolated agriculturist, who manufactured on his farm a few articles absolutely necessary for domestic purposes; second, there was the farmer who lived in the village and practiced several trades, making things for fellow-villagers, meanwhile tending his crops on the farm in the

outskirts, third, there was the mechanic, who did not hold much, if any land, because his community had so many needs that they kept him busy practically all of the time at his milling, or shoemaking, or ironworking, or lumber business, or tanning, or weaving, or ship-building, as the case might be. All three groups, practically from the beginning, worked side by side; and a fourth, much smaller group, came to furnish greater capital, and to combine several industries and many workers of different kinds, under the control of their wealth. But this fourth group was a mere handful in the early days.

**Manufacturing a Derivative of Agriculture**—In the experience of a large majority of the earliest settlers manufacturing was merely a derivative of agriculture; they developed home crafts around their firesides and in their fields. The first class of workers listed above, was, therefore, by far the most numerous. On the farms, the women and girls, trained like the men for farm work, counted among their accomplishments the manufacture of soap, candles and textiles. A few conveniently situated made cheese and bread for export to New York and Philadelphia, but for the most part their products were such as the family required to use at home. As God-fearing colonists, cleanliness had considerable appeal to them, and soap-making was continually carried on. They for this purpose carefully collected the wood-ashes from their fireplaces into a barrel, and added water to "leech" them. They then made a fire outdoors under a great kettle, strained the lye into the kettle, and boiled it with fat. The product was a dark-colored mass, strong if not fragrant, and stored away in tubs for use as needed. Soap factories did not displace the domestic product to any extent until after the colonial period.

An allied household industry was tallow candle making. The women boiled pieces of fat, oftentimes chunks of mutton, until the suet was separated from the membraneous part. Then they twisted several strands of cotton together to form wicks; these wicks they dipped again and again into the heated tallow, until the candles were as thick as desired. Wicks might be dipped separately, or several might be tied to a stick and dipped all together. Some homes were blessed with candle molds, which were cylinders of pewter arranged in a wooden frame, the cylinders being open at the top, and having a hole big enough for the wick to pass through, in the bottom. With a hook, the wick was fastened outside the hole, and held straight in the mold by looping it over a stick or wire lying across the open end. The tallow poured into these molds quickly cooled to form the candles, which were readily removed by the wick loops. Tallow candles came to be superseded by sperm candles, for which the whale obligingly furnished the material from his head, and parts of his body. These sperm candles were considered a great improvement in illumination, as giving more light, and as spluttering less than tallow. Wax candles, however, were the aristocrats of the guild. Farmers' wives and daughters would band themselves together for candlemaking in a neighborhood; and the natural rivalry of the day sometimes resulted in an output of two hundred to two hundred and fifty candles. As in the case

of soap, the factory product did not come to supersede homemade candles to any great extent until after the colonial period.

The home work on textiles was very laborious; for after the menfolk had sheared the sheep, the women had a month of the hardest kind of work. After cleaning the wool, they had to card or comb it, in order to disentangle the fibres and arrange them longitudinally in small rolls. They had two instruments with teeth, called cards, with which they carded the wool after it had been well covered with grease or oil to make it move freely. The "cards" were first used by hand over the knee, until carding machines came into the home. The wool which was extra long, coarse or hard, had to be combed instead of carded. It was drawn through heated steel combs which straightened the fibres and removed the roughness which might otherwise cause the cloth made of hard wool to thicken in washing, like flannel. Next came the spinning, which employed both hands and one foot simultaneously. The roll of wool fibres was attached to the spindle, which had a band passing over it from the rim of the wheel, by manipulation of which the fibres were twisted into yarn. The yarn in turn was wound upon a reel to form a skein. The family spinning was sometimes accelerated by young women who "went out spinning"—the origin of that term of dubious compliment of our own day—"spinster." Dyeing was often done in the yarn state, in the home, the wooden dye vat, strongly bound with hickory hoops, having a permanent place by the fireside. It was the children's seat, when it was not filled with extract of sumac, black walnut bark, logwood or chestnut. The women were considered experts at dyeing, which may have been one reason why the industry was one of the earliest to prosper. By 1704, the settlers around Newark were using so much wool that they determined to hire a shepherd, and they chose four men as "sheep masters" to have general charge and see that all branded their own animals.

Weaving the cloth was sufficiently complicated to cause most of the weaving to be done by people trained in the trade. The home might have a rude loom, equipped with spools, from which the yarn was stretched to the length of the proposed web. The thread was put through a sort of moveable harness called heddles, which were moved up and down by treadles, thus opening the web, meanwhile the shuttle containing the woof, or filling, moved from side to side filling in the cloth. Finally, there was a finishing process employed by the more well-to-do, to smooth off the surface of the cloth. In the case of wool or hair cloth this was called "fulling," and consisted of stamping the goods backwards and forwards in a soap and water mixture. Cotton was "dressed," by using a hot iron cylinder to burn off the fuzz. Common domestic fabrics, however, did not get farther than the loom. In New Jersey flax was another important textile; but its process, while differing in detail, was the same in general principles. The Jersey women made a coarse, unbleached linen, which was the pride and joy of the bridal chests. Most of the families in the country, and many in the towns throughout this period were clothed in "strong, decent, homespun."

A MAP OF NEWTON (NEWTOWN) BEFORE 1812

Out in the orchards the farmers carried on a manufacture more to their taste. They made peach brandy, and their applejack was justly famous until about 1840 when the temperance movement destroyed that industry. Cider early became a profitable industry and remained so more than a century. In 1700 the "town of Newark alone . . . made ready a thousand barrels of good cyder out of the orchards of their own planting." Newark's "cyder" was voted better than New England's and brought from ten to fifteen shillings a barrel. Thus originated the barrel industry of the State. The first barrels seem to have been made of the bitter gum tree which, when old, rots at the center. The trunk was cut in sections, from which the centers were dug out. After one end of each section was plugged, they made excellent barrels, casks, dyepots, etc. Vessels of this sort may be seen to this day at Washington's headquarters in Morristown. These rude make-shifts were displaced by the more finished products of white oak, for holding liquids, and of red oak for storing dry commodities, with staves of hickory. A skilled barrelmaker with one helper could make two white oak or from four to five red oak barrels in a day.

Any of a number of liquors might be found in a colonial barrel. There was rum, which to a Jerseyman was as much a necessity as flour. Jersey fish was exported and exchanged for molasses, often an inferior grade not costing more than fifty cents a gallon. Then the thrifty settler supervised a simple process of fermentation and distillation which gave him as many gallons of rum as he had had of molasses. Rum was not dethroned from its place in popular esteem until the Scotch-Irish introduced whisky. Of course gentlemen distilled their own liquor in colonial days, property so equipped bringing a tall price. For example a Newark squire was minded to sell his home, built of stone, and he bid for a buyer in these ingratiating terms: "has a good well and brook before the house that never freezes; there is a large barn and a good distil-house (for making apple whiskey) . . . . It is very convenient for distillers as there is a dam already made on the brook, with a gentle descent so as to fill his cisterns without the help of a pump." Manufacturers of beer found the price of barley favorable, and by 1698 Burlington was mentioned as having brewhouses and malthouses; in her vicinity the market for liquor was greatest at the May and October fairs, which were very disorderly. On the other side of the Colony, Perth Amboy was exporting beer in 1750. In 1787 a new brewery came to increase the industries of Union County, through the kind offices of one John Town and Joseph Lyon, manufacturers of "Draught porter, Malt and Spruce Beer." Another early brewery was Caleb Johnson's at Newark, 1795, where "ale, porter, and table beer" were offered a thirsty public. The "Newark Brewery" was the 1812 concern of Thomas Tool, who provided "ale, porter, and brown stout." The per capita consumption may have been increased by legislation forbidding the keeper of an "ordinary" to run out of a stock of liquor, or to sell strangers less than two gallons at retail or to collect debts for liquor; but on the whole domestic liquor-making was so universal that the brewers did not have a very successful time of it through the colonial period.

The manufacture of domestic furniture and tools was also carried on as a field craft of the farm, with the woodlot as an ever ready source of lumber and the home anvil, forge and tannery as important auxiliaries. Along the beach counties, they made their casks and household chests of cedar, elsewhere, of oak. They made their own cedar posts, shingles, bolts and staves, and of course their leather came from the hides of their own cattle. Naturally, the crudity of the results of their efforts, and the time consumed upon them, created a general demand for craftsmen trained in these branches. The consequence was, that while the crude home crafts continued to survive in isolated localities far into later periods, diversification and increase of skill grew apace in the villages and at seaboard centers. In other words, the number of tradesmen-farmers, living in villages, and the number of out and out mechanics, increased.

**Industrial Development** had an earlier start in the democratic small towns of East Jersey, than in the conservative county capitals of West Jersey, because the people of East Jersey were more commercially minded, lived more rigorously, intensively and individually. West Jersey, on the contrary, had a tradition of the landed estate class and more of an atmosphere of ease. How far diversification could go in either section would depend upon three main factors, the sum of available capital, the supply of skilled labor, and the abundance of water power. As to the first of these, colonial Jersey was, upon the whole, a barter community and the supply of money was totally inadequate for genuine industrialization. However, such capitalists as ventured into industries showed considerable courage and persistence, and tried the most unique devices, to offset the scarcity of money. Skilled labor, on the other hand, was not quite so hard to get as capital, although very hard at best.

Settlers who could carry on a trade were indeed at a premium. Towns divided their land into ranges, and these into lots, which were not parcelled off by lottery until certain portions, called "tradesmen's lots" had been set aside. Newark gave one of these six-acre lots to the first of every trade to settle permanently there. In some cases, sums of money and various exclusive privileges were added to the free acreage as a bait for craftsmen. As an inducement to emigrants, it was advertised that laborers in Jersey had not the work required in England and fared much better. Less than twenty years after Elizabeth was first settled, Governor Lawrence was appealing to a London friend (1684) requesting: husbandmen, a brewer, a baker, a carpenter or two, masons and bricklayers, a smith for ploughs and horses, a cooper. At that time, ships of thirty to forty tons came up the river to Broad Street, Newark, and their outgoing cargoes and those of ships sailing from Burlington and Salem indicated the nature of the surplus products of the period. A statement of twenty-five years later declared that the trade of the colony was considerable, with agricultural products sent to the West Indies, furs, skins and some tobacco to England, and such provisions as oil and fish to Spain, Portugal and the Canary Islands. While Burlington and Salem

VALE OF THE RAMAPO, JUST BELOW THE NEW JERSEY–NEW YORK STATE LINE

sent most of their products to Philadelphia, a contemporary writer reported: "Burlington has a commodious Dock for Vessels, many fine wharfs and large Timber-Yards, Malt Houses, Brew Houses, and Bake Houses. They produce bread, beer, beef and pork, butter and cheese with which they freight several vessels and send them to the Barbadoes and other islands." Salem, too, had her "deerskins, cedar posts, shingles and bolts, staves, wheat, corn, some beef, pork and tallow, sent chiefly to New York, Boston and the West Indies." These then, were the approximate outside limits of surplus products in colonial industries at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The years between this time and the Revolution were marked with an influx of labor and a diversification in occupation, which expanded the cargo list considerably. Much of this expansion was due to the development of the water power with which the colony was so richly endowed.

Water power was of vital importance to New Jersey, because it somewhat offset the scarcity of man power. From the moment of their arrival the industrious Dutch and Quakers had looked with pleasure upon the natural millsites. They promptly "improved" them with the erection of grist and sawmills, rude first affairs, constructed of unhewn logs. While horse mills seem to have been the first innovation, they were soon succeeded by wind, tide and water mills of various sorts. All the towns except those which, like Elizabeth, were too near the sea to have anything but sluggish streams, experienced a mighty stirring of mill erection, about 1682. New Jersey then had eight or ten towns, of from 300 to 500 inhabitants—Newark with her 500, Shrewsbury to the south with her 400. Each had to have mills. Woodbridge and Salem were getting mills, likewise. At Amboy, five or six were soon under construction, besides two already at work. The owner of one of the finest of these hoped to make a profit of not less than £100 per year. Near Trenton, the proprietors, Robert Tracy and Thomas Olive, used the Delaware and the Rancocas Creek to erect water mills; these were eventually perfected to the point where they not only ground grain but rolled and slit iron, and ground plaster. At Salem, the first settlers built three windmills, one of which gave its name to Windmill Island, between Camden and Philadelphia. After the Revolution (1798) there were said to be 1,100 improved mill sites in New Jersey, about 600 of which were either sawmills, or fulling mills, or forges, or furnaces, or slitting and rolling mills, or paper, powder, or oil mills. The natural question arises as to what the remaining 500 must have been and of course the answer is the inevitable grist or flouring mill, a prime necessity. From this respectable list, it is evident what kinds of manufacture colonial Jersey was able to carry on, and how dependent was that manufacture upon her water power.

**The Manufacture of Flour** well illustrates the dependence of the settlers upon water power sites and skilled artisanship. The earliest settlers brought hand mills with them, a simple device consisting of a nether stone, and an upper one which latter was put in motion against the nether one, by

means of a peg, grasped by the hand. Some settlers had a pestle and mortar to crush grain. Either process was very wearisome, because every day the housewife must grind the corn for the day following. In every settlement a movement was early on foot to secure a miller as soon as possible. The husbands of the suffering housewives of Newark, for example, voted in town meeting in 1668, in favor of engaging a miller who should "grind all the town's grist into good meal." Robert Treat and Sergeant Richard Harrison were appointed to "erect a grist mill on the brook at the north end of the town," where they were to have a miller to grind grain on the second and sixth days of each week. Yet it took until 1671 for Newark to obtain this boon. At Woodbridge, the town meeting agreed with a miller that he should furnish "two good stones of at least five feet across," receiving a land grant in return, and the privilege of asking one-sixteenth as toll for his service. The principle of the water power gristmill was similar to the hand mill, except for the difference in motive power, but the greater efficiency of the former was due to the refinement of the process, obtained by specially prepared stones. The grinding surfaces had channels, or furrows cut in them, proceeding obliquely from center to circumference. Each furrow was cut slantwise on one side, perpendicular on the other, so as to give each ridge a sharp cutting edge. The upper stone was a little convex, and the nether a little concave; but there was a slight difference between the convexity and concavity of the stones, so that the space between them became less and less towards the edges, with the result that the nearer the grain approached the edge the finer it was ground. For local use, the bran was often left in the meal; but for export the two were separated by means of a sieve which removed the bran, and a bolting cloth which separated the flour according to its fineness. A mill employed entirely in grinding neighborhood grain was called a "grist" or "custom" mill; but Jersey's grain supply led to exportation of flour, which was manufactured and packed in barrels at "merchant" mills.

**Textiles and Leather**—The miller was soon joined in the town by other craftsmen. He was contemporaneous with the weaver, and fuller, the tanner and shoemaker, the carpenter and shipwright, each usually with his plot of land to eke out the gains from his craft, if indeed some of them did not handle more than one trade.

Next to the millers, weavers perhaps seemed the most important tradesmen farmers among New Jersey colonists. They were strenuously urged to migrate thither. The action of the Newark town meeting on the fifth of December, in 1670, well illustrates the mood of the colonists at the approach of severe winter weather. The meeting promised "Jonathan Sargeant for his Encouragement to settle in the Town, follow his Trade, and to help Mend His Home Lott . . . . that piece of Meadow that Lies at Beef Point which was formerly Granted to John Rockwell, the Boat Man." Before long Newark must have had plenty of weavers, or grown reckless with the approach of spring, for the town meeting of March 19, 1673, warned that "Weavers Thomas Pierson and Benjamin Baldwin" should make their "Lotts" shorter,

having settled upon them too hastily when they originally came from Milford. Outlying settlers were visited by itinerant weavers, for whom a "weave room" might be maintained in the cellar. In the towns, a "weave house" was the precursor of the cloth factory. From the weavers, the cloth went to the dyers, unless it had been dyed in the yarn, and the dyers were for a long time the women in the home, who showed a predilection for blue. The fulling also came to be done by trained craftsmen, before a great while; but needless to say the tailor was a very long way behind indeed. The women in the homes continued throughout the colonial period to fashion most of the garments worn among the local people, regardless of size, or sex. Such were the primitive processes before the days of rayon for the ladies and Rogers Peet for the men!

In spite of all efforts, textile manufacturing remained inadequate throughout the colonial period. Labor remained very dear; because the artisans and tradespeople, whom the proprietaries induced with much pains to settle in the province, continually abandoned their trades under the lure of the independent and inexpensive land ownership. Whereas, in 1703, John Clarke had received a grant of twenty acres to encourage him in setting up a fulling mill on the Rahawack, nearly a century later (Oct., 1790) John Johnson was with reason inviting the people of Newark to consider his astounding feat. He had put "in complete order" a fulling mill, he had supplied himself with the best European workmen, and he would dress all kinds of cloth, dyeing them any color (in those post-Revolutionary days)—except scarlet!

When Jerseymen endeavored to enter the outside market for textiles they did best in woolens, not so well in linens and rather badly in silk and cotton. The textile mill, with its fulling, carding, bolting and weaving, evolved from the machinery of the gristmills and other power developments. Textiles were a field (unlike timber and iron) where Jerseymen did not have predominating advantages: therefore they could not go far beyond the local market. In woolens, the depredations of the wolves, together with deterioration of the sheep to primitive types, made the breed inferior to that of Europe and it was not until 1700 that the clip equalled the colonial demand. Quakers from Yorkshire and London, who settled round about Salem and Burlington (1677) soon commenced cloth manufacture. Within twenty years, "Very good serges, druggets, crapes, camblets (part hair) and good plushes with several other woolen cloths beside Linnen" were mentioned by a supposedly well-informed English writer. The cloth was an active feature at the semi-annual fairs of the community; it is doubtful whether it traveled much farther. Parliament in 1699 and 1732 forbade loading woolen cloth on any conveyance.

The textile people who ventured into the manufacture of hats, on the other hand, enjoyed a natural advantage in the abundant beaver supply augmented by raccoon, sheep and other animals as substitutes. The hatters made felt by matting hair together and when it was in cap shape they stiffened it with shellac; then three more layers of fur were applied to make

the nap and the nap was raised by beating the cap with sticks while it was wet. The cap was given the general form of a hat by drawing it over a cylindrical block on which it remained during the dye stage. About four dozen hats thus mounted were ranged on a wheel, which was turned over a vat in such a manner as to keep one-half of the hats alternately in the dye. After further washing and drying, a hat received final attention on the "finishing block," where the nap obtained the required elegance from the ministrations of a rattan to whip it up, a card and brush to dispose the fibres, and a hot iron to make it glossy and smooth. Hats thus fashioned, of white for the ladies and children and of drab and black for the gentlemen, became very popular. Colonial hatmakers prospered so far that they interfered seriously with British manufacture in this field. Hence the law of 1732, prohibiting the transportation of hats and limiting the number of apprentices, a law the colonials successfully evaded.

"Linnens" interested the Scotch settlers. They introduced the culture and manufacture of flax and hemp; and their letters of 1684 were speaking of the plentiful supply of linen material. Flax twice hackled sold at 9d a pound. It was cheap, like wool. Colonial linen, mostly homespun, was more durable if made from flax which had had the seed garnered from it; but at the same time this process made it less elegant. Elegant or no, it was of a quality sufficient to find buyers in New York—for a vessel which foundered in 1754 hailed from New Brunswick and carried linens valued at £10,000 to £12,000, "manufactured in the Jersies and bringing hither for sale." Jersey producers of hemp profited by their location in a shipbuilding community, making progress as cordage makers.

When the New Jersey Assembly, acting upon a recommendation of Governor William Franklin in 1765, granted bounties on flax and hemp, they included the mulberry tree. This was the period when the British Government and the Society of Arts had strong hopes of rivalling France. Silk growing was followed with spirit (if not with much success) in New Jersey at the same time as Pennsylvania and Delaware were entertaining the same fond hopes. The silk was badly reeled on a hand loom and roughly spun on the large wheel used for spinning wool. It was too fine, uneven and badly colored, to compete with Italian silk in the market. Families, however, might make five, ten or even fifty pounds per year for their own use.

The manufacture of cotton cloth was an industry which was given a most dignified start in New Jersey, but it suffered a most inglorious end. After Samuel Slater had demonstrated what he could accomplish in Rhode Island, capitalists of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania determined to establish the making of cotton yarn and fabrics in the vicinity of New York. Alexander Hamilton enthusiastically encouraged the formation of the "Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures" which was organized at New Brunswick in November, 1791. The Falls of the Passaic became the chosen site of the city which these men were envisioning—a city chartered to cover six square miles, although scarcely ten houses then graced the site.

Some 700 acres were bought for $8,230, and after some deliberation it was decided not to name the city after the Secretary of the Treasury (who incidentally had invested no funds in the stock) but to honor the Governor of the State, instead. Thus, Paterson came into being.

The company had paid-in capital of some $160,000 by October 1, 1792, and brought Nehemiah Hubbard down from Middletown, Connecticut, as superintendent at $2,000 per year. $20,000 was appropriated for a canal (as the falls had an elevation of 104 feet above tide water); $5,000 for a weave shop and equipment; the same for a cotton manufactory; and $12,000 for a print work. For the workmen, the founders projected 50 houses costing $250 each, generously planned to cover 24x18 feet, with cellar and garret both. These very presentable structures were offered to married mechanics on a lease system permitting them to buy their homes in installments.

So worthy an enterprise would seem to merit the utmost in success; but Major L'Enfant (who succeeded Hubbard as manager) proved to have ideas too grand for the situation, so that Peter Colt of Hartford was summoned (February, 1793) to act as manager, and to restrain such extravagances as L'Enfant might be inclined to be guilty of in his new position of engineer. This arrangement continued until the fall, when L'Enfant ceased to be connected with Paterson. That year some yarn was spun by oxen-driven machinery in a building thereafter known as the "Bull Mill." The next June, spinning by water power was begun. It was a grand occasion. The brand new mill, 90x40, and four stories high, was opened with a parade and a ball: 125 workmen were engaged to operate the four carding machines, the twenty-five spinning jennies and the sixty single looms. Bleached and unbleached muslin bought in New York was in stock ready to be made into calico prints and other goods. A Sunday school was started for the factory children, and the superintendent had orders from the society to plant mulberry trees and engage in silk worm culture. There was every expectation of success.

During the following months much yarn and several species of cotton fabrics were made, but failure dogged the steps of the industry. The engineer had wasted vast sums; the imported mechanics were "presumptuous and ignorant of the labor expected of them"; and nearly $50,000 was lost by the failure of parties to certain bills of exchange bought by the company to buy in England certain plain cloths for printing. In fine, the effort was premature, no pioneer led the way, no experience existed in this country "relative to any subject of the enterprise." In January of 1796 the stockholders, weary of paying everything out and receiving nothing in return, voted to stop the manufacture when current orders should be filled. The next July, the workmen were discharged and manufacture abandoned. A traveler reported that he had found the billets of the carding cylinders to be covered with mahogany, and other aspects of the factory showed that it had been planned upon a noble scale. And to what did it descend? In 1800 one John Park leased the cotton mill to spin candlewick and coarse yarn. Seven years later fire burned the mill and it was never rebuilt.

As to colonial tanners, they formed a third very important class of craftsmen, because of colonial dependence upon leather, not only for articles of wearing apparel, but for mechanical pursuits of various kinds. Tanning seems to have been first brought into the colony by several of John Ogden's family, resident at Elizabeth, where the industry gained a momentum which made the town the mother of tanners for many a year, for it is related "men who learned the art in the tanneries of Elizabethtown went to other colonies and established industries of their own." The generations of descendants of Ogden carried on the trade in extremely primitive fashion until the advent of Colonel William Edwards (born in 1770 at Elizabeth, with his Ogden blood enriched with the strain of Johnathan Edwards). William learned the business of his uncles, serving as apprentice through four years, while he received his board and the privilege of tanning "with his master's stock four sheep skins a year." At the end of that period he went to work "as a journeyman at $30 per annum and board." He was yet under twenty when he commenced business for himself at Hampshire and began to demonstrate those inventive faculties which were responsible for a series of mechanical improvements, afterwards adopted and extended by others to the vast benefit of the trade. The Hampshire works became to a certain extent a model for those at Elizabeth and elsewhere and the business became infused with a greater spirit of enterprise throughout. Long before the day of William Edwards, the colony had suffered from the high prices of hides and tanned leather, a condition doubtless relieved after processes were improved and the business became established in other centers, such as Newark and, later, Trenton. At Newark, tanning and leather work had been going on since 1676, when the town records announced "Deacon Lawrence is chosen to be the Sealer of Leather for this Town, according to the order of the General Assembly." The Deacon must have had an unsatisfactory experience in this office, for two years later the export of hides or tanned leather was prohibited, with the notion this would lower the prices. As increasing numbers of Jerseymen were raising cattle, the unpopularity of the law can be imagined. After about twenty years Newark achieved a new tannery, when Hugh Roberts and Hans Albers established the industry at the "swamp or watering business," and went at it with such vim that Newark herself eventually came to be no mean rival of Elizabeth, producing for both the domestic and foreign trade, with New York as an important buyer. Throughout the colony, tanneries on a small scale without labor-saving devices became very numerous. They would be planted above a meadow, where the tan vats were placed, on a hillside convenient to a waterfall. There, "on the oaken floor a huge wooden-cogged wheel slowly revolved, crushing the black and red oak bark." It was this very abundant supply of bark, and mill sites, and the interest in cattle growing, which, together with the leather demands of a growing population, most encouraged the industry. Leather, for such reasons, took its place beside iron, nails and lumber as a manufacture produced in quantities greater than the local demand.

The industries allied to tanning, such as shoemaking, saddlery and harness making soon established themselves in the larger settlements. After the tanner was done, he would return to the farmer his half of the cured hides, of the lighter parts of which the family would make home-made uppers. Then the shoemaker would be invited to make a visit, a visit much looked forward to by the entire family, because the visitor would be so well informed of community gossip. Traveling shoemakers, who were described by the trade as "whipping the cat" because they "boarded round," came equipped with kits as well as information. They made their stay as long as necessary to completely serve an entire family at the work of fastening heavy soles to the uppers which were ready. Many shoemakers, whether itinerant or resident, made both uppers and soles. Also women's finer shoes were made of cloth occasionally. Until some time after the Revolution, they did not use "lasts" (commonly called "rights and lefts") adapted to each foot, depending rather upon a somewhat free pattern drawn to the measure of the person to be shod. Similarly cramping or "crimping" the front part of boots was not practiced until about 1800. In sewing together the different parts of his work, the shoemaker used threads of different lengths, each with a hog's bristle attached to the end of it to make it easier to pass the thread through the holes prepared for it by an awl. Sometimes wooden pegs or brass nails were used to fasten soles to uppers, but sewing was considered more durable, and more readily repaired. Everyone, of high and low degree, condescended to wear repaired shoes in those days! Journeymen in the trade were supposed to "understand the stuff and silk branch" also. Apprentices were taught the "trade, art and mystery of the business," were provided with "good and wholesome" food, washing and lodging, and a number of "quarters" of night schooling. Sometimes the apprentice "found" his own apparel. The master might, possibly, allow him money for it; but under all circumstances, the master controlled the apprentice's "morals." A week's work averaged around seven pairs of shoes, which might bring as low as fifty cents a pair.

The master of a shop oftentimes carried the product of the previous day on his back, walking to the place where he proposed to sell it, regardless of the distance. At Newark, the Rev. Moses N. Combs, "a little, blacked-eyed, man" had a penchant for tanning, which enticed him on into the shoemaking trade. He used to call his apprentices together after work, for moral and religious instruction. At dawn the next morning he might be off to Jersey City afoot, where he would ferry to the market in New York, returning the same way in the afternoon. His industry seems to have been appreciated in the South, for the records indicate that in 1790 he filled an order for 200 pairs of seal skin shoes, the first ever sent from Newark to Georgia. At the beginning of the next century, improvements in highways and bridges to New York fostered shoemaking, as it stood more in need of access to market than great increase of capital. The expansion on the market fostered improvements in the product. With complete self-assurance, therefore, when Charles

Basham made his map of Newark in 1806, he inserted in the lower left corner an illustration of a shoemaker at work on his bench, explaining with more enthusiasm than accuracy that this was the true symbol of the town's prosperity, as one-third of its inhabitants were employed at shoemaking. In view of the fact that shoemaking was destined to be the chief industry at Newark about 1800, it is interesting to note that the town on June 23, 1680, was half-hearted in granting of permission to Samuel Whitehead of Elizabeth to "come and inhabit among us, provided he will supply the Town with Shoes, though for the present we know not of any Place of Land Convenient." The best authorities state that Samuel was not moved to accept this cool invitation. Such were the predecessors of Johnson and Murphy, L. Boyden, and Bannister.

Shortly before the second war with England, Newark was reputed to be employing nineteen-twentieths of her industrial population in handling leather. Some of these, as in other parts of the colony, manufactured saddles and luggage for colonial use. The saddlers took from woodworkers the frame, or "tree" of the saddle, which was made of wood and a little iron, covered with canvas. On this structure the saddler superimposed in proper order, "straining web," wool and hair padding, linen cloth, hogs skin, besides the necessary straps, girths and stirrup appurtenances. Luggage making was very simple, because most trunks were wooden boxes lined with paper or cloth and covered with skin or leather, which was fastened to the wood by means of tacks. Brass nails might add a decorative feature. More expensive trunks had frames of iron instead of wood, and two coverings of leather, fastened in place with seams of waxed thread. The same worker, in the colonies, often made trunks, saddles and harness. In the last named, the worker had another simple task, it being necessary merely to cut the leather with a crescent-formed knife or a blade set with a guage, and then stitch it together with the kind of thread used by shoemakers. Passing the thread through the awl holes was further assisted by a needle usually, instead of the shoemaker's pig bristle.

**Wood-working**—No less important than the tanner was the worker in wood. Sawmills sprang up like mushrooms, and their advent naturally decreased the price of lumber. As long as the province had so large a supply of practically free timber, the chief factor in the price of boards would continue to be the labor of sawing. Particularly was this true in the southern portion of the region. There the pines stood as a great wall between the Delaware and the sea, ready and waiting to become timber. Cedars there were also. They produced timber, pipe staves, poles, pipes, turpentine. This gave an opportunity to such men as Robert Styles of Gloucester, who became known for his tar and rosin industry before 1700, to make money as long as the timber lasted. The sawmill processes were so wasteful, and thievery of supplies was so common, that the colonial government attempted to take steps toward conservation, at the same time aiming to lower the price of ship building materials, and mayhap lessen the trade dominance of New

REPRODUCTION OF DUTCH KITCHEN IN THE MUSEUM OF THE BERGEN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HACKENSACK.

*Courtesy of Bergen County Historical Society.*

York. An act of 1694 placed a duty on the export of pipestaves, etc., to the neighboring provinces; "the reason assigned was that the exportation of staves would cause a waste of timber and was a great discouragement to trade." New Yorkers had their own opinion of the object of the law. Wrote Governor Fletcher to the Lords of Trade: "But they are now making war upon us in point of trade having prohibited by Act of their Assembly, the transportation of Pipestaves, shingles, or Plank to New York, by which they will draw the shipping thither and establish a free port to the great prejudice of this place and sink the Trade of it, they pay no duty to the King and all will flock to it." East Jersey psychology is readily understandable, in view of the fact that she had not been allowed, until 1680, any other port of entry than New York, and was keenly conscious of her "degradation" as a "supply territory tributary to New York." While these duties were repealed within three years, they were reënacted, for a period of ten years, later on, and thus served to confuse the industry and hinder its development. Beginning in 1705 the British offered bounties on naval stores, which somewhat encouraged the production of tar, masts, yards and bowsprits in New Jersey.

Those shipwrights to whose "malign influence" the law of 1694 was attributed, were a fairly numerous class of artisans. The early maps show that nearly all the settlements were located within reach of tidewater and identified with maritime interests. One of these interests was located along the seashore fronts of Cape May, Atlantic and Ocean counties, where settled the hardy souls attracted by the whaling industry in the nearby waters, an industry flourishing most of the first century of the settlements. On all waterfronts, ship carpenters constituted an important industrial class, building first for the whaling and coasting trade and from the profits of those ventures (all opposition of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding) for the West India trade. An abundance of good oak and pine, a population accustomed to the sea, and financial backing in New York and Philadelphia, created Jersey's colonial merchant marine, which fared forth from Amboy and Salem to all the main seacoast towns, when they did not venture further. Jersey's marine was patterned from tiny, but complete, wooden models. The oak and pine materials were prepared by girdling the trees in the beginning of winter, when the sap was down; and after sufficient drying, the trees were felled, the timber roughly hewn, and stored for further drying. For the crooked timbers to make the ribs of the vessels, careful search was made to find trees which had obligingly conformed to that design, and great care was used to avoid impairing the strength of the timbers by cutting contrary to the grain. When the parts of the frame had been made ready they were put together on the stocks, by inserting the keel into the sternpost and the stem, and fastening the ribs to the keel. Each rib was a branch and part of the body of a tree. Then came the planks fastened to the ribs, those which had to be bent being heated by steam forced into place with levers. Thereafter came the caulking to keep out the water, and the "sheathing" to keep out the worms. After

water had been pumped into the hold, to make sure the vessel did not leak, she was carefully launched and brought to the wharf to have her masts, spars, rigging and sails fitted, the last being done by a worker fitly called the "ship's Tailor."

An early appreciation of the importance of shipping marks the records of the first settlements. Newark welcomed one John Rockwell "upon consideration that he doth this very spring season (1669) come and settle here in our town and maintain this or such like sufficient boat for the use of the town or particular persons in the town . . . . so long as the Lord shall enable him thereto." The town would graciously "forbear him for some time the present rate of purchase money." Amboy granted Miles Foster a town lot because he had built the first sloop there. At Elizabethtown "the elevation of the shores ten to twenty feet above the tide made it possible to build ships without docks." Samuel Groome, one of the original twelve proprietors, did not let a year pass after his arrival (1682) before he had a vessel on the ways. Little Egg Harbor carried on its quota in the same field, the brothers Lee founding Leesburg as a place for building coastal vessels, while Tuckerton Creek and Dorchester built ships to carry their pine and cedar boards, rails and shingles coastwise to the cities and the West Indies. Salem and Burlington prospered at their docks and shipyards, Governor Coxe's "own great ship" being built at Burlington. Bridgeton, being at the head of navigation, carried on a considerable business of taking lumber to Philadelphia, although not more than three or four vessels were owned in the place. Alloways Creek did its little best in the same industry.

The exact proportions which Jersey's colonial shipbuilding industry attained, are problematical. The modest size of many of the ships is suggested, for 1705, by the sixteen-ton "Adventurer," owned by John and Richard Townsend, who obtained a license to trade between Cape May, Philadelphia, and Burlington. The records show that yachts, schooners, and some larger craft were achieved, and ships were built for British as well as colonial owners, because colonial shipwrights were skillful and built thirty per cent. cheaper than the British. Whatever may have been the true volume of the building, Governor Morris reported to the unsympathetic Lords of Trade in 1742 that "the foreign trade is not considerable," that a handful of brigantines and sloops might be reaching Madeira and the West Indies, but most of New Jersey's European commodities were entering through New York and Philadelphia. It appears that Jersey-built ships were busiest at ports outside the State, and that the largest of them were sold with the cargo in foreign waters. With the approach of the Revolution, ship building languished, only four vessels around twenty-five tons each being built in 1769 and but one in 1772. The Revolution finished the destruction, with Delaware ports shut off by the British occupation and the eastern coast open to the ravages of war. As late as 1780, Bridgeton, up on the Cohansey, ventured to fit out a letter-of-marque schooner, under the dignified name of "Governor Livingston"; but her temerity was rewarded with the capture of the ship

and her valuable cargo by the British on her second voyage. With the rebirth of shipbuilding after the War for Independence, New Jersey again entered the field to a modest degree.

Diversification in the wood-working trades began in New Jersey with the advent of the town sawyers, such as the versatile Sergeant Harrison of Newark who first took up the trade there and enjoyed a monopoly of the business until Thomas David (in 1695) was permitted to erect another sawmill—in the southern section of the town. Beyond the sawmill stage came those craftsmen of the villages and towns whose talents made them architects, carpenters, joiners, turners, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, chairmakers, coopers, wheelwrights, brushmakers and undertakers, all rolled into one very useful individual. Such a village factotum was found in every settlement of any size, keeping his plot of land, and farming it when not busy at any of his numerous trades. One of their number has preserved to posterity a very human document—being his account book, which shows the life led by the jack-of-all trades in the Revolutionary period. He was Robert Nichols and lived with his numerous family on Washington Street, in Newark. The liberties which Captain Nichols took with his spelling but enhance the general historical accuracy of his narrative! From a few of his items one can gather the general tenor of his account book.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1763. | | | |
| Aug. 11—To Caleb Gilbert, Dr. | | | |
| To a coffin and screws for your Whife | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| To a half Dolar in Silver you had of Josiah Crane that was left of my buckels to make your buckels with | | 4 | |
| 1764. | | | |
| June 15—Put an axeltree in David Johnson's cart | | 3 | 6 |
| Sold 200 clams | | 2 | |
| 19—About on State affairs and went down to the great swamp to mend fence | | | |
| Aug. 21—Afternoon at the Syder mill and am to have some Syder | | | |
| Dec. 15—Finished a Cobard for John Barbor | | 15 | |
| 24—Mad 3 wipeltrees and a nec yoak for Mr. Mchortor worth six shillings and gave it | | | |
| 1765. | | | |
| Nov. 12—At night went to Osturing at Amboy | | | |
| 28—All of us at home about raising my house | | | |
| 1766. | | | |
| Jan. 16—Myself for Dr. Johnson woodfrolic, the boys in the shop | | | |
| Mar. 11—Town meeting, myself after Pegions | | | |
| 29—Canew at the ferry for which I had some rum | | | |
| June 12—Much making of window frams, 18 lites 8 x 10 at 6d per lite | | 9 | |
| Oct. 30—Myself and both boys and Jerry Bruen, all for the county, at a gallows and hired Joseph Whelan and Aaron Pierson for the same the whole is | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| 1769 | | | |
| Feb. 2—To a pare of shoes for Elizabeth | | 8 | |
| To 17 Quarts of Milk at 2d pr qt | | 2 | 10 |
| 1785 | | | |
| Jan. 27—John Smith Dr. to a neat gum Coffin for his wife, I found screws | | 32 | |
| Feb. 14—Myself and John went up to David Bruen's to Draw Logs To the Sawmill, Came back on Sat. the 19th, Drawed for myself 11 Whitewood and 2 Whiteoak Logs the oak for Laith Johnson at home about Sashes and others, one Day work at the New Town Dock | | | |
| 25—Myself Drawing a Drauft of a house for brother Lewis Nichols, the boys in the Shop at Congor's Loome | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar. 25 | —Made our Rudder and Tiller for my Conew..... | | | |
| 26 | —Myself with five hands at the New Town Dock beside my Teeme which makes five Days..... | | | |
| | Nathaniel Camp Dr to a Desk draw..... | | | |
| Apr. 1 & 2 | —Myself and both Boys two Days over the River hewing Timber for Uzal Ward..... | | 16 | |
| 9 | —Myself and John half day for Robt Watts at the frame the other half Day for Major Ward at his Skiff Calking and Baying for wich I got 2 gall tar..... | | | |
| May 3 | —Myself forenoon sowing my flax..... | | | |
| | Afternoon at work for Isaac Alling silling a building..... | | 4 | |
| 5 | —Elish Bodinot Esq Dr to making and puting in 2 sellar windoframs ..... | | 9 | |
| 30 | —Benjamin Coe Jur Dr to making a Bedstead..... | | 12 | 1 |
| June 4 | —The Widow Jonas Pierson Dr to 3 small jogs of wood from my wood pile and one load out of the woods..... | | 16 | |
| July 18 | —Myself at harvest ..... | | | |
| 25 | —All hands at my corn..... | | | |
| Sept. 1 | —All hands Clearing Swamp for Myself..... | | | |
| 16 | —Stacking my hay..... | | | |
| | —To making 10 Barels of Syder, 6 of them at 1/ the other 4 Barels at 1/3..... | | 6<br>5 | |
| Oct. 25 | —John and Johnson both at work for Benjamin Coe Jur and Myself as good as one Day seting out the Work but Coe got Affronted and hove the Work into the Streat so I Charge nothing. ..... | | | |
| Nov. 9 | —Myself 3 days at New York carried to Isaac Nichols one Barel of Appelbeer and 4 Bushels of purtatoes..... | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| | —To Lewis Nichols one Barel Appelbeer..... | | 16 | |
| Dec. 7 | —Myself cuting and salting my meat..... | | | |
| | —The Boys in the Shop made a Bed Teaster and Head Fram for Moses Baldwin..... | | 4 | 6 |
| | —Col Alling to making 2 sellar Dors to fold togather he found Stuf. ..... | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| 26 | —(Monday) to keeping Crismas..... | | | |
| 1786. | | | | |
| Jan. 7 | —Isaac Hays Dr to Glewing a gun stock, made new glew on purpose. ..... | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Feb. 2 | —This Morning about 2 o'clock there was an Unhappy affair hapned at Neighbor Coe's his Negro Woman Some way or other Caught on Fire and lay on the floor till allmost Consumed before it was Discovered. Benjamin Coe Dr to making a box to put the remains of his Negro in..... | | 4 | |
| Mar. 2 | —In the Shop made a pair of Brushes for Samuel Congor and also a Dressors and found the Stuf for the same Congor. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 13 | —Myself at work for Elisha Bodinot Esq Diging and seting out Balsom of fir Trees..... | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| | —To making 236 Venetian Blinds for his Windows at 3d pr Blind. ..... | 2 | 19 | 0 |

This last item undoubtedly refers to the great Boudinot residence so long a landmark in Park Place, Newark, known for its display of windows. Thus runs the record of town life as New Jersey knew it in Revolutionary days.

**Iron Industry**—In these days when so much of our iron comes from the vast surface mines of Lake Superior and is manufactured at Gary, Indiana, and in the Pittsburgh district of Pennsylvania, it is difficult to realize that the iron industry attracted a great deal of New Jersey's colonial capital. There were four reasons for the persistence of the industry there at that time. In northwest New Jersey the several spurs of the Appalachian chain which diversify Morris and adjoining counties had an exceptional abundance and variety of magnetite and hematite ore; in Southern New Jersey the swamps and watercourses were rich in a deposit of brown hematite termed

bog-iron; throughout the State numerous mill sites furnished water power needed to operate bellows and stamping mills; and on all sides grew a supply of wood awaiting conversion into fuel—a ton of charcoal being needed to smelt twenty-five pounds of iron ore. Such were the resources which the early Jerseymen found to their hand, and they proved of first importance as a source of iron for domestic and foreign use. The Dutch along the Raritan and Delaware rivers were instrumental in discovering and starting rumors about these resources. For some years, little but rumor persisted concerning them.

A gentleman named James Grover is said to have had the honor of being the first iron master. He may have heard the adage "wherever you find a Leonard you find a forge"; at any rate, it appears that about 1674 he sent up to Lynn, Massachusetts for a Leonard to build him a forge on the Shrewsbury, where there was bog iron to be had. Henry Leonard came down, and the so-called "Tinton Manor Works" were built. Within a couple of years, the future of the works was considered of enough public moment to warrant the Assembly in granting the proprietors of them exemption from taxes for seven years. At this moment, Colonel Lewis Morris, an adventurous merchant from Barbados, took over Tinton Manor, a property of some 3,500 acres, on which he and his heirs were given freedom "to dig, delve, and carry away all such mines for ore as they shall find or see fit to carry away to the iron work . . . . he or they paying all such damages to the owners of the land where they shall dig as shall be judged is done by trespass of cattle or otherwise." Within half a dozen years Colonel Morris was employing sixty or seventy Negroes besides white servants and dependents, all busy upon the industries made possible by the bog-iron of that region.

The iron manor of New Jersey was not essentially different from the plantation manor of the colonies further south, except that whereas your Virginian was treating his manufacturing as subordinate to his agriculture, your Jersey ironmaster regarded his agriculture as subordinate to his manufacturing. The ironmaster might own industries in several small settlements. He owned some forges, and furnaces, of course, as they were the places where the ore was changed into usable things. But he also, as a necessary corollary, owned a gristmill where corn was ground for his workers, a sawmill where timber was cut for every industry on the manor, a wheelwright shop making the wheels for the carts after the forges had supplied the tires for them, a blacksmith shop where his own workers shod the manor oxen, a charcoal furnace where the fuel for the furnaces and forges was charred, and last but far from least, numerous farms, where farmers worked on shares with him, and labored in the manor industries the rest of the time according as they were fitted to do so. In addition to all of this, the ironmaster controlled all the transportation in his domain, this being before the advent of canals and railroads. Thus the iron manor existed as a self-sufficient unit, with its own agricultural, industrial and financial life. A farmer who was giving his time for a number of days to the carting of ore from the

mine to the forge, received a ticket or piece of writing giving him trade at various shops owned by the master. Iron was to all intents and purposes the measure of value in such a community.

But this is getting ahead of our story a bit, because most of the forges and furnaces did not start as units in a huge holding, but gradually fell into the hands of bigger capitalists as time and vicissitudes and debt forced them there. The other large manors will be mentioned as they enter the story of the iron industry.

Whether Tinton Manor was too ambitious an undertaking for the early part of the colonial period, or whether bad management wrecked it, is not known; but it appears that it did not survive a great number of years. Further north, however, the course of events was inevitably moving toward the development of community life in the region of the magnetite and hematite ores, taken from hillsides rather than watercourses. Tradition has it that iron was what attracted the early settders to Morris and Sussex counties, in the neighborhood of Hanover, particularly. People came there from older New Jersey settlements, as well as from New and Old England, and their settlements long were known as "the old forges." Some writers assert that Hanover was settled first as early as 1685, while others put it as late as 1710; but there is universal agreement upon one fact of greater importance than the exact date of the settlement: that is, that the workers went fifteen or twenty miles away for their ore—to the famous Succasunna mine—loaded it into leather bags on pack horses, for the journey over into Hanover, where they smelted it, and then by the same tedious method of transportation to the forges at various places in Morris and Essex counties and finally as bar iron across the Orange Mountains to Newark. The richness of the ore, some of it yielding over seventy per cent of iron, permitted this uneconomical practice to survive a long time. Curiously enough, Succasunna ore for a long time was free to all comers, until one Joseph Kirkbride put a stop to this largess in 1717 by taking over the land himself. The mine itself is known to this day as the "Dickerson" because Jackson's secretary of the navy took over the mine when he went to Dover to live, and worked it extensively. The property has been a sort of godfather to innumerable furnaces, forges, and bloomeries in the vicinity, sponsoring the industrial welfare of the people of Randolph, Mount Hope, Morristown, Dover and other places for many a year.

The number of "ironworks" was destined to multiply through much of the colonial period. The favored counties were perforce Morris, Sussex, Passaic and Warren; in addition, Gloucester, Mercer, Monmouth and Burlington. It is difficult to guess exactly how many works there were at any one time, because statistics of that period did not lend themselves to exactitude. The entire State, in 1784, is said to have had seventy-nine forges and eight furnaces; Morris County alone, in 1800, is said to have been blessed with ten mines in operation, two furnaces, three rolling and slitting mills and about forty forges of two to four fires each; by 1802, 150 forges are credited to the State as a whole. This last figure seems to be a high water mark, due

to the fact that, a little later on, the substitution of coal for charcoal, and the puddling furnace for the forge, were destined to divert some capital into other fields. But in the meantime the iron industry was closely identifying itself with Jersey fortunes and misfortunes, most of the large works suffered severe reverses, and the industry as a whole simply refused to be discouraged, persisting in supplying the local market, and a little of the foreign, with its sturdy product. As the largest colonial forges did not produce more than 100 tons of bar iron in a year, one can see that there was room for many, even in as small a State as New Jersey. The biggest boom in the business seems to have been about from 1740 to the Revolution; and in this period a few projects great enough to be classed with those of Colonel Morris and the "Dickerson" were attempted, and prove interesting.

The "London Company" was fathered by "Baron" Peter Hasenclever who brought a colony of German miners and iron workers into New Jersey, buying land and properties at Pompton, Ringwood, Long Pond and Charlottenburg for them to work. The enlargement and prosecution of this huge undertaking taxed the patience of the stockholders back in the "tight little isle," who wearied of furnishing much capital and getting no dividends. So they sent a canny Scot named Robert Erskine as manager a few years before the Revolution broke out. The magnitude of his responsibilities was not to be minimized by the new manager, who wrote a friend: "The concerns of the company for whom I am engaged are very great, the amount of their inventories at New York in iron goods, cattle and moveables alone was upwards of £30,000 currency; the annual circulation of cash and supplies is between £20,000 and £30,000 . . . . I have eight clerks, about as many overseers, forgemen, founders, colliers, woodcutters, carters and laborers, to the amount of 500 or 600. The care of this centers in me besides a cash account of £1,000 or £1,500 per month rendered monthly." This was the same Erskine who asked the Continental Congress and General Washington to exempt his workers from service in the campaigns, except in special emergencies; being Scotch, Erskine at the same time had provided against contingencies, organizing, drilling and equipping a company of his own ready to march.

Another iron development of equal interest was the "Hibernia" or "Adventure," in Pequannock Township, Burlington County; this works, with others, received from the provincial Legislature in 1769 certain privileges by way of encouragement. This was an act of foresight, it would seem, because Hibernia cast shot and ordnance for the Revolutionaries, like Mt. Hope Furnace (built in 1772) which added cannon to its achievements. Joseph Hoff, manager of Hibernia in 1776, wrote General Knox for salt, in order that he might provision his works, adding that his furnace was the only one he knew of in the colony then in blast; however, we know from various sources that the next year Jersey was giving aid and comfort to the cause of liberty at both Mt. Hope and Hibernia. Incidentally, the promoter of the Mt. Hope Furnace was John Jacob Faesch, who had been discredited as manager

for the London Company but later became "one of the great men of Morris county, regarded as its greatest ironmaster, one of its richest men, and one of its most loyal citizens."

One reason why there was not more activity in the iron works during the Revolution, is to be found in the fact that some of the largest works were then owned by royalists. An important one of these was the "Andover" works of Sussex County, located on land which William Penn had owned in 1714. These works were first developed about 1740 and had exported their product, via horseback, cart, and boat, to Philadelphia. Before the war, most of the capital at Andover had fallen into royalist hands, and as a splendid quality of iron was produced there, the Continental Congress found itself faced with a problem. The Congress finally took action a few months after the Saratoga victory, by passing a clever resolution. It authorized the Board of War to contract with Whitehead Humphreys of Philadelphia for steel manufactures, stipulating that he should make his steel out of Andover bars. The Congress providently directed that a letter be sent to the Governor and Council of New Jersey asking that a person connected with the Revolutionary cause be placed in possession of the Andover works. Thus, the desired steel was obtained. Incidentally, this procedure also meant that such of the owners as were royalist were widely dispersed during the war, and the mine thereafter remained for some time both unclaimed and unworked.

The number of Jerseymen who devoted their time to iron was sufficiently great to justify a description of the way they did their work. The first stage, that of getting the ore out of the ground, differed in the south and north. The bog ore was simply dug up on the branches of the Little Egg Harbor River in Burlington County, for example, and left to dry before working. This bog ore was a sedimentary mass containing from 47 to 53 per cent. of metallic iron in its lower deposits, and somewhat less in its upper; as the neighborhood afforded a ferruginous green sand and marl which furnished a silicious ore, this was at hand to be mixed with the bog ore and lime to make a very good iron. Sometimes the bog ore was shipped to Maryland to mix with other ores of this region. Among the bog iron furnaces that employed many of the settlers in the south were the Martha, Speedwell, Mt. Holly, Batsto, Atsion and Hanover Furnaces of Burlington County, the Bergen of Monmouth, the Weymouth of Gloucester, and the Cumberland of Cumberland County. In patriotic activities, the Batsto particularly distinguished itself, with the casting of cannon, shot and bomb shells, not to mention boilers, and with salt works equipment. The charcoal furnaces and forges of Southeastern New Jersey performed a double service, which partially accounts for their large number in that region. "If a proprietor had a tract of marshy woodland which he wished to clear up, he threw a dam across the upper part where the streams entered, and there fixed the wheels for an Iron-work." (For he was canny and realized that the most economical use of the pine thereabouts was to burn it into charcoal to form the fuel with which to smelt the bog ore, which was no less ready to hand than the pine trees.) "In a few

DEER PRESERVE IN SOUTH MOUNTAIN RESERVATION

years, in place of a vast pond filled with green or blasted pines, well-inclosed fields and green meadows met the eye of the traveler, and the sounds of rural labor replaced the noise of the furnace and the forge hammer." Thus the bog iron works came, fulfilled their function, and (after the adaptation of anthracite to smelting) departed.

The mining of magnetite and hematite ore from the hills and mountains to the north, presented more difficulties. The ore was raised to the surface, if it could not be dug from an outside vein on a hill, from pits, shafts and tunnels by handwindlass in buckets. Such mines were kept clear of water by pumps, and of gas by a chimney fire and a flue connected with the shaft. Ore was commonly washed by a waterwheel turning a lateral shaft with spiral teeth by means of which the broken ore was forced along a water trough.

The process of making the charcoal fuel was the same in all parts of the State practically. A stack of wood, of whatever kind was convenient (although the harder woods made the best charcoal) was built in a conical shape, with a central opening, and airholes were left near the ground. Fire was applied to the wood at the top, after the wood had been covered with a two-inch layer of dirt or sand as was convenient. This layer was necessary to keep the fire from flaming, and the colliers had to watch it night and day, lest the covering cave in, admit too much air to the fire, and thereby reduce the wood to ashes instead of to charcoal. When the wood had been reduced to the proper point, the fire was partially extinguished by closing the airholes. The charcoal was drawn from the pit by means of an irontoothed rake. A week was required to char an average stack of 40 cords of wood. Wood also later came to be charred in brick kilns. On the big manors, the charcoal workers stayed in huts near the charcoal pits. When anthracite displaced charcoal as a fuel, the furnaces in the Northern part of New Jersey simply substituted the new for the old and continued their smelting. In the south the lack of facilities for getting anthracite without too much of an outlay was what prevented the bog iron furnaces from surviving, especially in view of the fact that bog ore needed to be combined with other ore for finer purposes.

The next stage in the process was the smelting of the ore. This was done in a blast furnace, located on a hillside in order to feed it from the top and take out the product from the bottom. The furnace might be anywhere from twenty to thirty feet in height, the outside being built in pyramidal form of brick or stone. Next came an insulating partition of mortar or clay and within this was the furnace proper, of several layers of brick built as a round-topped cone. The cavity of the furnace was egg-like in shape, with the larger end at the bottom, and it was linked with firebrick or stone to withstand intense heat. Below the cavity was the hearth, which was composed of four or five large, coarse, sandstones, split out of solid rock, and chiselled so as to fit exactly. Into the hearth came the iron and dross as it was melted above, the slag coming in at a higher level than the heavier metal. When

every preparation had been made, occurred the "blowing in." The furnace was gradually heaped with charcoal; and when it was nearly filled, a small quantity of ore was thrown in, with limestone or oyster shells to serve as flux; and blast was applied at the bottom. The blast was a rude bellows, operated by a water wheel, to force air through the stack. When once a furnace was "blown in" or in other words put "in blast," the work of dumping in alternate layers of ore, charcoal and flux, continued on an average from eight to ten months. The charcoal was measured in baskets, holding about a bushel and a half, the ore in boxes holding about a peck. Six baskets of charcoal and as many boxes of ore as the furnace could carry was called a "half-charge," to which limestone was regularly added. A weekly output of twenty-five tons was expected if the "blast" was not interrupted. As fast as the hearth filled with molten metal, the slag on the top of the metal was removed, and the clean metal drawn off into a bed of sand called a pig-bed, which was twenty to thirty feet long and five or six wide. From this pig-bed the iron went into either of two forms: it might be run off into sand trenches and laterals, known as "sow" and "pigs" in which case it emerged as "pig-iron" ready for further refining at the forges; or it might be run into sand-molds of pots, pans, kettles, firebacks and stoves, in which case it emerged as cast iron ready for immediate use. The name of the furnace was proudly stamped on the articles, together with the date.

The pig iron went from the furnace to the forge, where it was the recipient of considerable attention. The old forge was usually built below a dam with a flume on one side to furnish the power for lifting the great hammer, and a race-way on the other side for operating the bellows. The forge was a rectangular building. Within, on either of two sides, were the forge fires (usually two in number) while behind and midway between them the hammer raised its huge bulk. Into the hammer head was fitted a long handle of stone maple which extended its lengthy way toward the side of the building nearest the flume. There the handle met a shaft connected with the waterwheel outside. This shaft had a large iron band with four cogs in it, and as the wheel turned, these cogs in rotation caught the hammer handle and lifted it about a foot, then letting it drop. The hammer rose and fell four times for every turn of the wheel. The bellows were large, leather affairs at first. Toward the end of the eighteenth century came into use a new device, which consisted of two or three tub-like structures of wood, from which the air was forced alternately as the raceway revolved their wheels. In an adjoining building, or perhaps in a corner of the forge, were "stompers" for crushing ore, by water or by hand.

Early in the morning, ,the forgemen came in for their twelve-hour day, relieving the night shift. In a busy forge, there might be four men to handle the fires, and two to do the hammering. The men at the fires threw on iron, which formed a congealed mass at the bottom, which was called a loop; this loop was taken over to the hammer either with a hand crane or with tongs; and there the hammermen, firmly grasping the loop with their tongs, manipu-

lated it as the hammer rose and fell until it was battered into a bar about eighteen inches long and four inches in diameter. This was called a "bloom." Further hammering made the bloom an "ancony." To manipulate a bloom or ancony, so as to hammer it out properly, required long experience; but some forges went further. They reheated the ancony, drew it out, reheated again, etc., etc., and thus made "merchant" or "finished" or "bar" iron. If bar iron was made for a distant customer who had to transport it over the country roads, it was roughly hammered into a shape fitting the horse's back. At special furnaces adapted to the purpose, bar iron was made into "blister" steel. Bar iron and pig iron were the two forms most important for colonial trade purposes, being in demand among blacksmiths and shipbuilders for anchors, carriage and mill iron, hammers, tools of architecture, nails, etc.

In the days of small capital and tiny, rude, forges, one man might be the sole owner of a forge, and he might get his ore by helping himself wherever he found it. If he got into financial difficulties, he might sell one of his fires outright, with the curious result that two competitors might be found using the same hammer. After lands came to be surveyed, the small capital forge gave place to the larger one, even to chains of forges, such as those controlled by Charles Read and John Lacey. Charles Read, who ruled Jersey politically for more than a generation, turned to iron manufacture for a thrill and selected the Batsto River and its tributaries for his activities; John Lacey, the "Quaker General," selected Burlington and Ocean County sites.

The development of the forge business was not an industry upon which the British Lords of Trade looked with kindness. An act of 1729, if enforced, would have required the importation by the colonists of such simple products as wagon axles. This act proving ineffective to stop the natural evolution of the industry in New Jersey and elsewhere, Parliament proceeded to make the situation even more ridiculous. They responded to an address of 1741 begging encouragement for Jersey iron by sending out the fiat of 1750 that no more slitting mills, plating forges or steel furnaces should be erected. But pig and bar iron were encouraged by free importation into London. At a few forges iron continued to be hammered into sheets or plates; at a few slitting mills iron was rolled and cut into strips for making nails. In connection with the 1750 law the old Boonton slitting mill has a hoary tradition which may be within the facts. It is related that when Colonel Samuel Ogden was the manager, and one of the owners of old Boonton, he illegally built a slitting mill and prudently erected a fake gristmill over it. Governor William Franklin, hearing that there was a slitting mill at Boonton, came with his suite to investigate in person. Now the colonel was an hospitable gentleman, with a well stocked cellar, and nothing could deter him from doing the honors to his visitors. A bounteous collation was spread before them, with liquid nourishment to correspond. After the honors had been done, the gubernatorial party prepared to search for the slitting mill. But in the meantime Ogden's thoughtful workers had shut down the slitting mill, had replaced the boards of the gristmill over it, and had started the water wheel to turning

two very genuine looking stones. Ergo, the Governor is reported to have declared there must be nothing in the rumor that Colonel Ogden was disobeying the royal mandates. Some narrators add a sequel to the effect that Governor Franklin was himself a silent partner in the Ogden venture!

Whether or not the above delightful tale be within the facts, there is ample proof that forges continued after 1750 to make a variety of articles demanded by the local conditions. An advertisement of 1768 ran: "Wanted. A person that understands the nailing business in its different branches, or has been employed in that manufactory. Such a person bringing proper recommendations will meet with good encouragement, by applying to Joseph Riggs, Esq., or Joseph Hadden in Newark, New Jersey, who are entering largely into the business." Not to be outdone, Ogden, Laight & Co., situated at the corner of Washington and James streets in the same city of Newark, advertised the following year what could be bought at the "Newark Stove Foundry": "Makers all kind . . . . forge hammers, anvils, pots, kettles, griddles, pyepans of various sizes, potash kettles and sugar boilers, calcining plates, plain and ornamental chimney backs, jamb and hearth plates neatly fitting each other, Bath stoves for burning coal, iron stoves for work shops and ship cabbins, Dutch and perpetual ovens, boiling plates, boxes for carriages of all kinds and sizes, half hundred and smaller weights . . . . N. B. Bar iron will be taken in payment for hammers and anvils, at market price."

The taking of iron as part payment for goods was but one aspect of the universal custom of bartering "in kind" in colonial communities. What the "kind" should be, simply depended upon the nature of the industry which formed the backbone of any particular community. In Morris County where iron was so important, several instances are known of cases where the agreement with the minister stipulated that the parish reserved the right to pay in iron. In one case this was to be done at the rate of 20s per hundredweight, and in another at 24s; and this in a community rating shillings at 12½ cents meant that bar iron was worth from $50 to $60 per ton. Prices for pig iron are indicated by a letter from Charles Hoff, manager of "Hibernia," to his New York correspondents: "We make 15 or 16 tons weekly (which) pig metal I have sold, some for £12, some for £15, some for £20 and some for £30 per ton." Hoff was doing very well, for the average price before the Revolution was but $64, and in 1791, $80. This same writer was eager that the colonial government let him try his hand at making cannon, being sure that his shot-making already was beyond doubt. At any rate, the Continental government exempted twenty-five men from military enlistment, in order that they might enter the Hibernia iron work, an action "which caused an abundance of candidates for the places."

Of course various iron works were known for various things. Oxford Furnace near Dover had ore of a quality fitted for gun barrels, cutlery and machinery. At the High Bridge Iron Works of Allen and Turner, near Somerville, the early output was shoes for oxen, horses and mules, wagon iron, nails and crude farming implements marketed by wagon to Philadelphia.

The blast furnace at Millville made a specialty of casting lamp posts and water pipes. At Weymouth, the first New Jersey pipe foundry was established to supply the need of Philadelphia's water system. At Cumberland, the nail product developed in amount and quality to an extent justifying a marked decrease in price. They began at ten cents to 15 cents per pound and went down to three and a half cents. The wrought iron ploughshare, appearing in 1776, was the invention of a New Jersey farmer named Newbold, who had twenty years of uphill work convincing people that the cast iron would not poison the soil and ruin the crops. Some of his more timid neighbors not quite bold enough to risk an entire wrought iron ploughshare ventured to experiment with mold boards plated with strips of iron from hammered horseshoes. A number of Jersey's ironworks provided munitions for the two wars with England, for which efficiency one of them, the Mount Holly Forge, in operation since 1730, was destroyed by the British on the retreat from Philadelphia to Sandy Hook in 1778. The service of Mount Holly had, indeed, been peculiarly exasperating to people out of sympathy with the colonial cause. For in May, 1775, the Continental Congress had ordered from Maybury's sheet iron manufactory five tons, which the blacksmith Thomas Bales proposed to convert into camp kettles provided he could have the sheet iron on credit. Such faith in the cause was truly annoying to the pessimistic. During the Revolution Trenton craftsmen were making steel. And four years after the peace, Aaron Miller, clockmaker in "Elizabethtown" was advertising the arts of peace. The *New Jersey Journal* informed a waiting public that Miller "makes and sells all sorts of clocks, after the best manner with expedition; he likewise makes compasses and chains for surveyors; as also churchbells of any size, he having a foundry for that purpose, and has cast several who have been approved to be good; and will supply any persons on a timely notice, with any of the above articles, at any reasonable rates." Shortly after this (about 1790), there was a considerable outburst of forge erecting in Morris County and elsewhere. Then in a year or two, came the Algerian War, which gave the Hanover Furnace an opportunity to cast Decatur's twenty-four pounders under his supervision. Mount Holly was not to be outclassed, and William Denning, a patriotic artificer, there made a successful attempt to make wrought iron staves, which he hooped firmly together, bored and breeched, all of bog iron. The result, nothing less than wrought iron cannon. In such fashion, wars and rumors of wars employed the more inventive of the Jersey artificers.

Jersey's total annual output of iron at the Revolutionary period has been estimated at 1,200 tons of bar iron; 1,200 tons of pig iron; 80 tons of nail rods; vast quantities of hollowware; and various castings. At this period the business was lagging because wood was growing scarce, labor was high, and Baltic iron was competing. The situation was such that patriotic and enthusiastic parties advocated that people engage in agriculture designed to encourage manufactures so that home-made goods might usurp imported articles in the field of iron, as well as elsewhere. Hamilton reported in 1791 that the

increase in the price of iron was "chiefly to be attributed to the increase of manufactures of the material" and that these were far more extensive than "commonly supposed." He singled out nails, spikes, implements and tools for special mention as numerous. At any rate, a few things are certain regarding the place of iron in the State's industrial system. New Jersey stoves were being used to a large extent in Philadelphia, in the northern part of New York, and in other eastern States; iron, like leather, was manufactured in sufficient surplus to find sale outside the State; and the continuation in production of some articles like nails, was resulting in a lowering of the price. In fine, the iron manufacture was one of the three or four industries in which the Jerseyman of colonial days succeeded in advancing his farthest.

**Other Mining**—While some colonials were prospering with their iron works, others were attempting various less lucrative kinds of mining. In that same Sussex County where the Andover Works were located, among the Hamburg Mountains, there were older metamorphic rocks containing iron associated with zinc and manganese and called "Franklinite," from their proximity to Franklin Furnace. The ore, as well as the iron, made Franklin Furnace famous from the time of its establishment shortly before the Revolution. Edwin Post used the Franklinite to make iron at Stanhope, by a catalan forge or bloomery; his success was such that the French National Establishment for the manufacture of chains and anchors for the navy reported it to be more tenacious than any other iron they had tried. This made Post's product high priced, because adapted to cutlery and other refined uses. Franklinite also was mixed with ores known to produce red short iron; and came to be smelted for its zinc, which in a later period was valuable for its use in paints. In the same county a good grade of marble of considerable extent was discovered. Sandstone and brownstone came into the market, and a freestone deposit of excellent quality mined in the vicinity of Newark was able to hold a position as an export for a long time. The quarrying industry evidently encouraged colonial artistic instincts, for an advertisement in 1745 announced: "William Grant, cutter and Samuel Hunterdon, quarrier, of Newark, lately arrived from England, carves and cuts all manner of stones in the neatest and most curious fashions ever done in America."

The most important colonial mining, next to iron, was copper; but unlike the former, exploitation of the latter was chiefly confined to the colonial period. One day in 1719 a Negro servant of Arent Schuyler, was walking about on his master's land, which lay between the Passaic and Hackensack rivers, and picked up a piece of native copper. His master, being a thrifty emigrant from Holland, straightway investigated, and discovered a mine which some Dutch predecessors evidently had explored, for they had left some hammers and other tools in it. From these beginnings came to the Schuylers much renown and no little money, for the ore was rich and marketable at a good profit. The miners originally received one-third for raising the ore to the surface, where they packed in quarter barrels, six to a ton. These they transported a short distance overland to the Hudson, then through the

port of New York to Bristol, England, where it brought £40 sterling per ton. Tradition says that Schuyler's ore was eighty per cent. pure copper and yielded more than four ounces of silver to every 100 pounds of cupreous metal. This famous "Belleville" mine was worked at intervals from 1726 to about 1870. Parliament, wishing to secure this fine ore permanently for the English market, passed an act making it an article which could be shipped only in British vessels. In a dozen years nearly 1,400 tons had been exported in this manner. The popularity of the product induced the owners to dig deeply, and this in turn made them suspend work frequently, because colonial ingenuity had not devised an adequate means for keeping the mines free from water. Perhaps this was the reason why the mine was offered for sale, in 1746, with its "utencels" and its lease, and "two slaves whome understands mining." Colonel John Schuyler, the son of the original proprietor, was not to be daunted by this obstacle. He engaged a Staffordshire gentleman by the name of Josiah Hornblower to come over and erect a steam engine (the first brought to the American colonies) at his copper mines. Hornblower packed up the engine in parts, crossed the ocean with it, and erected it in fine shape, at a cost of some £3,000. It proved capable of doing the work expected of it, and kept on doing it for more than forty years, during which period the young engine builder securely established himself as a factor in colonial industries.

All over the colony the Schuyler discovery led the freeholders to search for ore. The Governor, in 1723, reported to the Crown that silver and gold were to be found but "there must be a great allowance made for the humour that now prevails to run a mine-hunting." A group of investors at Perth Amboy announced their willingness to rent copper and other mining lands, offering owners one-sixth of the product free of all charges. Some of the ore was found in Orange and Bloomfield, but little mining was done in these locations after 1760. Near New Brunswick, about 1750, several masses of virgin copper of from five to thirty pounds were turned up by a plow on the farm of Phillip French, whereat a Philadelphia gentleman of imagination and affluence organized a company to lease the land for 99 years. They opened a pit on the low river ground, finding a vein of bluish stone charged with copper, and occasional large lumps of virgin copper. From the stamping mill erected after these findings many tons of excellent copper found their way to England; but labor costs were so high that the venture had to be abandoned. Doubtless the tunnels under the Rutgers University campus at the present time date back to this industry. Similar ventures were undertaken at Rocky Hill, at Bridgewater, at Boundbrook, and other localities. Perhaps the Revolutionary period was the time of the most copper working; at any rate, the Schuyler mine furnished copper for the bronze cannon of the colonial forces. The British made a point of destroying some of the works.

**Other Industrial Activities**—From the standpoint of export, there is very little to say about New Jersey's industries after one has discussed the various branches of lumber, shipbuilding, iron and leather manufacture,

because the remaining output was absorbed by the local demand. Nevertheless, several industries obscure in this period are of interest because of what they were to develop into in the later periods. Among these, are the industries using Jersey clay and sand, such as brickmaking, pottery and glassmaking.

The farm buildings were in most cases rude wooden dwellings, but the wealthier proprietors either made or imported brick, or used stone, for their houses. Amboy, in 1684, had what for that time were very elegant homes of brick; a decade later Salem and Burlington were known for the "many fair and great brick houses" which the "gentry" had built in the outskirts as country places. The Friends, at Salem, paid out £415 13 shillings for their meeting house, whether for domestic or imported brick is not disclosed. The fair Elizabeth Haddon in 1710 imported the brick for her great house, but all of her well-to-do neighbors did not follow her unpatriotic example. At least the industry attained a size leading to regulations for it, which regulations are believed to account for the enduring quality of the old brick in the Salem homes. Bricks must be "2 and ¾ inches thick, 4 and ½ inches broad, and 9 and ½ inches long, to be well and merchantably burnt. They were to be viewed and appraised by 2 persons authorized by the court; and if they found the bricks faulty, they were to be broken, and the makers of them fined by the court." Part of the market for domestic brick came from gentlemen placing malthouses on their own estates, a genteel custom which rather declined before the Revolution, because of the popularity of cider and distilled spirits. During the Revolution a few bricks were made on Acconpink Creek near Trenton, thereafter not far away at Hamilton Square, and a little later at Maidenhead, near Lawrenceville. It was the custom to dig up the clay, late in the fall, or in the winter, and leave it in a heap exposed to frost until spring. Then they "tempered" it by mixing in water with a spade, and drove oxen round upon it to mix it the better. Then it was "moulded" and the bricks let lie on a "floor" a day or two until dry enough to be stacked in the kiln without losing their form. The trick was in burning them just long enough—too much fire would vitrify them and too little would leave them soft and unable to stand exposure. The stint of a gang of three persons was a "tale" but as that might be a "long tale" of 2,332 bricks or a "short tale" of 2,000, it left room for the vagaries of colonial human nature.

Pottery, so successfully made in Jersey today, was of a pretty crude sort in the colonial days. Apparently the first pottery was made near Burlington, about 1685, when Dr. Daniel Coxe of London established a manufactory through his agent, John Tatham. In the midst of the Revolution, Philip Durell and Robert Hunt experimented in the business at Elizabeth, and in May, 1793, Ichabod Halsey advertised himself as "having erected the Elizabethtown Earthen Manufactory," a concern destined to change hands rather soon, but to continue in operation until after 1800. Most of the pottery used by colonial Jerseymen, evidently originated outside of the colony, the local

GLACIAL FORMATION ON SOUTH MOUNTAIN IN ESSEX COUNTY

Spot in County Reservation of rare interest to nature lovers

factories being more notable for the daring of their operators than the success of the operation.

Glass was carried a little further. Caspar Wistar of Salem County ventured in 1738 to send for European glass workers, whom he employed about two and one-half miles from Allowaystown, the workman living nearby at Freeburgh—as long as they stayed at their trade. But Wistar, like so many other colonial manufacturers, was continually losing his indentured and other workmen on account of their uncontrollable desire to become landholders, regardless of the privation involved. In legislation, however, there was a little aid from the tax act of 1767, which roused so much spirit in the colonies. Wistar managed to keep going until 1770, when he gave up on account of the desertion of his laborers. One family of them, the seven Stanger brothers from Germany, reëstablished the industry at Glassboro, about ten miles southeast of Woodbury. At the close of the Revolution, Lord Sheffield, who perhaps was scarcely an unbiased commentator, wrote that "Bad glass is made in New Jersey for windows, but there is not any quantity of glass made in America as yet except bottles." Not a great while after, James Lee obtained Philadelphia capital to start making window glass at Port Elizabeth and Millville, at which latter place bottle glass was substituted after a few years. Some of these bottles have been described as of a rich, even, blue, others of amber and of green effects. There was a percentage, of course, of uneven moulding and of cloudy effects, but the simple household utensils sometimes achieved a rugged beauty. "When they made a beer mug, they gave it distinction; it looked like the work of an honest man." Such glass as New Jersey colonials were able to achieve, had to come from the silica sand and pine of the southern region. The cheapest kind of window glass, broad glass, was made by blowing the metal into cones, about a foot in diameter in their base; and while one of these was still hot, it would be touched on one side with a cold iron dipped in water. This produced a crack, the length of the cone, which caused the glass to spread out into a fan-like sheet. A better quality of glass, known as "crown glass" was blown into the form of an inflated bladder, and then spread into a smooth sheet by rapid whirling: this glass was of uniform thickness except at the point where the iron whirling rod had been attached. Bottle glass of the colonial variety did not require much more than a simple blowing process. This accounts for the fact that colonial workmen could do better at the bottle business than at window glass.

It would be impractical to attempt to list every tiny industry which attempted to raise its head in New Jersey during the colonial period. The weakest industries need be included only in so far as they were significant in themselves or became important later on. Such an absolute necessity as salt, for example, was not produced to a satisfactory extent, remaining one of the most expensive necessities. But the Revolutionary War gave the industry impetus, and it figured in the situation because the iron works could

not be kept going if salt were not portioned out to meet the needs of those communities. There had been small evaporation plants along the shores; and in the interior some rock salt had been mined. The Batsto, Atsion and Mount Holly works set up their own salt plants and Dr. Harris had one near Townsend's Sound. British troops aimed to burn or demolish the salt properties of persons sympathetic to the cause of their enemy, and in fact did destroy a number of works, including several on the south side of Squam Inlet, Monmouth County; but Dr. Harris, who was particularly odious to the British because he sold gunpowder to the colonists, seems to have managed, somehow, to escape the vengeful torch.

Another infant among the colonial industries, was tobacco. As William Egbert explained in the *New Jersey Journal* (1786): "The subscriber having erected a tobacco manufactory at Springfield, informs the public that they may be supplied with cut or roll tobacco of as good a quality and as cheap, as it can be purchased in New York. He hopes this infant institution will meet the countenance of the public, by which considerable sums of money will be retained in the State and diffused among its citizens."

Paper making received a start from William Bradford and his son Andrew. As publishers of the New York *Gazette* and the *American Weekly Mercury* they were irked by the necessity of importing paper, especially as they had a monopoly of the government printing. So the father bought a mill at Elizabeth (1728) where he started to make his own paper; and from this beginning the industry spread into Springfield, Westfield, New Providence, Rahway and Plainfield. The work was done by hand until after 1800. They purchased rags, cut and mashed them into a pulp of the desired consistency, by means of a sieve-like "mould" shook the pulp into sheets, pressed the resulting paper between felts, and "sized" it in a thin solution of glue and alum. An additional treatment of hot-pressing was given paper designed for letter use. By 1770 there were forty paper mills in the three States of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey combined, and their output was supposed to total £100,000 annually. Shepard Kollock, who owned and edited the *New Jersey Journal,* also owned one of the Springfield paper mills, and published books. Occasionally he advertised for bindery help. His success in the industry, which was considerable between 1786 and 1800, probably was assisted by his nearness to New York and by the connections he had made while editor of a New York weekly.

At Newark a late colonial industry appeared, which was to be known better in the future. This was the jewelry business. When Benjamin Cleveland advertised himself as a gold and silversmith in 1792, his readers readily assumed that most of his work would be in the cheaper metal, because gold was pretty well out of the reach of the colonials. Cleveland made articles from dollars and other coins, from buckles, and miscellaneous cast-off ornaments, by melting, casting, forging and rolling the old metal until it took a form convenient for its new shape. A teapot for example required the manufacture of about fifteen different individual pieces, which had to be soldered

together to create the whole. Spoons, knives and forks were forged from strips of silver cut from rolled sheets. The silversmith was the forerunner of the jeweler. About a decade after Cleveland published his advertisement, Epaphras Hinsdale, who is regarded as the pioneer jeweler of Newark, set up on Broad Street north of Lafayette a business exclusively devoted to jewelry manufacturing. Soon he took as partner John Taylor, a journeyman in his employ, and the plant started on its historic career. It was to become the style for fine ladies to drive up to "Hinsdale's" to inspect his wares. Probably his total salary roll was at first not more than half a dozen workmen, but in a few decades the Hinsdale business and others like it were to grow to the point where they could meet most of the domestic demand, cutting importations to a low point.

In addition to these factors, such as labor supply, limited capital, and small population, which have been mentioned as hindering New Jersey's industrial development, there were other influences in the way. Bad market facilities severely hampered the colony. Such manufacturers as had the man power and the capital with which to produce a surplus, dared not do it as long as there were no buyers in prospect. In a day of bad roads, worse bridges, and poor communication generally, the most strenuous efforts must be made if an appreciable volume of goods were to travel any distance from the place of its origin. Small communities could meet their needs by instituting weekly markets, often set for Tuesday, and carefully stipulated in legislation. Larger areas could be served to a certain extent by semi-annual fairs, usually held during two days each of May and of October. On these days all persons were free to buy and sell all lawful goods, wares and merchandise. All were free from arrest, during the fair and for two days before and after it. Under such regulations the liquor industry prospered too well, and the fair days became too disorderly. Therefore the regulations were altered so as to limit liquor sale to local citizens, for the sobriety of the populace. Both the weekly markets and the semi-annual fairs bid for a little increase in production.

But the surplus had to find more distant buyers, which meant, by sea. In that direction intervened from time to time the Lords of Trade, Parliament and the nearby cities of New York and Philadelphia. Prohibitions from London tended to be ineffective under the circumstances, so that colonial initiative continued to be exercised in those taboo industries of hat-making and iron manufacture, which Britain had thought to check. On the approach of the Revolution, visions of industrial prosperity appeared before the imaginations of the patriots. Manufacturing was preached as a patriotic duty. Meetings were called urging the necessity of encouraging home manufacture, such as in cloth; and the committees of correspondence established markets, encouraged spinning and weaving, regulated prices and arranged to forward supplies to the army. However, little appeared in print to indicate that the Revolution brought any immediate industrial stimulus. It hardly could be expected to do so, as long as New Jersey remained the bloody battle ground of Cornwallis and Washington.

New York and Philadelphia were harder to combat than Parliament; and those cities were the object of considerable bitterness of feeling among colonial Jerseymen. The incorporation of Trenton, for one thing, was looked upon as an anti-Philadelphia move. But the fact remained, as Governor Franklin wrote in 1774: "There is some little trade carried on from several of the Ports of New Jersey to the West India Islands, chiefly with Provisions and Lumber, and there is one or two vessels in the Madeira trade . . . . But as the chief part of the produce is sent to N. York and Philadelphia, without being entered at the Custom houses here . . . . New York and Philadelphia are in reality the Commercial Capitals of East and West Jersey." Altogether, it is not surprising to find that New Jersey favored the movement toward a Federal government as tending to free her from the industrial dominance of New York and Philadelphia. Indeed, New Jersey took matters into her own hands in 1783. The Legislature acted upon the advice of Governor Livingston and passed a resolution favoring free ports, in order to try "to offset the advantages of size, greater credit and established commerce" of the two greater ports. Accordingly, Perth Amboy and Burlington were declared free ports for twenty-five years; but "it is doubtful whether this free port policy had any considerable effect."

Considering her sum total of disadvantages, it is scarcely surprising that New Jersey was not much of a manufacturing colony; and it is surprising that she produced articles to the extent and variety which she did. She needed additional stimulus from any sources and some of the most effective of these came at the time of the War of 1812. Transportation improvements then were multiplying within the country; and the conflict on the sea so cut off foreign supplies as to add encouragement to timid capital to go into industrial occupations. Yet more important, was the development in the use of machinery. This, more than any other one factor brought a change: the industrial revolution was in progress in New Jersey. Hence, from that time, a new industrial era may be said to have begun in the State.

### Bibliographical Note

Among the various writers who touch upon the industrial history of New Jersey during the colonial period, there are numerous differences of opinion, so that one must exercise some discretion in reconciling the various points of view. The political history of the State seems to have been a much more attractive field of interest to the writers, than was the industrial history. Therefore, the field of material from which one can draw, is necessarily limited. Some of the general works which have proved helpful are the following:

Barber, J. W., and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey.*
Beer, G. L., *The Old Colonial System.*
Bishop, J. L., *History of American Manufactures.*
Bogart, E. L., *Economic History of the United States.*
Bowden, Witt, *Industrial History of the United States.*
Budd, Thomas, *Good Order in Pa. and N. J.*
Centennial Collections of New Jersey.
Clark, V. S., *History of Manufactures in the United States.*
Commons, J. R., and others, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society.*
Coxe, Tench, *Statement of Arts and Manufactures of the United States.*
Gallatin, Albert, *Report on Manufactures.*
Hamilton, Alexander, *Report on Manufactures.*
Hasse, A. R., *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States.*

Johnson, E. R., and others, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States.*
Lee, F. B., *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State.*
Lord, E. L., *Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies of North America.*
Macpherson, David, *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures,* etc.
Morse, Jedidiah, *The American Universal Geography.*
Nelson, Wm., *Josiah Hornblower and the First Steam Engine in America.*
New Jersey *Archives.*
New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings.*
New Jersey *Journal.*
Tyron, R. M., *Household Manufactures in the United States.*
Whitehead, W. A., *East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments.*

Some of the works which have proved helpful for particular sections or industries are the following:

Atkinson, Joseph, *History of Newark.*
Bagnall, W. R., *Textile Industries in the United States.*
Batchelder, S., *Introduction and Early Progress of Cotton Mfcrs.*
Boyer, C. F., *The Iron Industry of New Jersey.*
Brockett, L. P., *Silk Industry in America.*
Deane, W. R., *Genealogical Memoirs of the Leonard Family.*
Eaton, H. P., *History of Jersey City.*
Elmer, L. Q. C., *History of Cumberland County.*
Halsey, E. D., *History of Morris County.*
Hazen, Edward, *The Panorama of Professions and Trades.*
Hunter, W. C., *Commercial Policy of New Jersey.*
Johnson, R. G., *An Historical Account of Salem.*
Mellick, A. D., *Story of an Old Farm.*
Morris County, *Centennial Collections.*
Munsell, Joel, *Chronology of the Origin and Progress of Paper and Paper Making.*
Nichols, Robert, *Account Books.*
Pierson, D. L., *Narratives of Newark.*
Ries, H., and Henry Leighton, *History of the Clay-working Industry.*
Swank, J. M., *Iron in All Ages.*
Thomas, Isaiah, *The History of Printing in America.*
Tuttle, J. F., *Early History of Morris County.*
Union County Historical Society, *Proceedings.*
Urquhart, F. J., *History of Newark.*
Walton, Perry, *The Story of Textiles.*

### Bibliography (For Middle Period)

Atkinson, J., *History of Newark.*
Bagnall, W. R., *Textile Industries of the United States.*
Benedick, W. H., *New Brunswick in History.*
Bishop, J. L., *History of American Manufactures.*
Barber, J. W., and Howe, Henry, *Historical Collections of New Jersey.*
Boyd, W. H., *Paterson Directory.*
Boyer, C. S., *The Span of a Century.*
Clark, V. S., *History of Manufactures in the United States.*
Clayton, W. W., *History of Union and Middlesex Counties.*
Eaton, H. P., *Jersey City and Its Historic Sites.*
Elmer, L. Q. C., *History of Cumberland County.*
Faulkner, H. U., *American Economic History.*
Fidelity Trust Company, *Historic Newark.*
Gordon, T. F., *Gazetteer of New Jersey.*
Hatfield, E. F., *History of Elizabeth.*
Heaton, A. M., *South Jersey History.*
Historical Publishing Company, *Industries of New Jersey.*
International Publishing Company, *Quarter Century's Progress of New Jersey's Leading Manufacturing Centers.*
Knapp, C. M., *New Jersey Politics.*
Knowlton, D. C., *History and Government of New Jersey.*
Lee, F. B., *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State.*
Lewin, Wm., *Story of New Jersey Journalism.*
Lewis Historical Publishing Company, *History of Newark.*
Mumford, J. K., *Outspinning the Spider.*
New Brunswick *Times, The City of New Brunswick.*
New Jersey, Bureau of Labor and Industries, *Reports.*
New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, *New Jersey Life, Industries and Resources.*

Pierson, B. T., *First Directory of Newark.*
Pierson, D. L., *Narratives of Newark.*
Pope, ———, and Scott, ———, *History of Passaic County.*
*Presentation of Seth Boyden Statue.*
Prowell, G. R., *History of Camden County.*
*Scientific American,* 1859.
Shriner, C. A., *Paterson Illustrated.*
Stuart, C. B., *Lives and Works of Civil and Military Engineers of America.*
Swank, J. M., *Iron in All Ages.*
Sypher, J. R., and Apgar, E. A., *History of New Jersey.*
Trenton Historical Society, *History of Trenton.*
Trumbull, L. R., *History of Industrial Paterson.*
Tryon, R. M., *Household Manufactures in the United States.*
United States, Bureau of the Census, *Reports.*
United States Congress, *Congressional Globe.*
Woodward, E. M., and Hageman, J. F., *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY (SINCE CIVIL WAR)

Allen,Franklin, *The Silk Industry of America.*
Atkinson, Joseph, *History of Newark.*
Boyer, C. S., *Annals of Camden.*
Boyer, C. S., *The Span of a Century.*
Brockett, L. P., *The Silk Industry in America.*
Bryan, G. S., *Edison, The Man and His Work.*
Clark, V. S., *History of Manufactures in the United States.*
Clayton, W. W., *History of Bergen and Passaic Counties.*
Clayton, W. W., *History of Union and Middlesex Counties.*
Cole, A. H., *American Wool Manufacture.*
Eaton, H. P., *Jersey City and Its Historic Sites.*
Elmer, L. Q. C., *History of Cumberland County.*
English, A. L., *History of Atlantic City.*
Ford, Wm. F., *The Industrial Interests of Newark.*
Garbit, F. J., *The Phonograph and Its Inventor.*
Hageman, J. F., *History of Princeton.*
Hall, J. F., *Daily Union History of Atlantic City.*
Hasse, A. R., *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States.*
Hatfield, Edwin F., *History of Elizabeth.*
Heston, A. M., *Heston's Hand Book.*
Heston, A. M., *Annals of Eyren Haven and Atlantic City.*
Heston, A. M., *Absegami.*
Hubert, P. G., *Inventors.*
Johnson, E. R., and others, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States.*
Knapp, C. M., *Politics During the Civil War and Reconstruction.*
Lee, F. B., *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State.*
Lewin, Wm., *The Pageant of New Jersey History.*
Lewis Historical Publishing Co., *History of Newark.*
Mason, F. R., *The Silk Industry and the Tariff.*
Meeker, E. R., *New Jersey.*
New Jersey, Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Reports.*
New Jersey Chamber of Commerce, *New Jersey Life, Industries, and Resources.*
New Jersey, Commission to Devise a Plan for the Encouragement of Manufactures, *Report.*
New Jersey, Department of State, Census Bureau, *Compendium.*
New Jersey, Department of Factory and Workshop Inspection, *Annual Reports.*
*New York Times.*
Pierson, D. L., *Narratives of Newark.*
Platt, C. D., *Dover Dates.*
Prowell, G. R., *History of Camden County.*
Raum, J. D., *History of New Jersey.*
Reinholt, O. H., *Oildom—Its Treasures and Tragedies.*
Shaw, W. H., *History of Essex and Hudson Counties.*
Swank, J. M., *Iron in All Ages.*
Sypher, J. R., and Apgar, E. A., *History of New Jersey.*
United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Reports.*
Whitcomb, R. P., *First History of Bayonne.*
Wickes, Stephen, *History of the Oranges.*
Woodward, E. M., and Hageman, J. F., *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties.*

WHERE THE UPPER REACHES OF THE PALISADES OF THE HUDSON ARE HEAVILY WOODED AND BEAUTIFUL

View in Palisades Interstate Park, owned and maintained jointly by the States of New York and New Jersey

# CHAPTER XI.

## COLONIAL AGRICULTURE OF NEW JERSEY.

**By Carl Raymond Woodward, Assistant to the President, Rutgers University.**

When the Europeans first set foot on that portion of the New World which was to become the State of New Jersey, there was inaugurated a series of events from which emerged a fitting popular name, "The Garden State." Then began the conversion of the wilderness of the savage into a land of husbandry.

Agriculture, being the first and basic industry, has played a foremost rôle in the history of New Jersey. The early settlers, if we may accept at face value the descriptions written to enlighten their friends and relatives in Europe, were greatly impressed with the fruitfulness of the new land, and the promise which it held for the husbandman. Glowing accounts of fertile soil, mild climate and luxuriant vegetation were penned to the home folks—with an enthusiasm born of adventure, and an optimism undulled by hardship. Some of these reports savor of propaganda; it was but natural that the desire to attract settlers should lead to exaggeration.

Nevertheless, in the main, it appears that these first impressions were justified. The earliest settlers found a region rich in agricultural resources—actual and potential. They had selected a land of peculiar geographic location—a narrow strip, with a long seacoast, bordered with extensive salt marshes; lying between the entrance of two large rivers; land which was in time to become the highway between two great seaports. They found a moderate climate—free alike from the extremes of a New England winter and southern summer, with an adequate and reasonably well distributed rainfall. They found a great diversity of topography and soils. Northward from the Raritan lay the glacial area, a rolling hilly country, broken farther inland by modest mountain ranges. Here were limestone ridges and fertile valleys and loamy meadows. Southward of the Raritan Valley was the coastal plain. Stretched across the region like a verdant girth—northeasterly to southwesterly from the mouth of the Raritan to the Delaware Bay—lay a moderately level belt of rich loam, underlain with greensand marl. South and east of the marl belt they found a flat sandy region, with a thin soil, largely covered with pine woods and cedar swamps. These differences in soil types and natural fertility were to have a determining influence upon the subsequent agricultural practices.

In another respect the location was significant. The land lay at a cross-roads. It was mid-way between commercial New England and planter Virginia. Here, too, was to be a mingling of diverse European bloods—Swedes, Dutch, English, German and Scotch. Now a part of New Sweden, now of

New Netherlands, now the dual colonies of East and West Jersey, finally the colony and State of New Jersey—our soil was enriched by the contributions of several European nations of divergent types. Perhaps more than any other colony, New Jersey was an agricultural melting pot. It was a middle ground—where mingled diverse factors of natural resources, race, industry and trade.

**Indian Agriculture and Native Crops**—American agriculture is the offspring of a union of European and Indian practices. The settlers who introduced into their farming systems the culture of native crops met with the greatest success. At least one-third of modern American agriculture, it has been estimated, is of native American origin.

Maize, of course, was the main reliance of the Indians, as it was to become the great staple of American farmers. This without doubt has proved to be the Indians' greatest contribution to world economy. No people had made greater progress in plant breeding. They had developed numerous varieties and strains of corn adapted to differences in soil and climate. They grew the dent varieties in the region of the Middle States, and the flint varieties in the cooler lands to the north. The bulk of the maize crop was grown to maturity and the grain used for bread. Hominy meal, made by pounding the grains in a stone mortar, was eaten as a porridge called "soupan" and hence may be regarded as the forerunner of "corn meal mush," the pioneer's standby. The Indians stored their winter supply of maize in specially constructed pits, designed to protect alike against water and depredation. The natives knew also the delicacy of "roasting ears"; at the proper season they sometimes pulled the green ears and roasted them for eating.

Tobacco, too, was a native crop, but apparently the Indians in this region did not grow it as extensively as in places where the soil and climate were more favorable. When Hudson's "Half-Moon" sailed into Raritan Bay in September, 1609, the Indians brought green tobacco to trade for knives and beads. The Dutch of New Netherlands reported that the Indians grew tobacco for their own use, but that it was inferior in quality to the Dutch tobacco, and required less attention.

Beans of various kinds and colors were grown by the Indians, but with the exception of a blue sort, which was abundant, generally they were too coarse to be eaten green or to be pickled. Beans were grown as a companion crop with corn. The seeds were planted about the corn hill when the young plant was six inches tall, and as the vines sprung up, they twined around the corn stalk. The two crops throve and were harvested together. The practice of growing "corn and beans" was quite commonly adopted by the colonial farmers. "Pease" are often mentioned in connection with beans, but it is not known just what variety of plant they were. Our Canada field peas and common garden peas are Old World plants. Perhaps the Indian "pease" were a sort of bean. An early observer wrote that Indian corn, Indian beans, and pease were "pleasant grains." Squashes, pumpkins,

[VOL. I.] THE [NUMB. I.]

# NEW-JERSEY GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1777.

TO enter into a minute Detail of the Advantages of a well-conducted NEWS-PAPER, would, at any Time, be impertinent, but more especially at a Crisis which makes a quick Circulation of Intelligence peculiarly interesting to all the AMERICAN STATES. The Publisher, therefore, thinks it will be more to the Purpose, to communicate to the Publick a brief Account of the Nature of his Plan, than to enter into a formal Proof of it's Utility, which he esteems little less than self-evident.

He proposes to print this GAZETTE once a Week, to contain a faithful Account of remarkable Occurrences, whether foreign or domestic; Materials for which he shall be amply furnished with, in Consequence of a general Correspondence he is establishing for that Purpose.

Such Proceedings of the Legislature, and Courts of Justice, as may conduce to the Benefit or Entertainment of his Readers, shall find a Place in his Publications.

ESSAYS, useful or entertaining, Schemes for the Advancement of TRADE, ARTS and MANUFACTURES, Proposals for Improvements in AGRICULTURE, and particularly in the Culture of HEMP and FLAX, will be inserted with Pleasure and Alacrity.

The Interests of RELIGION and LIBERTY, he shall ever think it his peculiar Duty to support; and, at the same Time, to treat with disregard the intemperate Effusions of factious Zealots, whether religious or political, as injurious to Virtue, and destructive of Civil Order. With great Care shall he reject every Proposition to make his Paper a Vehicle for the dark Purposes of private Malice, by propagating Calumnies against Individuals, wounding the Peace of Families, and inflaming the Minds of Men with Bitterness and Rancour against one another.

In a Word, he will spare neither Cost or Pains to make his Paper as useful and entertaining as possible; and, while these Objects are steadily pursued, the Publisher will confidently rely upon the Generosity and Publick Spirit of the Gentlemen of this State, for their Countenance and Support, to such a useful Undertaking.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in by all the Members of the Legislature of *New-Jersey*; also, in *Middlesex* County, by Col. John Neilson, David Williamson, John Lloyd, Esq. David Ogden, Thomas Wyatt, *Monmouth*, John Burrows at Middletown Point, Col. Daniel Hendrickson, *Somerset*, Col. Thomas Hewlings, Freehold, Col. Elisha Lawrence, *Upper Freehold*, *Essex*, Dr. Alexander Mc. Wharter, James Caldwell, Jedediah Chapman, John Ross, Esq. Dr. Jonathan Dayton, Isaac Woodruff, Esq. Jeremiah Smith, Esq. John Range, Esq. *Amwell*, Peter Potter, Esq. *Somerset*, John Wortman, John Dubois, Cornelius Tunison, sen. Col. Hardman, William Verbryck, Esq. Joseph Gaston, *Bergen*, Col. Theunis Dey, Rector Westervelt, Esq. James Board, Gabriel Ogden, Esq. Thomas Blanch, *Burlington*, Joseph Borden, Esq. Major Ironside, William Newbold, Jonathan Hough, Esq. John Cox, Esq. Batsto, Zachariah Rossel, Isaac Wood, Jacob Foster, Moses Kempton, *Gloucester*, Isaac Kay, Esq. John Sparks, Esq. Col. Richard Somers, *Salem*, John Holme, Esq. Col. Samuel Dick, John Mayhew, Esq. Jeremiah Wood, *Cumberland*, Ananias Seeley, Esq. Timothy Elmer, Esq. Samuel Ogden, Esq. Col. Ross Seely, *Cape-May*, Henry Hand, Esq. James Godfrey, Esq. *Hunterdon*, Abraham Hunt, Esq. James Parker, Esq. Moon, Furman, Esq. John Mershon, Esq. Joseph Inslee, Esq. *Morris*, Stephen Day, Esq. Ancamler Cumming, Esq. Mr. Jacob Cruckling, William Young, Esq. Abel Cary, Major John Berk, Lieut. Col. Robert Gaston, John Manderville, Esq. Henry Remsen, Esq. *Sussex*, Lieut. Colonel Edward, Abm. Brown, Esq. Timothy Summers, Esq. Thomas Anderson, Esq. Col. John Rockwestante, Aaron Hankinson, Dr. Kennedy, Ezekiel Anree—Charles Belknet, at Bedford; and by the Printer hereof.

*To the* PRINTER *of the* NEW-JERSEY GAZETTE.

*Sir*,

BEING informed that numbers of people, under various pretences, are going from the State of New Jersey into the city of Philadelphia, and returning back into New-Jersey, without the permission required by law for going into the enemy's lines. To prevent such delinquents from pleading ignorance whenever they may be apprehended, I would acquaint them, thro' the channel of your paper, that by an act of this State, it is felony without benefit of clergy, to a man; and, in a woman, three hundred pounds fine, or one year's imprisonment: And that government is determined to be vigilant in causing such offenders to be apprehended, and brought to condign punishment.

*I am,*

*Your humble Servant.*

*Princeton, Nov.* 25, 1777. W. L.

AMSTERDAM, *August* 6.

BY audience advice received here from Gibraltar, we are informed that a peace between the States General and the emperor of Morocco, was happily concluded at Salee, the 29th of June last; and that in consequence his Moorish majesty had dispatched Don Manuel de Torres to Gibraltar, to bear that agreeable news to vice admiral Pitbot, and to inform him at the same time, that all the subjects of their High Mightinesses, who were made slaves in his states, had been embarked on board ye Muger's ship, to be transported to Gibraltar.

*Aux Postes, July* 12. It is reported here that many letters of marque have been distributed to divers Russian officers, to go on a cruise against the Americans, and that many ships are equipping for that purpose at Petersburgh.

*Whitehall, August* 30. The king has been pleased to appoint John Dalling, esq. to be captain-general and governor in chief of his majesty's island of Jamaica, in the room of Sir Basil Keith, deceased.

LONDON.

*July* 24. Orders are sent to Ireland for getting ready provisions sufficient to load forty sail of transports for America, which are to be at Cork the 20th of August next.

*August* 12. It is said, that governor Pownall and general Tryon are to have the two ribbands now vacant by the death of Sir Charles Montague and lord Inchiquin.

A letter received from Paris has the following paragraph: "The Pallas frigate is sailed from Brest for Philadelphia, commanded by monsieur de Duviel, who has a proclamation from the French king, which is to be published in America, requiring all French officers in the service of the Congress, on pain of death, immediately to return to France." *Pennsylvania Ledger.*

The divisions in the cabinet, for and against a war with France, stood thus:

| For a war | Against it. |
|---|---|
| Lord G. Germaine, | Lord North, |
| Lord Suffolk, | Lord Mansfield, |
| Lord Barrington, | Lord Weymouth, |
| Lord Gower, | Lord Nugent, |
| Mr. Wedderburne, | Mr. Jenkinson, |
| Mr. Rigby. | Mr. Ellis, |
| | The King. |

General Carleton has obtained leave to come home, and general Haldiman succeeds him as governor of Quebec.

Colonel Allan M'Lean is appointed a brigadier-general.

*August* 30. A treaty is said to be concluded with Russia for taking 36,000 Russians into pay, and with the king of Prussia, but the contents are not known; it is not for a body of his troops, but 12,000 more Hessians, Wirtemburghers, Palatines, and Mecklenburghers, are agreed for. Four and twenty new regiments are to be raised in England and Ireland, of 500 men each; so that the army in America, next to campaign, will not be short of 60,000 men.

*November* 20. 1777.

## FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

WAS lost on Thursday the 13th instant, between Bristol and Newtown, in the county of Bucks, a double cased silver WATCH, maker's name Benjamin Lamb, London, the number forgotten, marked H in a double cypher on the back of the outside case, the cypher somewhat worn, has a ribbon string, a brass key much worn, and a small red Cornelian seal set in silver, with the compass and square in the sheer work. Whoever finds the same, and will leave it with Mr. Robert Ramsey in Newtown, Mr. Bessonet in Bristol, Mr. Isaac Wood in Mountholly, or with the printer, shall have the above reward.

N. B. If the person into whose possession it may come, should be so ungenerous as not to return it to either of the above gentlemen, every watchmaker and other, are requested to endeavour to expose the villainy. 16t*

WANTED IMMEDIATELY,

In the CHARACTER of an APPRENTICE,

A LAD about 14 years of age, who can read, and write a fair hand, and can be well recommended for his honesty and sobriety. For further particulars inquire of the printer.

NEW JERSEY'S FIRST NEWSPAPER. FIRST PAGE OF FIRST ISSUE, SHOWING STATEMENT OF POLICY CONCERNING AGRICULTURE

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*

and gourds also were important Indian crops, but apparently the natives grew no other plants that we commonly know as garden vegetables. Nor did they cultivate the standard small grains—wheat, oats, barley and rye.

The Indians lived in villages, and took no special pains to lay out their fields nearby; frequently the cornfields were several miles away. In laying out a field, a fertile spot, with soft, friable soil, was chosen, if it could be found. An open area near a body of water or stream free from trees and bushes was preferred, but if trees were in the way, they were removed by girdling, and burning when they had died. The work was performed mainly by the women, with some help from the old men and children.

The practice of intertillage by the Indians was very significant. They knew nothing of the plow, but the soil was prepared for seed by stirring with crude tools made from sticks, bones and stones, and the same implements served to cultivate the crops and keep the weeds in check. After the first settlements some tribes adopted as a tillage tool a small adze purchased from the Dutch. The children lent a hand by standing guard over the young plants against raids by crows and other marauding birds. The fields were usually left open and unprotected by fencing.

While the women were occupied with their farm tasks, the men concerned themselves with hunting and fishing. According to tradition, certain tribes observed a custom symbolical of this division of labor. At the time of marriage the bridegroom presented his new wife with a bone, signifiying that he would provide the household with meat, and the bride presented the husband with an ear of corn, as a token of her part in furnishing the family food supply.

That a soil, once rich, may lose its fertility, the Indians learned by experience. In New England and New York they are reported to have fertilized their corn by placing the carcass of a fish under the hill, a trick which they taught the Europeans. It is reasonable to assume that the New Jersey Indians followed the same practice. They found also that the continuous cropping of one field in time exhausted the soil, and since means of restoring the fertility were either unknown or impractical they abandoned the field and made a new clearing. Thus they employed a rotation of fields rather than a rotation of crops. Abandoned Indian clearings were a great help to the first settlers, enabling them to make small plantings at once before attempting the clearing of larger wooded areas.

In spite of their crude methods, the Indians raised sufficient corn and beans to maintain themselves, and in addition a considerable surplus for trade with the colonists. An early Dutch writer[1] remarked that the Raritan Valley furnished the Indians with an abundance of maize, beans, pumpkins and other fruits. Another writer[2] at about the same time reported that the Indians had sold whole cargoes of corn and beans to the Dutch.

The American Indians, like other ancient peoples, made agriculture the

---

1 Van Tienhoven, p. 25. (See bibliography for full reference.)
2 Van der Donck, p. 189.

subject of certain religious rites. They observed the "new moon" with great devotion and reverence; the first fruits of the hunt and the field were offered to the deity Maneto, whom they hoped to appease. They also celebrated a festival somewhat similar to the Feast of the Tabernacles of the Hebrews.

For meat the Indians did not need to depend upon domestic animals. The woods abounded with deer and fowl, and the rivers yielded fish in great plenty. For vegetable food they relied in large measure upon wild plants, in addition to the cultivated crops. From the accounts of the explorers and early settlers, we have learned something of the plants native to the region. Wild apples—crab and other small kinds—mulberries, persimmons, wild cherries, several kinds of plums, blackberries, gooseberries, raspberries "and divers other fruits not known in Europe" were reported.[3] Wild strawberries abounded, described as forming a scarlet carpet in the woods in mid-May, and frequently brought to the settlers by the Indians in trade. Numerous varieties of wild grapes—white, reddish, and several shades of blue—occurred in such abundance as to offer the settlers encouraging prospects of wine production. Peaches were said to have grown commonly in the woods, but it is possible that this fruit was confused with the wild plum. An unverified tradition suggests that the early Spanish traders and explorers brought peach pits with them, which were planted by the Indians and so eventually found their way to New Jersey. There is evidence also that the watermelon was a native crop, but its origin is not positively known. Two wild fruits of special interest, because of the leading part New Jersey has had in domesticating them, were the cranberry and blueberry. The Indians who visited the "Half-Moon" also took on board a fruit described as "dried currants," which are thought to have been whortleberries, a near relative of the blueberry. "Huckleberries," or blueberries, were a popular dish with the Indians.

Among the native vegetables, the early writers mentioned wild onions, leeks, ground acorns, ground beans and artichokes. The Indians also ate a root called "Katniss," which, according to Kalm,[4] the Swedish botanist, tasted something like potatoes. Hops grew naturally in places, as did sunflowers; possibly they were in some degree cultivated by the Indians. Herbs, too, played an important rôle in the life of the natives, and received considerable attention from the early settlers. The Indians, it was reported were "very studious in observing the virtues of roots and herbs."[5] The more important mentioned were: Pennyroyal, mint, mustard, sage, rue, tansey, blacksnake root, rattlesnake root, poke root, sumac, sassafras, sarsaparilla, and calamus.

Except for the marshes and meadows along seacoast and river valleys, and for the scattered clearings, the face of the country was wooded. The "brave" oaks of the Raritan Valley were particularly impressive to the first settlers. The walnut, the hickory and the chestnut were abundant, and an important source of food for the natives. Juniper, poplar, cedar, ash, fir,

[3] Young, p. 48.
[4] Vol. I, p. 386.
[5] Thomas, p. 3.

beech, birch, gum and maple helped to make up the forest primeval. The Indians had learned the art of boiling the sap of sugar maples and were accustomed to migrate to the maple woods each spring where they pitched their camps for the sugar harvest. Wild hemp which grew plentifully in the woods was of utmost importance to the Indians, as raw material for ropes, hats, baskets, mats, and similar objects.

Native grasses apparently provided adequate grazing for the wild animals. The early settlers were much impressed with the "goodly meadows," with grass better than waist high. They over-estimated its value, however, and found on grazing their own livestock upon it, that it was inferior in nutritive quality to the domestic European grasses.

**Periods of Development**—The three centuries that have elapsed since the first "bouerie" was planted on the west bank of the Hudson have witnessed vast changes in agriculture within the limits of New Jersey. In basic processes, agriculture has remained the same—the husbandry of plants and animals for the production of food and other commodities. But in the management of the soil, the methods practiced, the choice of crops and stock, the business organization of the farm, the marketing of the farm products, the manner of living in the rural home—in the whole nature and complexion of the rural community, there have been far-reaching transformations.

These changes have occurred gradually, slowly, almost imperceptibly at times. Together they comprise a development, an evolution of a new order, brought about by various influences—economic, political, educational, social. It is only in retrospect that the significant features and causal factors of the agricultural development can be fairly appraised.

For convenience, our agricultural history may be regarded as falling within four periods, characterized by certain economic trends. Such divisions are necessarily arbitrary, since there is no clear-cut line of separation for many significant developments, and various factors overlap. But with due regard for the limitations involved, the following outline is convenient for review of past performance:

1630-1775—Colonial Times: A Period of Settlement—Agriculture established as the basic industry.

1775-1810—The Revolution and the Beginning of Independence: A Period of Economic Disturbance and Reconstruction.

1810-1860—The Industrial Revolution: A Period of Expansion and Agricultural Improvement.

1860-1930—From the Civil War to the Present: A Period of Applied Science and Specialization.

## The Colonial Period.

### European Settlers and Their Contributions.

**The Dutch**—The earliest settlements on New Jersey soil were made by the Dutch on the west bank of the Hudson River, opposite Manhattan. Although authentic information is meagre, it is known that "boueries" or

plantations were established as early as 1630. A Dutchman by the name of Pauw received title to the greater part of the territory now known as Hudson County; which was called Pavonia after him. He must have energetically and successfully developed his holdings, for but two years later, in 1632, it was reported that "the Boueries and Plantations on the West side of the River, were in a prosperous condition."[6] Perhaps, then, Mynheer Pauw was the first white New Jersey farmer. Several other grants were made in succeeding years, and a few boueries laid out. Just how much farming was done is not clear, but there is evidence that the settlers grew grain and raised cattle and poultry. A farmer by the name of Teunissen at the present site of Hoboken in 1641 is reported to have had twenty-eight head of large cattle, also swine, sheep and goats. The settlements, however, were wiped out by the Indian massacres of 1643. Later attempts of the Dutch to establish plantations at Pavonia met with a similar fate at the hands of the Indians in 1654. The savages are reported to have laid waste the plantations, destroyed a large amount of maize and killed or carried off a number of cattle.

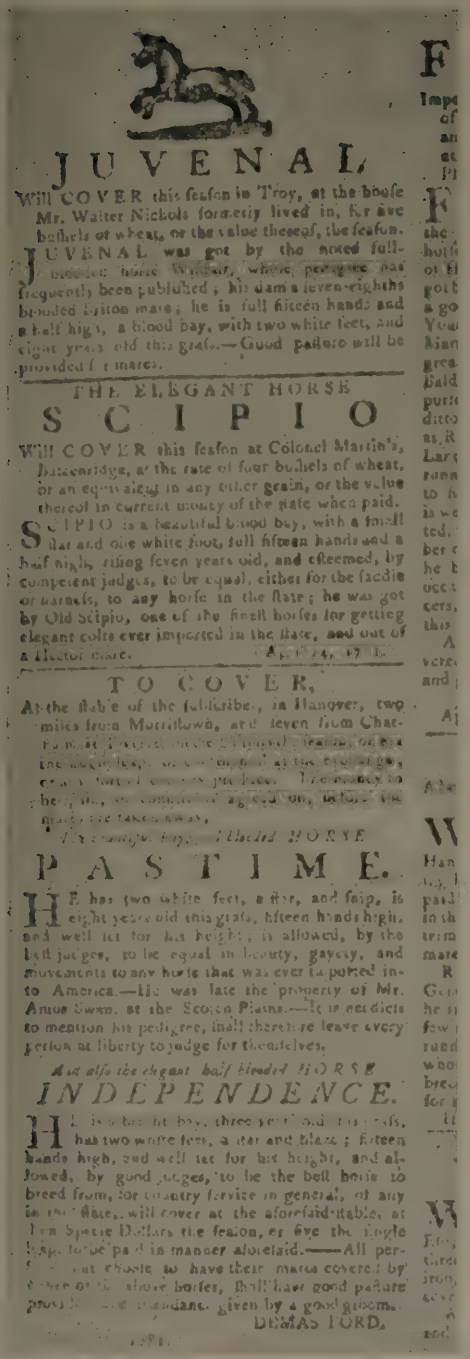
The Dutch settlement west of the Hudson was revived in 1660, when as protection against further Indian raids, the planters erected their homes in a village, "on the maize land behind Communipaw," which could be more easily defended.

With the passing of New Netherlands to English control, and the cessation of serious Indian troubles, the Dutch moved inland chiefly along the river courses which offered the main avenues of travel. Choosing the richer lowlands along the Hudson, the Hackensack, the Passaic and the Raritan, they predominated in the territory now comprising Bergen, Hudson, Middlesex and Somerset counties. Considerable numbers in time reached the regions of Monmouth, Morris, Hunterdon, Warren and Sussex counties. Some Dutch also settled along the lower Delaware. By 1680 there were many Dutch plantations in Bergen, described as "very fine farms which yield well."

Manhattan Island, or New Amsterdam, was the center of Dutch life in the New World. Many of the settlements on Jersey soil were by emigrants from New Amsterdam and from the upper Hudson River Valley, and it may fairly be assumed that practices on the territory now a part of New Jersey were not essentially different from those in what is now New York State.

No better farmers ever came to America than the Dutch. By settling on the fertile valley lands they displayed a better sense of soil values than did the English who founded Newark and Elizabeth. The Dutch writer Van der Donck[7] in 1656 remarked that the Netherlanders had introduced "every kind of garden vegetables, which thrive and yield well." Being "lovers of fruit," he continued, they had brought over and planted various kinds of apple and pear trees, peaches and morecotoons (a kind of peach), apricots,

[6] Van Winkle, p. 26.
[7] P. 152.



JUVENAL

Will COVER this season in Troy, at the house Mr. Walter Nichols formerly lived in, Ky five bushels of wheat, or the value thereof, the season.

JUVENAL was got by the noted full-blooded horse Wildair, whose pedigree has frequently been published; his dam a seven-eighths blooded Bolton mare; he is full fifteen hands and a half high, a blood bay, with two white feet, and eight years old this grass.—Good pasture will be provided for mares.

THE ELEGANT HORSE

SCIPIO

Will COVER this season at Colonel Martin's, Bottetourt, at the rate of four bushels of wheat, or an equivalent in any other grain, or the value thereof in current money of the state when paid.

SCIPIO is a beautiful blood bay, with a small star and one white foot, full fifteen hands and a half high, rising seven years old, and esteemed, by competent judges, to be equal, either for the saddle or harness, to any horse in the state; he was got by Old Scipio, one of the finest horses for getting elegant colts ever imported in the state, and out of a Hector mare.

TO COVER,

At the stable of the subscriber, in Hanover, two miles from Morristown, and seven from Chatham [illegible]

And also the elegant half blooded HORSE

PASTIME.

HE has two white feet, a star, and snip, is eight years old this grass, fifteen hands high, and well set for his height, is allowed, by the best judges, to be equal in beauty, gayety, and movements to any horse that was ever imported into America.—He was late the property of Mr. Amos Swan, at the Scotch Plains.—It is needless to mention his pedigree, shall therefore leave every person at liberty to judge for themselves.

And also the elegant half blooded HORSE

INDEPENDENCE.

HE is a beautiful bay, three years old last grass, has two white feet, a star and blaze; fifteen hands high, and well set for his height, and allowed, by good judges, to be the best horse to breed from, for country service in general, of any in the state, will cover at the aforesaid stable, at Ten Spanish Dollars the season, or five the single leap, to be paid in manner aforesaid.——All persons that choose to have their mares covered by either of the above horses, shall have good pasture provided and attendance given by a good groom.

DUMAS FORD.

HORSE BREEDING ADVERTISEMENT IN THE "NEW JERSEY JOURNAL," 1781

*(From "New Jersey Agriculture," Oct., 1926)*

SCENES FROM AN OLD FARMERS' ALMANAC

More than a hundred years ago Farmers' Almanacs began to carry cuts which have appeared regularly with very little change up to the present time

*(From N J. Agr., Apr., 1928)*

several sorts of the best plums, figs, persimmons, cornellian cherries and several varieties of currants and gooseberries. By 1656 these fruits were flourishing in their new environment, some of them better than in the Netherlands. Doubtless these sooner or later found their way to the Dutch farms in East Jersey. Flowers, too, were brought from the Netherlands—red and white roses, different varieties of fine tulips, white lilies, anemones, violets, marigolds and numerous others.

Of the garden products the New Netherlanders grew a great variety, imported chiefly from the Netherlands. Early writers mention cabbage, parsnips, carrots, beets, endive, succory, finckel, sorrel, Turkish beans, dill, spinach, radishes, parsley, cresses, onions, leeks, artichokes and asparagus. In their gardens one found also an abundance of cucumbers, peas, various sorts of beans, turnips, muskmelons and watermelons, together with a long list of herbs. And to these imported crops they added the native squashes and pumpkins, which they highly regarded. Gourds, too, were commonly grown, some of which attained immense size.

In grape culture, the Dutch were not skilled; nevertheless they introduced some stocks from Heidelberg, established vineyards, and gave attention to the manufacture of wine.

The Dutch were the first people to grow the European grains in the New World on a profitable commercial basis. They sowed wheat and rye on the cleared land. Sometimes when the land grew weedy, they sowed peas. They grew little buckwheat. Tobacco was cultivated in a small way, probably having been introduced from Virginia about 1639. Barley six to seven feet tall was observed on a farm at Pavonia in 1650.[8]

To the Dutch goes credit also for early introducing the best foundation stock of horses and cattle to be found in the American colonies. From Utrecht were brought horses of a heavy breed suitable for farming and also cattle, which throve well but did not grow quite so large as in the Old World. The hogs from Holland multiplied rapidly. Numerous sorts of domestic fowls also doubtless came from the same land, as the New Netherlanders kept an abundance of chickens, turkeys, geese, ducks and pigeons.

**The Swedes**—Chronologically, the Swedes were second to the Dutch in colonizing New Jersey territory. In their first expedition for the founding of New Sweden in 1631 they brought over "a large stock of cattle," but settled west of the Delaware. Lieutenant-Colonel John Printz headed a second venture in 1642 and this time a slender foothold was acquired on the eastern shore of the bay. For mere trifles, such as a pot of brandy or a piece of cloth, large tracts of land were purchased from the Indians, and the transactions duly executed by signed agreements.

Behind the Swedish settlements was a definite agrarian policy. Governor Printz was instructed to purchase such cattle and seed corn as he needed from the Virginia colony, and to "arrange and urge forward agriculture and the improvement of the land, setting and urging the people thereto

---

8 Van der Donck, p. 159.

with zeal and energy, exerting himself above all other things that so much seed-corn may be committed to the ground that the people may derive from it their necessary food."[9] He was instructed to arrange for the production of a good breed of cattle, to direct his attention to sheep, to encourage the culture of tobacco and to look into the growing of grapes and silk. His successor, Governor Rising, continued the policy of agricultural encouragement. Printz declared that it was "impossible to colonize the land without cattle."

The Swedes in America succeeded better as farmers than as colonizers. New Sweden soon passed into the hands of the Dutch, and then to the English. But a sturdy stock of husbandmen had become established in West Jersey, who contributed to the economic life of the colony. They drew upon Virginia and New England and threw open to culture a new region. There is evidence that they purchased cattle from Manhattan, and that from New England they procured sheep, bees, fruit trees, barley and other grain for seed. Rye and barley were sowed in 1644, rye taking precedence over wheat because the settlers preferred rye-bread. From barley they brewed beer—their favorite beverage. They also made good wine from wild grapes. At first they did not have many apple trees, but later took to drinking cider, and entered more largely into apple growing. To produce a staple for export, Governor Printz in 1644 appointed the people to plant tobacco in all places, and engaged a special master or tobacco planter at a monthly wage of thirty-five florins. He must have succeeded, for in three years the Swedes had tobacco to export, some of which appears to have come from the eastern side of the Delaware. At first they were obliged to purchase corn from the Indians, but by 1655 they reported considerable land cleared for this crop, and in time produced a surplus for sale to the natives. The year 1655 saw also an increase in cattle, goats, swine and poultry. When later the English came into the region, the Swedes were of inestimable help by furnishing them with improved livestock.

When Kalm visited New Jersey in 1749 he found[10] that the Swedes raised "a store of flax," which they made into cloth. They grew melons and gourds, which, according to Kalm, were partly native, partly imported. Calabashes, a large sort of gourd, were grown for storage vessels. Peaches and cherries, also, were important crops.

**The English and Scotch**—The English and Scotch coming to the Jerseys in considerable numbers from 1660 to 1700, introduced a new element into the agricultural situation. In East Jersey they took hold of the eastern border of what is now Essex and Union counties, and occupied portions of Middlesex and Monmouth about the Raritan Bay. Later they penetrated into Morris, Somerset, Hunterdon and Ocean. The Scotch guided perhaps by their traditional sense of economic values, showed preference for the rich marl belt to the south of the Raritan. Earlier travelers had observed

[9] Acrelius, p. 30-40.
[10] Vol. I, pp. 271-75.

that this region was "well adapted for raising and feeding all sorts of cattle."[11] The settlers of West Jersey were predominantly Quakers, the ancestors of a notably sturdy and thrifty stock of farmers. The English and Scotch settlers in part came directly from the British Isles, and in part also from New England and Long Island, being lured by a more favorable prospect to the west.

Agricultural practices typical of the British Isles, and a wide variety of crops and livestock, were contributed to the husbandry of the Jerseys by the English and the Scotch. Doubtless, too, those who came from New England and Long Island brought with them the knowledge and practices of the older settlements, thus aiding in the advance of the agricultural industry. Their farms were quickly established and they were spared many of the hardships and failures experienced in the earlier attempts of the Dutch and Swedes. By 1675, Richard Hartshorn, a farmer at Middletown had thirty to forty head of cattle and seven or eight horses. In 1681 it was reported that "the husbandmen had good increase," raising large cattle and hogs, fowls and all sorts of grain as grown in England, many kinds of fruit—grapes, peaches, apricots, apples, cherries, as well as flax and hemp. Small patches of tobacco for home use also were grown.

When the English came to the Jerseys, they found a goodly stock of farm animals already there, thanks to the Dutch and the Swedes. They brought with them, from New England as well as from abroad, horses, cattle and swine that were somewhat smaller, but more hardy. They purchased freely of livestock from Dutch and Swedes, and a crossing of the breeds resulted in good general purpose types of animals. By the close of the seventeenth century East Jersey was reported to be "exceedingly fruitful in cattle"[12] supplying "great numbers" of horses, oxen, cows, sheep and hogs to the Philadelphia market.

In West Jersey the settlers gave more attention to crops, although in a few years sufficient horses and cattle were raised to permit some exportation to the West Indies. The large number of settlers who came to Pennsylvania between 1680 and 1690 furnished an excellent market for the surplus produce of West Jersey farms. By supplying them with food and farm animals, the older settlers in Jersey rendered important service to the Pennsylvanians. The "yearly increase" of Jersey soil, if we may believe the early accounts, was greater than in England.

Finding soil and climate in the colony more suitable for fruit growing than in England, the settlers promptly planted fruit trees, with gratifying results. While apples, peaches and pears apparently received most attention, grapes, berries and other small fruits were not overlooked. According to Van der Donck,[13] the English were the first to introduce the quince into this region.

The list of crops grown by the Quakers in West Jersey at the close of

---

11 Van Tienhoven, p. 29.
12 Thomas, p. 32.
13 P. 152.

the seventeenth century reads almost like the table of contents of a modern seed catalogue. The chronicler Gabriel Thomas[14] mentions wheat, rye, pease, oats, barley and rice "in vast quantities," also Indian corn, beans, English hemp and flax, "which prospers exceedingly." Of garden vegetables, he lists pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons, cucumbers, squashes, carrots, artichokes, potatoes, turnips, garlic, onions, leeks, cabbage, lettuce, purslane, "and other sallads in abundance."

The English, like the Dutch, kept several kinds of poultry—fowls, geese, ducks and turkeys, and they were also "well provided in bees."

A glimpse of the agriculture of West Jersey is given in the following letter written in 1680 at Burlington by Mahlon Stacy:[15]

"I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration, their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and most delicious to the taste, and lovely to behold; I have seen an apple tree from a pippin kernel, yield a barrel of curious cyder; and peaches in such plenty, that some people took their carts a peach-gathering; I could not but smile at the conceit of it: They are a very delicate fruit, and hang almost like our onions that are tied on ropes: I have seen and known this summer, forty bushels of bold wheat of one bushel sown; and many more such instances I could bring; which would be too tedious here to mention: We have from the time called May until Michaelmas, great store of very good wild fruits, as strawberries, cranberries and hurtleberries, which are like our bilberries in England but far sweeter; they are very wholesome fruits. The cranberries much like cherries for colour and bigness, which may be kept till fruit come in again; and excellent sauce is made of them for venison, turkeys, and other great fowl, and they are better to make tarts than either goosberries or cherries; we have them brought to our house by the Indians in great plenty. My brother Robert had as many cherries this year as would have loaded several carts: It is my judgment by what I have observed, that fruit trees in this country destroy themselves by the very weight of their fruit."

Among the prominent figures in the settlement of East Jersey was John Reid, at one time gardener to the Lord Advocate in Scotland and author of "The Scots Gardener." Reid, possessing a special knowledge of plant culture, appears to have been instrumental in the introduction of some new varieties of crops. In 1684 he sent abroad for some "great clover seed," and for some "Scots field peas," remarking that there were none of the latter in the colony.[16]

**Other Settlers**—In addition to the settlements described, other smaller groups of Europeans followed in the eighteenth century. Portions of the present counties of Sussex, Warren and Hunterdon were settled by Germans, and Sussex, Warren, Morris and Somerset by groups from Ireland. Some Norwegians located in Hudson and Bergen counties and some

[14] P. 21.
[15] Smith, pp. 111-12.
[16] Scot, p. 430.

RACCOON
#10
#15
#13
#14
#11
#12
#19
#9
#7
#6
#3
#1
#18
#8
#4
#2
#23
#24
#21
#22
#25
#26
N.64°E
CHURCH STREET
BROAD STREET
THE OLD JAMES LINE.
ALLEN ST
SECOND
CEDAR
ASHTON AVE
CHURCH
TRINITY CHURCH LAND
20 ACRES
KINGS HIGHWAY
PURCHASED 1703.
LIPPINCOTT
RAILROAD AVE
FRANKLIN
LAKE AVE
PARK AVE
LAKE NARRATICON
MAP OF
LADDTOWN.
34 ACRES BELONGING TO
HANNAH LADD
LAID OFF FOR HER, NOV. 29 1784.
SOLD UNDER LEASE
WITH ANNUAL GROUND RENT
SAID RENT TO BE PAID IN SPANISH MILLED
SILVER DOLLARS, ON THE 25TH DAY OF
MARCH, IN EACH AND EVERY YEAR,
FOR EVER.

Welsh in Monmouth. Each group in its own peculiar way contributed something to the agriculture of the colony. One thing the various groups had in common—all came to till the soil.

**Land Tenure**—The Jerseys, under the British Crown, were "proprietary" colonies. The land as well as the privileges of government were granted by the King to individuals who were called proprietors. A proprietary grant was regarded as a private estate. It could be transmitted by inheritance to heirs; it could be sold, leased or mortgaged.

Since the huge tracts of land held by the Jersey proprietors were of no use unless peopled, the proprietors advertised for settlers. The "Concessions and Agreements of the Lords Proprietors of East Jersey" in 1664 provided that every freeman, suitably equipped, provisioned and transported, should receive 150 acres of land, an additional 150 acres for every able-bodied manservant, similarly equipped, and 75 acres for each female servant or indentured youth over 14 years of age. Servants were promised 75 acres of land at the expiration of their term of service. Actual settlement was required as a condition of all grants. The land was to be held in free and common socage, but subject to the payment of a yearly quitrent of one-half penny per acre to the lords proprietors, beginning after March, 1670. A similar agreement in West Jersey was drawn up in 1677, giving 70 acres to the earliest arrivals, and requiring the conditions of settlement and annual quitrents.[17]

In the towns of Northeast Jersey, settled mainly by emigrants from New England, the normal size of the earliest grants was between 100 and 200 acres, with only occasionally a grant as large as 300 acres. In the Monmouth grant the allotments were somewhat larger. Outside the towns a few large estates were founded which were cultivated with Negro slaves, for example, the extensive estate of Lewis Morris, known as Tintern Manor, near Shrewsbury, in East Jersey. There was little land speculation except by the lords proprietors themselves.

In West Jersey the holdings of bona fide settlers were somewhat larger. Among the earlier settlers a large number held proprietary rights; later arrivals bought fractions of proprietary rights or merely purchased land from a proprietor. Grants of 200 to 500 acres were not rare. A large part of the lands in West Jersey was held by the West Jersey Society, organized in 1691 to make profit from land sales.

The quitrent—an annual fee prescribed of the grantee by the proprietor in lieu of all services—was a uniform feature of the land system of both Jerseys. It was a survival of the later feudal times, when the subjects of the lord made an annual money payment in lieu of their food and labor dues, thereby freeing the land from all feudal dues except fealty. As a form of revenue the quitrents proved to be unsatisfactory. Payments were evaded

[17] Bidwell and Falconer, pp. 60-61. Also *New Jersey Archives*, Ser. I, Vol. I, pp. 37-38.

whenever possible, and were consistently tardy. In West Jersey the proprietors did not attempt to collect the quitrents; but in the eastern province, the disputes between the proprietors and the settlers, beginning before 1700, led in the eighteenth century to long periods of agrarian discontent and disorder.

A unique feature of the early Dutch settlements along the Hudson was the patroonships—the holdings of large estates under conditions inherited from the feudal system. According to the "Privileges and Exemptions"[18] promulgated by the Dutch West India Company in 1629 each patroon was entitled to take up a large grant of land, with the right of perpetual inheritance and disposal by will. The patroons exercised not merely the usual rights of landlords; they were in effect feudal lords, political officers with powers of court jurisdiction, milling rights and the like. Their colonists were bound to stay on the estate for a term of four years. Rent sometimes consisted of "the fourth sheaf," or, as stated in a twenty-year lease signed by Cornelius Van Vorst in 1639, the first white occupant of Hoboken, "the one-fourth part of the crops which God may vouchsafe to the soil, either in sheaves on the field or as shall be considered best, and 12 capons every year."[19]

In order to encourage agricultural settlements, the West India Company offered more liberal terms in 1640, granting about 200 acres of land to anyone who should emigrate to New Netherlands with five souls.[20] Each planter was furnished with a house, barn, farming implements, tools, four horses, four cows, sheep and pigs. At the expiration of six years the farmer was to return the equipment and stock—keeping for himself the increase. A rental amounting to $40 and 80 pounds of butter was paid yearly. Under these more favorable conditions, numerous small grants were taken up.

The emigrants from New England brought to Northeast Jersey the community type of settlement, and the early Dutch settlements, though at first made by individuals, soon became organized into village communities for protection against hostile Indians. Conditions were not favorable for the development of large estates and tenancy. There was an abundance of cheap land, and easy opportunity for even the poorest man in town to become a land owner. In New Jersey and Pennsylvania, due to the more liberal terms, a poor man had a better chance to acquire a farm than in the other colonies. But the proprietary system encouraged separate settlements, and the community never reached the degree of importance it enjoyed in New England. The small freehold was the typical system of tenure.

The law of inheritance also, providing for equal distribution among the children of intestates, was conducive to widespread ownership of small holdings.

### Colonial Crops.

**Corn**—The early settlers soon learned from the natives how to grow Indian corn, or maize, a crop that rapidly became an important staple. It

---

[18] Jameson, pp. 90-96.
[19] Winfield, p. 316.
[20] Bidwell and Falconer, p. 63.

furnished food not only for the livestock but for the household as well. Apparently, several varieties were grown from the earliest days. Both the flint and the dent types are on record—white, red and yellow. It was planted in hills four to six feet apart, several stalks to the hill, allowing inter-tillage. On the newly cleared lands it grew luxuriantly; even on the sandy soils of South Jersey the stalks attained a height of eight feet. Kalm[21] noted extensive cornfields between Trenton and New Brunswick in 1749. The method of culture, however, left much to be desired. As the soil became exhausted the yields seriously declined. Travelers remarked that the fields were poorly tilled and weeds were abundant. Rye sowed between the rows also interfered with the best growth. On account of the competition of wheat as a cash crop, corn in New Jersey did not occupy the predominant position it held in New England.

**Wheat**—During the colonial period wheat was the Jersey farmer's principal cash crop. In 1680, East Jersey with New York was referred to as the granary of the West Indies because of the large exports of wheat in the West Indian trade. As New England gave up the growing of small grains between 1725 and 1750, the grain belt moved south, and in the later colonial years, New England depended upon the middle colonies for wheat and other grain. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were referred to as "the three bread colonies."[22] For a time New Jersey had the reputation of producing more wheat than any of the English colonies, Hunterdon County being called "the most plentiful wheat country for its bigness in America."[23] Winter wheat yielded well on the better soils, commonly producing thirty bushels to the acre. In 1684 one planter in the Raritan River Valley reaped 3,000 bushels from approximately 100 acres. Very little spring wheat was grown. By 1765 Hunterdon County was an important source of both wheat and flour for the New York and Philadelphia markets.

**Other Grains**—Winter rye, and the spring grains—barley, oats and buckwheat, also occupied an important place in colonial husbandry. Rye served as a subsititue for wheat on the poorer soils. As with wheat, about one bushel of seed was sown per acre; and a yield of ten to fifteen bushels per acre was commonly received. Barley was quite generally grown through the province, yielding thirty or more bushels of grain on good soil. It found a ready market at the breweries. Oats grown as early as 1684 served as a favorite provender for horses and, particularly in East Jersey as oatmeal, entered into human consumption.

Buckwheat, used largely as a feed for hogs and poultry, was very generally cultivated. It was easily grown, matured quickly, did well on a soil of moderate fertility, was something of a soil improver, and furnished excellent bee pasture. About one and one-half bushels of seed was used per acre and

---

21 Vol. I, p. 133.
22 Amer. Phil. Soc. Trans., Vol. I, p. 120.
23 N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc., Ser. 2, Vol. V, p. 88 (1878).

the yield on good soil was twenty to forty bushels.[24] By 1750, nearly every farmer was growing some buckwheat. Besides being a satisfactory stock food, it went largely into human consumption. Buckwheat cakes and buckwheat pudding for many years were favorite articles of diet in the New Jersey farm home.

In West Jersey along the Delaware, rice was grown successfully as early as 1698 and for a time was an important article of export from Salem.[25]

**Forage Crops**—With abundant natural grasses covering the marsh and meadow lands of the colony, the earliest settlers quite naturally gave little attention to the growing of domestic grasses. In time, however, the inferior quality of the native grasses was recognized, and the more progressive farmers turned their attention to raising timothy, clover, herd grass and other European species. Domestic grasses were introduced in a small way before the close of the seventeenth century. English clover was mentioned in East Jersey in 1685. Probably the seedings were sometimes accidental, for several early writers remarked that the soil brought forth English grass naturally after being plowed. The practice of raising grasses on the uplands, however, was adopted slowly. About 1750 Kalm[26] noted that although red clover was seen growing in several places, little attention was given to pastures, the cattle picking a scanty living from the woods. Along the Delaware Bay the farmers depended largely on the salt meadows for pasture and hay. Some improvement in the meadows was effected by ditching and constructing dikes and tidegates. The better meadows yielded as much as three tons of the coarse salt hay to the acre, from two cuttings a season. It was not until the last part of the eighteenth century that the superiority of upland hay was appreciated and clover was more generally introduced. Thenceforth salt hay declined in importance.

Hay, when harvested, was placed in the barn loft when such shelter was available. On many farms, however, it was necessary to place it in the open in conical stacks. "Haystacks with roofs which could be moved up and down," or "barracks," were used in South Jersey as early as 1750. These in some cases were raised several feet from the ground to serve as shelter for cattle.

**Flax and Hemp**—Fibre being a necessary raw material, and New Jersey being too far north for the growing of cotton, the early settlers naturally turned to the culture of flax and hemp. The growing of these crops reached a higher development in New Jersey and in the region about New York City than anywhere else in the colonies. Flax, however, was raised with much greater success than hemp.

Hemp was in large demand for naval stores, and there appear to have been many sporadic efforts to produce it. Large plantings of hemp were observed between Trenton and New York in 1749. In 1770 it was reported that hemp grew extraordinarily well, and there were no tracts of good land

---

[24] Kalm, Vol. I, p. 273.
[25] Thomas, p. 33.
[26] Vol. II, pp. 18, 71.

[VOL. I.] THE [NUMB. I.]

# Burlington Advertiser,

OR

## AGRICULTURAL AND POLITICAL INTELLIGENCER.

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1790.

### TO THE PUBLIC.

THE benefits and convenience resulting from the publication of a well-regulated newspaper, are so obvious that no observations can be necessary to prove the utility of such an establishment in this city.

THE subscribers, animated by a very liberal encouragement, have hattened to lay before the Public the first number of the BURLINGTON ADVERTISER, &c.

THE readiness of the inhabitants of this city, and the adjacent country, to subscribe before the appearance of the paper, which it is earnestly hoped will equal their expectations, at once calls upon the Printers to return their sincere thanks for those favours, and to assure them, that nothing shall be wanting on their part to render this paper both useful and entertaining to every class of its readers, and to merit a continuance of their favours.—The Farmers will find their interest in a particular attention to the observations and experiments, which the Printers flatter themselves will occupy a part of almost every number of this paper; the more so, as they have the promise of every useful information on that subject, which can be communicated by a Society lately established for the promotion of Agriculture in this state: and as the Printers will be supplied with a great part of the newspapers printed on the Continent, they will use every effort to render their paper serviceable to that respectable and useful class of citizens.

BESIDES Agricultural Information, this paper will contain more or less of the debates of Congress, it being impossible to publish the whole in a weekly paper; but such as appear particularly interesting to the inhabitants of this state, shall always be communicated as early as possible.—Original Essays, and such Extracts from late Publications as may tend to advance the interest of the Arts and Sciences, or diffuse Morality and Religion, shall also be an object in the prosecution of this work; but any piece having a tendency to defamation, slander or detraction, will be inadmissible.

THE conditions of this paper are as follows, viz.—Twelve shillings specie per annum, four shillings to be paid on the delivery of the first number, and the same at the end of every four months after. Those gentlemen who live at a distance, are requested to pay punctually their subscription money to the Packet-Masters of whom they receive their papers, who are also requested to forward the same to the Printers as early as possible, in order to enable them to carry on their business with spirit and give satisfaction to the Public.

THE Printers being disappointed in procuring the new types which were expected to have been ready for the first publication, they are induced to apologize for the paper's appearing in its present form: In order to accommodate the subscribers, they were under the necessity of purchasing the types on which it is now printed, but they expect, in a few weeks, to receive others which are now casting for their use.

Subscriptions for this paper are received by Mr. Thomas Rollinson, *Trenton*; Mr. John Singer, *Post-Master, Trenton*; Mr. William Sherrets, *Bordentown*; Mr. Joseph Douglass, *Crosswicks*; Mr. Jacob Van Sciver, *Rock-Hoose*, Mr. John Perry, *Mount Holly*; Mr. Samuel Wood, *Woodberry*; Mr. James Wood, *Salem*; Messrs. Fabian & M'Cauley, *Cross-Roads*; Mr. John Sheppard, *Greenwich*; Col. David Potter, and Seeley & Mersereau, *Bridgetown*; Mr. John Dowdney, *Bristol*, and by the Printers hereof in *Burlington*.

ISAAC NEALE.
DANIEL I. LAWRENCE.

### Constitution of the Burlington Society, for the promotion of AGRICULTURE and DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

THE peculiar situation of New-Jersey has excluded her, in a great measure, from a participation of those benefits arising from foreign commerce, and the sale of new lands, two of the most fruitful sources of the prosperity of the neighbouring States. But an experience has demonstrated, that a careful attention to increase the product of our lands, and to promote those objects of domestic manufacture, immediately connected with, and dependent on Agriculture, will greatly tend to increase the wealth and prosperity of the state, and thereby place us more nearly on a footing with our sister States—We, the subscribers, convened of the utility of such a measure, and animated by an ardent desire to promote, by every means in our power, the good of our country, do agree to form ourselves into a Society for the promotion of these important objects, under the following rules:

I. THE name of the Society shall be, the *Burlington Society for the promotion of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures*.

II. THE Society shall be composed of members who shall be resident of the city and county of Burlington; and shall be entitled to vote upon any questions before the Society; and honorary members, who may be chosen from any other county of this or any other state, but shall have no vote in the proceedings of the Society, as they are not to be subjected to the payment of the annual subscription.

III. ALL members of other Agricultural Societies of this, and other states, shall be honorary members of this Society.

IV. UNTIL the number of members shall amount to fifteen, any person applying to be admitted, may be proposed at any meeting, and immediately voted for by the members then present: If a majority of votes should be in his favour, the person so voted for shall be a member, and be notified of his election by the member who nominated him. After the number of members shall amount to fifteen, every candidate shall be proposed one month at the stated meeting of the Society preceding that in which he shall be voted for, and any person so elected shall be entitled to vote after he has signed these articles.

V. In the election of members the votes of the Society shall be taken by means of grains of corn, the yellow grains to denote the affirmative, and the red grains the negative.

VI. THE stated meetings of the Society shall be on the first Saturday in every month, in the city of Burlington, at the hour of ten o'clock in the afternoon; and the Society shall adjourn to such place in the said city of Burlington as shall be agreed upon. No meeting to continue longer than four hours.

VII. EVERY person subscribing these articles, shall, at the time of such subscription, pay the sum of one silver dollar, and shall continue to pay the like sum annually, at the meeting to be held in January; the amount of which subscriptions and annual payments, shall go towards a fund, to be applied by the Society as premiums, and for making useful experiments, for the purchase of approved books on agricultural subjects, for models of new and useful implements of husbandry, and other necessary expenditures of the society.

VIII. WHEN a member is to be elected, or the funds of the Society (except for ordinary contingent expences) are to be disposed of, the proposal shall be submitted to the consideration of the Society at one meeting next preceding that on which any decision shall be taken on the subject; and in such cases no question touching any of these shall be decided unless the number of members shall amount to twenty-four, after which thirteen shall be a quorum.

IX. THE officers of the Society shall be, a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary and Correspondent Committee (three members), who, as soon as the Society may think proper to incorporate, shall be chosen at the annual election in January, to continue in office until a new election, which shall be made at the next annual meeting, provided a majority of the members of the Society shall be present; otherwise to be at the next stated meeting of the Society at which such majority shall be present.

X. THE President, Vice-President, and Treasurer may be members of the Correspondent Committee.

XI. IN case of a vacancy by death, resignation, or otherwise, of any officers of the Society, a new election shall be made at the next stated meeting; and the person so elected to fill such vacancy shall continue in office until the next general election of officers of the Society.

XII. UNTIL the number of members shall amount to fifteen, a President, Vice President, Treasurer and Secretary, shall be appointed by a majority of the members present, to serve until the Society shall consist of fifteen members.

XIII. AT all meetings of the Society the President shall exercise the usual duties of that office; all motions shall be addressed to him, and the votes on every question taken and delivered by him. He shall have power, with the concurrence of four other members, to call a special meeting of the Society. In his absence the Vice-President shall perform the same duties, and if both the President and Vice-President should be absent, the members present (being a quorum to conduct business) shall choose a Vice-President for that meeting.

XIV. THE Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Society regularly faired, in a book to be provided for that purpose, subject to the inspection of any member at every meeting. He shall, at the XII meeting of every year, or at the expiration of his office,

PAGE OF FIRST ISSUE OF "BURLINGTON ADVERTISER," SHOWING ANNOUNCEMENT OF POLICY REGARDING AGRICULTURE, AND CONSTITUTION OF BURLINGTON SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE AND DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*

without some portions devoted to it. Most of the patches were small in New Jersey, but in places large fields were seen. Nevertheless, the crop never became thoroughly established, and the output was barely sufficient for home consumption.

The early Governors of the colony, anxious to encourage the raising of hemp and flax, proposed that the settlers be instructed in their culture, but without substantial result. Certain merchants and traders in 1721 petitioned the Lords of Trade for the services of an expert in hemp production, apparently with no better success. In 1724 the Assembly enacted a measure intended to stimulate hemp culture through an issue of bills of credit. Finally in 1765, the movement culminated in an act of the Assembly offering bounties for all hemp and flax of marketable quality produced in the colony.

The growing of flax, too, appears not to have been uniformly profitable. One Peter Hasenclever was reported about 1760 to have spent thousands of dollars in attempting to raise flax and hemp near Ringwood[27] but without success. In spite of numerous failures, however, flax culture seems to have become pretty well established. A traveler in 1794 observed "large fields of flax" between Newark and Elizabeth, noting that "it was much cultivated throughout this state."[28] In the Swedish and Quaker settlements of West Jersey and in East Jersey as well, flax was grown largely for the household manufacture of linen. Its cultivation became more general during the eighteenth century, in part owing to the increased production of linen textiles in farm homes, a branch of industry which was greatly stimulated by the immigration of the Scotch-Irish. Flax was grown not only for the fibre but also for the seed, part of which was crushed in local oil mills and considerable quantities exported to Europe.

**Potatoes**—Although destined to become one of New Jersey's most important products, white or Irish potatoes were only of minor importance in colonial times. Being native to the Americas, considerable time was required for the Europeans to discover the virtues of the crop and learn its method of culture. The Irish were the first to appreciate the potato and it was they who taught the world its value. Potatoes are mentioned as growing in Pennsylvania in 1685, and it is fair to assume that they were in the Jerseys as early as this. It is probable, however, that they received little recognition before 1750.

**Vegetables**—In the colonial period vegetables were grown principally for home consumption. Every farm had its kitchen garden, with a wide array of vegetables and small fruits. From middle spring until late fall, the farm table need not lack variety when selection could be made from such a list as: Asparagus, cauliflower, parsnips, turnips, carrots, onions, cucumbers, pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons, squashes, beans, cabbage, radishes, peas, beets, spinach, parsley, leeks, endive, and other "salads."

---

27 *New Jersey Archives,* Ser. 2, Vol. I, p. 47.
28 Wansey, p. 100.

Watermelons were grown in great plenty. The author of *American Husbandry*[29] wrote that "not a farmer or even a cottager is without a watermelon patch," remarking that the farmers ate them as the laborers in England drank ale or beer. They were relished especially during the strenuous labor of the late-season harvests.

Before the advent of the Revolutionary war, however, vegetables were grown in limited quantities for market, and herein was the beginning of New Jersey's great market gardening and truck growing industry. Cabbage, apparently, was the vegetable of greatest commercial importance. Naturally, its culture was developed first in areas near Philadelphia and New York where it was in demand for the manufacture of sauerkraut. By 1750 large quantities were grown in South Jersey, and also in the region of Bergen and Hudson counties. By 1770, it was reported that cabbages were cultivated by almost every planter in the province. Whole fields were common. A white winter variety was preferred. Considerable quantities of the crop also were fed to cattle and hogs.

Reports of fields of watermelons and turnips suggest that these crops also were grown for market. Among the exports from Perth Amboy from 1770 to 1772 were "1000 ropes of onions," indicating that this crop, too, was grown to some extent on a commercial scale.

Then as now the vegetable grower had to contend with destructive insects. Cabbage worms, and "flies" that damaged the leaves of turnips, cabbage and many other vegetables, were mentioned in the eighteenth century. The culture of peas in South Jersey which had been important in the first half of the century, was greatly curtailed by 1750 because of a "worm" that entered the pod.

The drug saffron, source of a yellow dye, was grown in South Jersey to some extent for the export trade, but its culture here was not so fully developed as abroad.

Sweet potatoes received some attention before the Revolution but appear not to have been of major importance. Kalm, referring to yams in 1749, said they were not grown in New Jersey.

Leaders in agricultural thought gave attention to the introduction and improvement of vegetables, but it was not until the nineteenth century that vegetable production attained large commercial importance. As yet tomatoes, sweet corn, celery, and lima beans were either unheard of or not commonly accepted food plants.

**Fruit**—Colonial New Jersey early became noted for the variety and excellence of its fruits. Fruit growing from the outset claimed the settlers' interest. They lost no time in importing European varieties of apples, peaches, cherries, plums, pears, and quinces. Cherries and peaches also were introduced from Virginia in 1639. Wild varieties were selected and placed under cultivation. By 1680, apples and peaches were grown in abundance, many travelers commenting on the remarkable yields of apples. One of the

[29] Vol. I, Chap. II.

early writers remarked that at Burlington an apple tree grown from a seed in four years produced sufficient apples for a barrel of cider, but there are those who would challenge such a claim. A traveler in Bergen County in 1679 wrote, "We have nowhere seen or eaten finer apples. One was very large, fair and of good taste, 56 of which could be put in a heaped up bushel."[30] Another variety was mentioned, somewhat smaller and of a superior flavor, called the "Double Paradise."

Kalm, traveling from Trenton to New Brunswick in 1749, remarked, "Almost every farm has a spacious orchard full of peaches and apple trees and in some of them the fruit was fallen from the trees in such quantities as to cover nearly the whole surface." Swine fed upon the peaches beneath the trees.[31] The passerby was free to fill his pockets with the choicest fruit without incurring the ill will of the owner. Extensive apple orchards were noted also between New Brunswick and Staten Island. Cherry trees mostly of the sour red variety were planted freely about the farm houses and along the roads. They were not so abundant, however, in North Jersey as in the region south of New Brunswick. Jersey peaches were pronounced superior to those grown in the province of New York. In many orchards, it appears, the trees often were "natural fruit," or ungrafted seedlings, but generally there is evidence that attention was given to propagating standard approved varieties by grafting and budding.

As indicating the extent of fruit culture, some individual examples may be cited.[32] In Hudson County, Judge Pinhorne in 1729 had a plantation with two orchards of about 1,200 apple trees. Another farm opposite New York in 1731 had 500 apple trees. William Bayard, on his estate at Hoboken, in 1760, had 1,000 young trees all grafted with the best fruit, besides an old apple orchard which yielded 80 barrels of cider a year, and a garden of five acres filled with a choice collection of English fruits—peaches, pears, plums, cherries, nectarines and apricots.

Fruit growing continued to develop throughout the eighteenth century. The early orchards were long-lived, some apple trees living 100 years. Throughout Central Jersey, and in the vicinity of Belvidere, Hackettstown, Morristown and Newark, writers between 1775 and 1800 comment at length on the abundance and variety of fruits. La Rochefoucault-Liancourt[33] in 1799 remarked that Essex County was covered with orchards of cherries, apples and peaches, of which several kinds were unknown in Europe. Colonel Peter Schuyler, on his estate along the Passaic at the present site of Belleville, maintained gardens which were famous for their collections of sub-tropical fruits.

Apples and peaches were grown mainly for home consumption and for the manufacture of beverages. To some extent, also, they entered into commercial trade. The drying of apples was conducted on a large scale, with

---

30 Danckaerts, p. 156.
31 *American Husbandry*, Vol. I, Chap. II.
32 Winfield, pp. 310-21.
33 Vol. II, p. 424.

the use of long ovens, constructed expressly for this purpose. Dried apples were regarded as a delicacy, and were an important article of export. The author of *American Husbandry*[34] in 1775 reported that apples were exported to the West Indies "by shiploads." For home consumption during the winter and spring, it was common practice to dry apples and peaches by slicing them and laying them in the sun on shallow trays or stringing them on threads to hang up out-of-doors or in the attic.

It was in the manufacture of cider and spirits, however, that the apple crop played its chief rôle. Cider was made on almost every farm, as a home beverage and as a source of vinegar, and vast quantities were produced commercially as an article of trade and for distillation.

For many years New Jersey was famous for its cider, particularly the cider that came from Essex County. Newark cider was mentioned as early as 1682 in a letter from Governor Carteret, who wrote, "At Newark is made great quantities of cider, exceeding any that we have from New England, Rhode Island or Long Island."[35] The same year the output of cider at Newark was 1,000 barrels. The best cider was made from a blend of two varieties of apples peculiarly suited for this purpose—the Harrison and the Campfield. The Harrison apple was small, light yellow in color, a little tart, and in some seasons an exceptionally heavy yielder. The Campfield was a medium-sized apple, smooth and red with yellow spots. Both varieties are reported to have originated in the vicinity of Newark but there is some doubt whether this is true. They may simply have represented old varieties brought over from England and renamed.

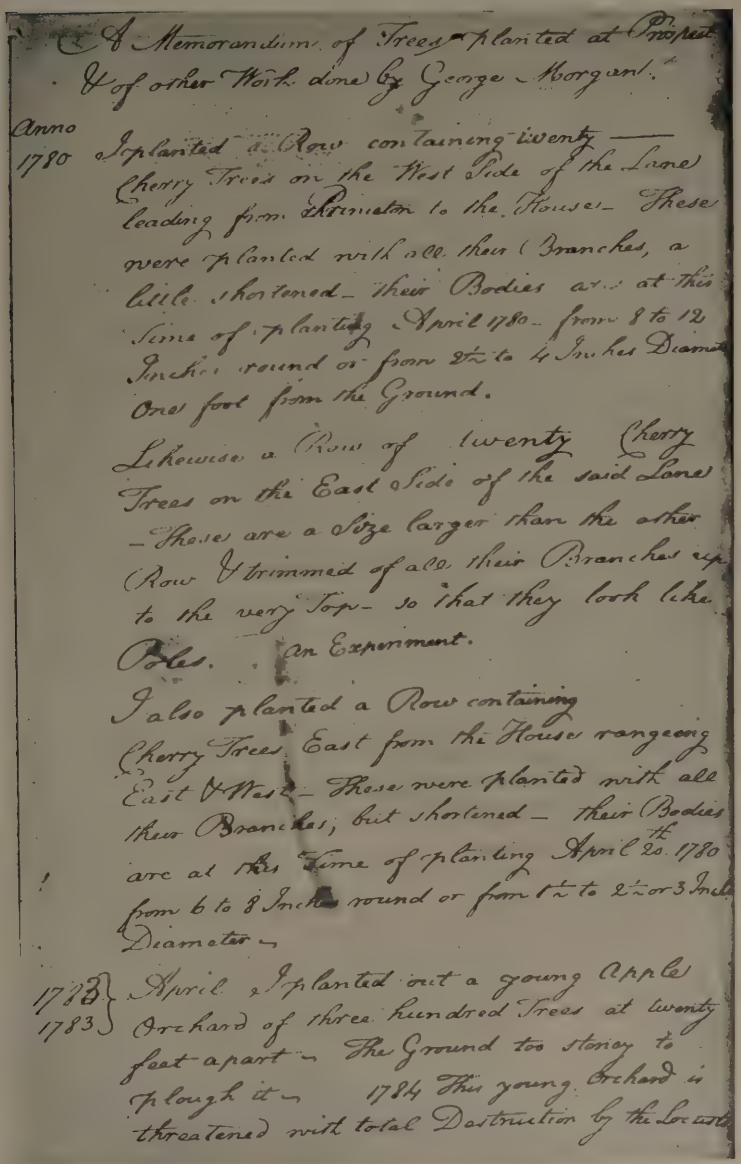
Newark cider continued in popularity well through the eighteenth century. La Rochefoucault-Liancourt[36] in 1799 noted that it was greatly superior to that produced in any other part of New Jersey although the rest of the Jersey cider was preferable to what could be had anywhere else in America. William Coxe[37] reported that Essex County, in 1810, had produced 198,000 barrels of cider, and 307,310 gallons of cider spirits had been distilled. One

[34] Vol. I, Chap. II.
[35] Shaw, Vol. I, p. 349.
[36] Vol. I, p. 545.
[37] p. 93.

AN OLD-TIME CIDER PRESS. FROM A FARMERS' ALMANAC FOR 1819
*(From "New Jersey Agriculture," Jan., 1927)*

DESIGN OF MEDAL AWARDED COL. GEORGE MORGAN FOR ESSAY ON PLAN FOR FARM YARD

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*



A Memorandum of Trees planted at Prospect
& of other Work done by George Morgan.

Anno
1780 I planted a Row containing twenty
Cherry Trees on the West Side of the Lane
leading from Princeton to the House. These
were planted with all their Branches, a
little shortened. their Bodies are at this
Time of planting April 1780. from 8 to 12
Inches round or from 2½ to 4 Inches Diamr
One foot from the Ground.

Likewise a Row of twenty Cherry
Trees on the East Side of the said Lane
. These are a Size larger than the other
Row & trimmed of all their Branches up
to the very Top. so that they look like
Poles. An Experiment.

I also planted a Row containing
Cherry Trees East from the House rangeing
East & West. These were planted with all
their Branches, but shortened. their Bodies
are at this Time of planting April 20th 1780
from 6 to 8 Inches round or from 1½ to 2½ or 3 Inch
Diameter.

1783 April 2 I planted out a young Apple
1783 Orchard of three hundred Trees at twenty
feet apart. The Ground too stoney to
plough it. 1784 This young Orchard is
threatened with total Destruction by the Locust

A PAGE FROM COL. GEORGE MORGAN'S FARM BOOK
(Princeton University Library)

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*

citizen of the same county in 1812 made 200 barrels of cider daily, the product of six mills and twenty-three presses. The waste from the cider presses known as pomace furnished a good stock feed and was also spread on the fields as fertilizer. As late as 1869 Newark cider commanded nearly double the price of any other kind sold in the West Indian or southern markets.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the cider and apple brandy business was affected by the temperance movement that had gained considerable headway. Doubtless the influence of the temperance societies on cider drinking and distilling was great, even though in 1834 there were 388 cider distilleries in the State. The apple industry felt some depression and it is reported that orchards were torn out. However, from the cities came an increasing demand for apples for eating purposes, and a new interest was created in apple growing.

Brandy from peaches was also a popular beverage throughout the colony. About 1800 it was considered an article of commerce almost as important as apple brandy.

Fruit in colonial times was not free from injury by insects and disease. Kalm[38] in 1749 noted a worm attacking cherry trees and another species that caused plums to drop before fully ripe. Apple and peach trees also were sometimes badly damaged by caterpillars; as a control measure the growers burned the nests. References to canker worms attacking apple trees, the blight of pear trees, and serious destruction by borers to peach trees, appeared in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Along with fruit production there sprang up an allied branch of agriculture—the nursery business. Just when the first nursery was established is not known, but it was probably about the middle of the eighteenth century or earlier. In 1763, John Wetherill had a nursery in New Brunswick, judging from an order for 400 apple trees given by Thomas Barton of Perth Amboy. The purchaser specified "100 grafted trees, chiefly Pippins," and "300 common trees."

Such small fruit as currants and gooseberries were grown mainly for home consumption. Wild strawberries gathered from the hillsides found a ready demand in the markets, but, by the time of the Revolution, progress had been made in bringing this popular fruit under cultivation. Attempts to grow grapes for wine manufacture met with limited success. Considerable quantities of cranberries and huckleberries, growing wild, were gathered for home use and trade.

The early Jerseymen, it appears, had a special bent for fruit growing and displayed uncommon proficiency in this field. At any rate the Eighteenth Century furnished many examples of horticultural progress. New varieties of apples and other fruits were developed, probably in large measure by accidental selection from wild seedlings. There is evidence that the Jerseymen gave more attention to cultivating, pruning and innoculating (budding)

[38] Vol. II, pp. 44, 45.

fruit and to the destruction of insect enemies than was generally true in any of the American colonies except Pennsylvania.

### Livestock.

On the self-sufficing farm of colonial times, when most of the family's supplies were produced at home, was to be found a true example of diversified agriculture, with a nice balance between crops and livestock. Crops were grown largely for consumption by farm animals, and the production of the one was inseparably involved in the raising of the other.

**Horses**—When the Jerseys were settled oxen were regarded as more suitable for breaking ground than were horses, being of a more steady nature and less likely to break plows and harness. After the fields had been thoroughly brought under cultivation horses were preferred. Oxen were used also for draft purposes about the farm and over the rough roads, while horses were indispensable for the saddle. Being a dual purpose animal, providing meat as well as labor, the ox was particularly useful during the period of settlement. As a beast of burden, the horse gradually replaced the ox, although oxen remained common throughout the eighteenth century and later.

The Dutch breeds of horses were heavier and better for agricultural uses, and the English horses more suitable for the saddle. The latter were more numerous and less expensive than the Netherlanders' breeds. As early as 1650 Curacoan and Arabian horses had been imported into the country, but were not found satisfactory because unable to endure the severity of the winter.

In the earliest days, horses with other livestock were allowed free range in the woods and common fields, and were taken up and fed only when needed for work. The result in a relatively short time was an abundance of wild horses, ranging the woods winter and summer. Under such conditions it was inevitable that the stock should deteriorate in size and quality.

At the close of the eighteenth century the colony had a well established export trade in horses. Thomas Budd[39] writing in 1685 reported that many ships were being freighted out of Pennsylvania and New Jersey with horses to the West Indies. Budd also recommended that the animals be kept in enclosures, that more attention be given to breeding and that choice sires be imported from England. His advice apparently was followed, for by the middle of the Eighteenth Century numerous records appear of pedigreed stallions imported from Europe for breeding purposes.

From this time on, the breeding of horses assumed great importance in the colony. The business furnishes us with one of the earliest examples of farm advertising. Newspapers published in New York, in Philadelphia and in New Jersey between 1750 and 1800 contained numerous advertisements of the services of pedigreed stallions. The following published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 1, 1756, is one of the first that has come to our attention:

[39] P. 38.

> Notice is hereby given: That there is kept at Trenton by Mr. Robert Rutherford, a very fine stallion from Ireland, well known by the name of Young Tifter, being formerly advertised in this paper, which showed his descent from the best breed in England.
>
> Young Tifter was bred by the Hon. Charles O'Neil, Esq., of Stanis Castle, and begot by the famous Tifter, brought from England by the right Hon. Arthur Hilt, Esq., who was begot by Tifter of Warwick, the best twelve stone horse in England. Any person inclining to send their mares to this horse, are desired to apply to the groom, in order to have them distinctly listed, and served in their turns. The conditions, Two pistoles for the season . . . and half a Crown to the groom, paid at the stable door.—Robert Rutherford.

Among the names of the pedigreed sires either imported or descended from imported ancestry we find Juvenal, Scipio, Pastime, Independence, Frederick, Young Spark, Hero, True Britain, Roebeck, Ferdinand, the Raven, Falstaff, Swan, Jolly Chester, Pacolet and Wilkes. Horse raising appears to have been pretty well distributed throughout the colony. A few of the breeders who advertised their stallions were Robert Rhea of Freehold; Peter Covenhoven of New Brunswick; Jeremiah Smith, Elizabeth; George West of Mount Holly; Michael Kearney of Monmouth County; Abraham Chatlin, Woodbury Creek; John Harris, Basking Ridge; John Budd, Salem; Jechonias Wood, Woodstown; Isaiah Jobs, Cranbury; Barus Smock, Freehold; and Apollo Woodward, Burlington County.

The art of horse raising was apparently not without its difficulties. Veterinary medicine had not been developed to the status of the science it now enjoys, but disorders among horses seemed to be common and the remedies still more numerous. Heavy losses among horses due to a "distemper" native to the colonies were reported among the early settlements. The columns of the early newspapers and farmers' almanacs abounded with various nostrums and cures. One scarcely turns the pages of these old publications without finding receipts for curing glanders, blind staggers, coughs, botts, heaves, windbrokenness, and divers distempers.

Two types of horses were required on New Jersey farms, the heavy draft type and the lighter driving horse. Practically, however, a medium-sized dual purpose animal was most common. The tendency was rather toward the lighter type—as a result, doubtless, of the great interest in horse racing that prevailed for the best part of two centuries. Owners of stallions were inclined to select their animals more for their speed on the track than for their draft qualities.

Horse racing came into vogue in the eighteenth century, and in time became a popular pastime for the lovers of both horses and sport. Later, being closely allied with horse shows, it developed as a main feature of agricultural fairs, being regarded as a trial or test of speed. The sporting phase of horse racing, however, soon overshadowed the professional and educational aspects. Gambling and other abuses in time became so obnoxious that the authority of the Legislature was invoked to place a curb on the sport.

Horse racing for "lucre of gain" was prohibited by the act of the Legislature of 1748 except at fairs and on the first working days after Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide. Corruption, however, seems not to have disappeared and in 1761 races were abolished except under special permission by the Legislature, it being recognized that "improvement of horses might be a matter of consequence." Races continued to be run, however, and were advertised in New Jersey newspapers at Perth Amboy in 1755, 1760 and 1766, at Elizabeth in 1763, and at New Brunswick in 1774.

**Cattle**—Of all the kinds of livestock, cattle were recognized as the most essential instrument in settling a new country, and therefore were included in the major colonizing expeditions. The English cattle were more hardy than the Dutch, did not require as much care and provender, and survived the winters unsheltered. They were smaller and cheaper, however, and gave less milk. By crossing the two types a good mixed breed was produced. Considerable herds of cattle were to be found in East Jersey before the close of the seventeenth century. The wealthiest planters had a dozen to thirty cows, in addition to eight or ten oxen. One planter is reported in 1685 to have had 100 head of cattle.

The Dutch and Germans apparently took the best care of their cattle, stabling them in winter and giving some attention to feed. The Swedes also at first provided shelter, but the English settlers were less careful and in the southern regions turned the animals loose winter and summer alike to browse for themselves. In time the Swedes came to follow the example of the English. The cattle grew fat in the summer when pasture was abundant, but nearly starved in winter when forced to subsist on young shrubs and the twigs of trees in the woods. Consequently their growth was stunted and their milk production reduced with every generation. Kalm[40] in 1749 found that it took three or four cows to give as much milk as one did in the early days of the settlement. In severe winters, too, some animals were lost from exposure. Near the end of the century, it was reported that ordinarily there were three to ten head of cattle on a farm, and that the animals were smaller than in Connecticut or Rhode Island. Large herds of cattle were maintained the year round on the extensive meadows along the Delaware Bay.

Commercially, beef and leather were the chief products of the cattle industry in early colonial days. Butter and cheese were produced mainly for home consumption, to some extent for market. Milk was primarily a home-used product. Live cattle were driven to Philadelphia and New York markets, where they were slaughtered. Near the end of the eighteenth century many cattle were raised about Morristown chiefly for the New York market. Corned beef was an important article of export.

In the eighteenth century the growing town populations developed the market for butter and cheese and the output of these products was greatly stimulated. The cheese produced by Judge Hugh Capner, of Flemington, was celebrated and eagerly sought after. Cows' tails were in demand for the manufacture of hair ropes.

---

[40] Vol. I, p. 397.

**Swine**—Hogs were a very satisfactory animal for the early settlers. They did not require much capital investment, and since they bred rapidly it was possible to increase their numbers in a short time. They were able to glean a living largely from the woods. They were hardy and quite capable of taking care of themselves. They furnished a variety of fare. Ham, bacon and sausage graced the table of rich and poor alike.

It was therefore but natural that swine raising should early become one of the most important phases of New Jersey agriculture. Before many years passed the Jersey woods echoed with grunts and squeals. The hogs, like the horses, in many places, acquired wild habits, and in order to capture them it became customary on occasion to shoot them. Indians in South Jersey acquired hogs from the Swedes and adopted them as domestic animals, teaching them to follow like dogs.[41] The hogs from England are said to have been more hardy and subsisted better in winter without shelter than did the Holland breeds. The latter, however, were larger and heavier and had thicker pork. In years when acorns and chestnuts were abundant the hogs became fat and fine. If the supply of acorns was short it was customary to fatten the hogs on maize.

It was sometimes the practice to slaughter hogs at the age of 12 to 18 months, when they weighed 200 pounds or better. Frequently, however, hogs were kept until they fattened up to prodigious weight. A newspaper item in 1767 reported that a hog weighing upwards of 850 pounds was brought to Philadelphia from New Jersey, with the added intelligence that, "Those who have seen him think he is the largest creature of the kind ever raised in America. It is said he will be sold next market day for the gratification of the true lovers of fat pork."[42]

Jacob Spicer, substantial citizen of Cape May County, in 1762 entered in his diary a calculation that the cost of feeding and fattening his hogs offset the price received for them, when winter corn was worth three shillings a bushel and pork only 30 shillings per 100 pounds.

Salt pork was one of the first of the colony's export products. Large quantities of pork were salted down in barrels and shipped to the West Indies and to Europe. Five hundred barrels of pork were packed at Woodbridge in 1684. The trade in pork continued to develop throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, gaining a deserved reputation abroad. Large quantities were raised in Burlington County for shipment to the West Indies, it was reported in 1765.[43] It was the opinion of John Rutherford,[44] writing in 1785 that "nothing thrives better or yields quicker returns than swine," estimating that three bushels of corn or buckwheat was needed to rear and fatten one hog. Hams, bacon and salt pork from New Jersey commanded top prices. The hams particularly enjoyed a wide reputation for excellence, comparing favorably with the famous Westphalia and Virginia hams. In the

---

41 Kalm, Vol. I, p. 400.
42 *New Jersey Archives*, Ser. I, Vol. 35, p. 497.
43 Smith, p. 496.
44 P. 87.

curing and smoking of hams New Jersey farmers excelled, an art almost lost in the present era of wholesale packing houses.

It was a common practice in early times to drive hogs to market on the hoof. Pig drovers, starting a "drive" to market, would purchase hogs from farms along the way, thus adding to their herd as they progressed, and fattening them on the "mast" of the woods. The old pig drovers were picturesque figures, who too have passed out of the picture. Where farmers had easy access to market, in time it became customary to butcher hogs at home and market the dressed pork.

**Sheep**—Since sheep provided not only food but the raw material for clothing, they were a valued asset on the colonial farm. In the earlier colonial times, however, they were not grown in New Jersey as extensively as in New England. Sheep were more difficult to raise than other livestock; they were helpless against the ravages of wolves and in ranging through the woods frequently injured their fleece.

Sheep were not abundant in New Netherlands in 1650, but their numbers increased under English control. "Considerable flocks" were reported in East Jersey about 1685, but they were not allowed to run free for fear of destruction by wolves. An instance is reported of a farmer at Bergen in 1680 who slaughtered his sheep and took the mutton to Manhattan by boat selling it for three cents a pound.[45] Budd,[46] in 1685, mentioned the high quality of Jersey mutton and reported fair profit in sheep raising. Gabriel Thomas,[47] writing in 1698, remarked that the sheep of New Jersey were vigorous and free from disease, producing a very fine white thick wool. The ewes, he reported, usually bore two lambs at once. In 1749 Kalm observed that in South Jersey the sheep were allowed to stay in the field all night. In the eighteenth century sheep raising developed to important proportions. A few years prior to the Revolutionary War New Jersey, according to an account laid before Parliament,[48] was producing wool of great excellence. There were then in New Jersey 143,939 sheep—a larger number than in any other colony—20,000 of which were in Hunterdon County alone. Wool staplers and connoisseurs were of the opinion that the textile or finest of wool from New Jersey was not only better than that of the other provinces, but much superior in every point of excellence to that raised in Great Britain. Doubtless, also, much wool of inferior quality was produced.

East Jersey was not so advanced as West Jersey in sheep husbandry, although nearly every farm had its flock to supply the spinning wheel and deck the family in homespun. Wool manufacture, too, had an early beginning. What is reputed to be the first fulling mill in the colony was erected by John Clarke in 1703, on the southern branch of the Rahway River.

Sheep shearing time, which came near the end of April, occupied an important place in the calendar of farm events. Preparatory to shearing, the animals were driven to a nearby stream or pond for a thorough washing.

---

[45] Danckaerts, p. 157.
[46] P. 38.
[47] P. 26.
[48] Wiggins, p. 364.

The breeds to which the early sheep of New Jersey belonged are not certainly known, but doubtless they corresponded with those of the European countries from which the settlers came. The Swedes probably brought the long-legged, long-bodied sheep from their homes, the Dutch the sheep of Friesland and the Texel, while the English brought those of their own land. As the Jerseys passed under English rule, English sheep gained ascendency and the Swedish and Dutch sheep had nearly disappeared at the end of the seventeenth century. The large English breeds produced a wool of high grade, but the flesh was generally very strong in taste, so much so that some persons were unable to eat it. New York and Philadelphia, however, demanded good mutton and through breeding for better quality the adjacent country soon yielded a good table meat. It is doubtful if in the eighteenth century the mutton of Gloucester, Burlington and Salem counties could be equaled anywhere in the colonies nor could it be greatly surpassed in England. Crossing and recrossing the early strains resulted in a stock of common sheep known as "native sheep," containing the blended characteristics of the several originals. As to disease, trouble from the dreaded "rot" appeared before the Revolutionary War.

**Goats**—Goats imported in limited numbers by the early settlers proved to be very useful animals for pioneer conditions. They furnished both meat and milk, and were more hardy than either cattle or sheep. Since they cost little they were especially valuable for planters of small means who could not afford cows. They were prolific breeders and the meat of young goats was considered a delicacy. It was reported in 1650 that the Dutch settlers kept more goats than sheep. They never became numerous, however, and usually were to be found in small numbers on the modest holdings of the less well-to-do people.

**Poultry**—While not figuring prominently in colonial writings, domestic fowls were of immense value to the settlers. They were easily transported, their flesh was a delicacy and their eggs of high food value. It seems quite certain that practically all the early settlers brought with them a variety of domestic fowls—chickens, ducks, geese, turkeys, pigeons, and guinea fowls.

During the colonial period, poultry was regarded primarily as a source of home food supply. Even the town dwellers kept their backyard poultry flocks. As the cities grew, however, a market for fowls and eggs was created, and poultry raising began to take on a commercial aspect. The farm poultry flock was generally not regarded as a major enterprise, rather a by-product. The birds picked up their living about the farm largely themselves, feeding on the scraps, culls and refuse from kitchen, garden, stable and field. Such care as they received was mainly at the hand of the housewife. The income from eggs and dressed fowls was a most helpful supplement to the modest farm earnings. Exports of poultry were reported in 1785. By 1800 the influence of nearby markets had apparently made itself felt, for it is recorded that much poultry was raised in the neighborhood of New York and Philadelphia.

**Bee Husbandry**—Honey bees were early introduced into the husbandry of the colonies. Budd,[49] in 1685, remarked that bees throve well in the experience of several who kept them. Honey found a variety of uses—for sweetening food, preserving fruit and the manufacture of the beverage metheglin. Beeswax, too, was much in demand, and a considerable item of trade. It was reported in 1785 that bees were reared in great abundance.[50]

Bee husbandry as conducted in early days was far from scientific. In order to get the honey it was customary to kill the bees by fumigating the hives. Sulphur torches were burned, made by wrapping pine splints in cotton cloth and dipping in melted brimstone. Sometimes the honey was extracted by partial fumigation early in the morning in cold weather when the bees were inactive.

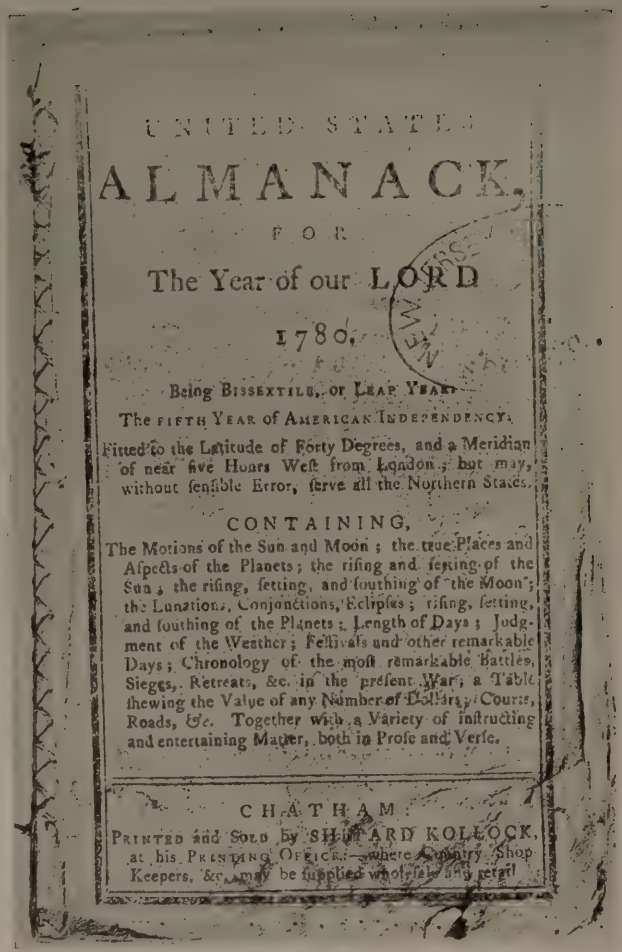
**Soil and Field Management**—The first step in bringing the land under the plow was to clear away the woods. The trees were usually cut down and those not used for firewood and for building cabins and enclosures were burned. Occasionally the Indian practice of girdling the trees and burning them after they were dead, was followed. The land was then broken—a rough job at best, with only a clumsy wooden plow to subdue the stump ridden virgin soil. Sometimes two or three yoke of oxen were necessary for the first plowing. Subsequently a team of horses was preferred. Two or more settlers frequently joined in the labor of clearing, and in the ownership of plow, oxen and horses. Maize, and sometimes beans, tobacco and buckwheat were the first crops planted, followed the second year with wheat or rye. From year to year the clearings were extended and a crop system slowly evolved.

The abundance and cheapness of land inevitably led to careless soil management. The settlers in fact followed the example of the Indians in rotating land rather than crops. After clearing the land it was customary to crop it continuously without fertilization until exhausted, then turn it into pasture for cattle or abandon it and clear a new area.

But by the middle of the eighteenth century deterioration in crop yields and in fertility was very evident, especially in the sandy soils of the southern districts. It appears also that losses from insects—locusts, caterpillars and "grass worms" were considerable.[51] Cornfields in places were destroyed by great flocks of blackbirds and crows. Carelessness in regard to soil resources was prevalent. Kalm[52] remarked that the inhabitants regarded natural history as "the pastime of fools." The author of *American Husbandry*[53] called American farmers "the greatest slovens of Christendom," declaring that "plenty of land ruins their husbandry in every respect of general conduct—neatness, good management, spirited attempts, etc." Many fields, too, were poorly drained. With some exceptions the supply of farm manure was generally neglected.

---

49 P. 36.
50 Rutherford, p. 87.
51 Kalm, Vol. I, p. 317.
52 Vol. II, p. 48.
53 Vol. I, Chap. II.



UNITED STATES

ALMANACK,

FOR

The Year of our LORD

1780,

Being BISSEXTILE, or LEAP YEAR:

The FIFTH YEAR of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCY;

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of near five Hours West from London; but may, without sensible Error, serve all the Northern States.

CONTAINING,

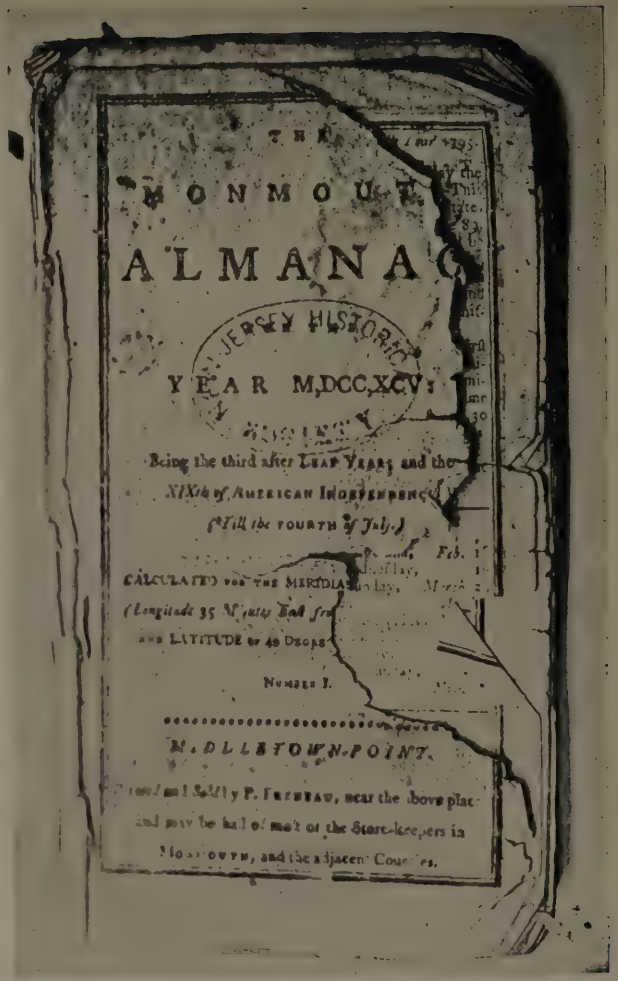
The Motions of the Sun and Moon; the true Places and Aspects of the Planets; the rising and setting of the Sun; the rising, setting, and southing of the Moon; the Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipses; rising, setting, and southing of the Planets; Length of Days; Judgment of the Weather; Festivals and other remarkable Days; Chronology of the most remarkable Battles, Sieges, Retreats, &c. in the present War; a Table shewing the Value of any Number of Dollars; Courts, Roads, &c. Together with a Variety of instructing and entertaining Matter, both in Prose and Verse.

CHATHAM:

PRINTED and SOLD by SHUBARD KOLLOCK, at his PRINTING OFFICE—where Country Shop Keepers, &c. may be supplied wholesale and retail

"UNITED STATES ALMANAC," 1780

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*



THE

MONMOUTH

ALMANAC

YEAR M,DCC,XCV:

Being the third after LEAP YEAR; and the

XIXth of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

(Till the FOURTH of July.)

CALCULATED FOR THE MERIDIAN

(Longitude 35 Minutes East from

and LATITUDE of 40 Degrees

NUMBER I.

MIDDLETOWN-POINT.

Printed and Sold by P. FRENEAU, near the above place and may be had of most of the Stage-keepers in MONMOUTH, and the adjacent Counties.

THE "MONMOUTH ALMANAC," 1795, PUBLISHED BY PHILIP FRENEAU

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*

Little fertilization was practiced. Some settlers, it is reported, burned oyster shells for lime and occasionally fish were used as a fertilizer. A few of the inhabitants treated their land a little better. A simple sort of rotation was in places adopted—grain, fallow and pasture. The more thoughtful farmers began to consider the necessity of fertilization. Records from Burlington County in the middle of the eighteenth century show that occasionally hassocks and mud from the banks of streams were spread on land. There is a report also that "blue clay" was used. Probably this is a reference to greensand marl which in the next century was to play an important part in developing the soils of the State. Some farmers in northeast Jersey, being stimulated to a more intensive cultivation by nearness to New York, used sweepings from city streets to produce larger crops. Gypsum was tried out but was not wholly successful.

In time fairly definite systems of crop rotation came into practice. The rotations varied with the region and with the individual farmer, but they were usually developed on the basis of the succession: (1) summer grain, (2) winter grain, (3) grass. A year of fallow also was generally allowed. Farms were commonly laid out in four fields, adapted to a four-year rotation of: (1) Indian corn, oats, flax or buckwheat; (2) fallow; (3) wheat or rye; (4) grass. As cultural methods improved, the year of fallow was sometimes omitted, and a rotation such as the following adopted: (1) corn; (2) wheat; (3) hay; (4) pasture. By growing wheat for two years, or introducing oats or rye one year, the rotation was frequently extended to five years.

Some attention was given to draining swamps, but not a great deal of progress was made. Many thousand acres of marshes along the Hudson and in Gloucester, Cumberland, and Salem counties were diked and drained. The soil was found to be very productive, but the difficulty of maintaining the dikes against the burrowing of muskrats, in time led to the abandonment of most of these drainage projects. Drained meadows along the Maurice River, however, for many years have been and are still under profitable cultivation.

From the Indians the settlers acquired the custom of burning the woods—a practice yielding some benefit, but in the large harmful. The annual burning facilitated the growth of new vegetation, and by removing underbrush and thinning out the woods, enabled the hunter to track his game more readily and to move about with less fear of discovery. On the other hand, it injured the young growth of trees and burned away the rich leaf-mold, thus impairing the fertility of the soil which eventually came under cultivation. The practice also carried with it the menace of extensive forest fires. In an effort to offset this danger, the West Jersey Assembly in 1683 passed an act forbidding the firing of woods before the 20th of February. The practice of burning woodland, however, was continued for many years in East Jersey.

**Livestock Management**—A distinctive feature of livestock management in early colonial times was the system of grazing on public lands, or commons, a custom introduced from the Old World. In North Jersey the

type of community settlement made possible a system of common pasturage. Village or town herdsmen were sometimes employed to look after the animals of the several planters of the community. In other places, where separate farms prevailed, livestock ranged freely in woods and meadows, under little or no supervision.

Such a system inevitably gave rise to problems which required government regulation. One of the first measures adopted by the East Jersey Assembly in 1668 was an act providing for the marking or branding of horses and cattle. Animals from Bergen were designated by the letter B, and those from the other towns by corresponding brands, for example: Newark, N; Elizabeth, E; Woodbridge, W; Middletown, M; and Shrewsbury, S. Furthermore, each owner was to choose a brand or "earmark" for all his animals, which was recorded in the town book. Unmarked animals might be taken up and placed in the public pound. Appropriating other animals for one's own use was made a misdemeanor by act of the Assembly of 1675. Many were the disputes between owners of farm animals, who through either malice or mistake took up animals claimed by others.

Hogs were trouble makers and the occasion for much legislation. By a law passed in 1682 a hog found trespassing on anyone's property might be lawfully killed. This measure worked hardship upon the needy settlers who relied upon acorns and chestnuts to fatten their hogs. The restriction was so unpopular that in 1686 it was left to the option of the local communities.

Abuses in the rounding up of horses called for the appointment in 1682 of a chief ranger in each county who should take up, receive and register strays and hear claims for them. Cattle drovers were not permitted to take their herds outside the province without a certificate from the chief ranger or his deputy. In the illegal appropriation of unmarked horses was the origin of horse thievery so prevalent in rural districts during the nineteenth century.

Deterioration in the size and quality of farm animals promiscuously ranging the commons led to further legislation which prohibited the running at large of small stallions and rams.

Depredations by wolves and panthers gave the settlers grave concern. In 1675 the East Jersey Assembly offered a bounty of 15 shillings for the head of each grown wolf. Since this did not result in any great reduction of wolves the bounty was subsequently increased.

To protect property owners against the destruction of roaming animals the Assembly in 1676 declared that cultivated fields should be enclosed with fences at least 4 feet 3 inches high. To insure the observance of this regulation the office of "viewer of fences" was created. In case fences were not adequate to confine farm animals or to protect the crops enclosed, the owner of the defective fence was liable for damages. A similar law passed in West Jersey placed the legal height of a fence at 4½ feet. Line fences were commonly a bone of contention. Legislation provided that disputes between neighbors concerning the location of line fences be referred to surveyors of the highway.

The adoption of enclosures and the regulation of trespassing animals

indicate the increasing importance of crop production. In one sense, crops and livestock were in competition. The latter was probably valued the more highly of the two in the earliest years of settlement, but as the colony developed crops rose in relative importance, and it was not permitted that they should be sacrificed for the sake of livestock.

As the colony became more thickly settled the commons were split into individual farms; each farmer fenced in his land and kept his animals at home. A favorite type of fence through the central and southern portions of the colony was the so-called "worm" or "snake" fence, made by laying split rails end on end in zigzag fashion. This was wasteful of timber, but with the abundance of wood available was a practical and easily constructed fence. In the more rocky regions, the cleared fields yielded stones for ample wall enclosures, that became a distinctive mark of the rural landscape.

Generally speaking, during the colonial period livestock was poorly managed—which was to be expected under the pioneering conditions that prevailed. That the settlers of New Jersey were notably lax in animal husbandry, however, may be inferred from the author of *American Husbandry*,[54] who in 1775 wrote that "in no province were four-footed animals worse treated."

**Agricultural Labor**—On the typical colonial farm every able bodied member of the family had an interest in the farm business and took part in its work. Exceptions might have been found on some of the large estates of the more wealthy settlers. Generally, though, the farm boys were taught to milk, to drive oxen, to plow and to perform most of the farm operations as soon as they were old enough to learn. The housewife, assisted by her daughters, attended not only to the immediate domestic duties of feeding and clothing the family, but devoted much of her time to the garden, the dairy, and the poultry flock, and frequently in the busiest seasons to helping in the fields.

In addition to the family labor there were three other classes—free hired servants, indentured servants, and slaves. Indentured servants were numerous in the earlier days of the colony when penniless Europeans bound themselves to settlers for a period of three to five years to pay for their passage to the new country. At the end of their period of indenture they became free and received from their master a small reward with which to start their independent careers. Negro and Indian slaves were to be found in the colony as early as the seventeenth century. The Indian slaves were not important, but the negro slaves continued in considerable numbers throughout the eighteenth century, 2,581 being reported in the colony in the year 1726, 3,981 in 1737, and 4,606 in 1745. On the larger farms of the Dutch in the Raritan Valley, usually six or eight negro slaves were kept.

Since farm work was chiefly performed by manual labor the number of farm hands was relatively large. Hence the demand for farm labor was greater than the demand for land, and labor was more expensive than in England. Servants' wages in 1675 were listed at two shillings and two shillings six pence a day with board.

---

[54] Vol. I, Chap. II.

"Peak-loads" of farm work were met by exchange of help among neighbors. At threshing time, hog killings, barn raisings, grain harvest and other operations requiring extra labor, the residents of nearby farms gathered to help, and the persons thus favored returned the courtesy when similar occasions arose on their neighbors' farms.

**Markets and Fairs**—A unique feature of colonial New Jersey was the system of markets and fairs, similar to those of the Old World, which were established by law in some of the more important centers. Weekly markets were opened at Burlington in 1681, at Salem in 1682, at Perth Amboy in 1686, at Greenwich in 1697. Markets and fairs were held also at Woodbridge, Princeton, Trenton, New Brunswick, Elizabeth, and Newark. The Salem market was held every Tuesday, the sales opening at 11 A. M., and any person who purchased goods before that time was subject to a fine, half of which was to go to the informer. Gabriel Thomas,[55] in 1698, wrote that at Burlington "bread, beer, beef, pork, cheese, butter and most sorts of fruit here is plenty and very cheap; all those commodities are to be bought every market day."

The fairs were not merely festivals, but were glorified market days, primarily for the purpose of trading in farm and commercial products. They were held two days each, in May and October yearly. By law all persons were at liberty "to buy and sell all manner of lawful goods, wares and merchandise." It was provided that those in attendance should be free from arrest on fair days and for two days previously and two days after the fair except for breach of peace. In time the nature of the agricultural fair underwent a change. Horse racing became a big feature and the social aspects of the day crowded the agricultural into the background. Legal restrictions were placed on horse racing, but corruption and abuse were not entirely removed; so by due process of law and for other reasons the old-fashioned fair passed out of existence.

With the revival of agricultural fairs in the nineteenth century a new element, educational in purpose, was introduced, finding expression in exhibitions and competition under the auspices of the agricultural societies.

**Domestic Manufactures**—Agriculture in colonial days was more than mere farming. It was the mother of domestic manufactures. In its earliest pioneer stages, the raw materials grown were converted into numerous household articles for the farm home. Here was the beginning of the manufacture of leather, flour, cloth, cider, farm machinery, and most of the products needed on the farm. As the rural communities grew there developed local trades and industries, fed with the materials from the farm. At ford or waterfall appeared the flour mill and the sawmill. In the village was the local tanner who for a toll of one-half the product, took the raw hides from the farm animals and converted them into leather for the itinerant shoemaker, the saddler and the harness maker. Much of the linen and wool was spun and woven at home. A favorite cloth was linsey-woolsey, a mixture of linen and

[55] P. 18.

wool. Woolen mittens and woolen stockings came from the busy needles of the women of the household. In time the local fuller set up his mill to turn out cloth for local farmers and villagers. The light of the home was furnished from tallow candles made by pouring molten tallow into candle molds or by dipping the wicks. The burden of washing and scrubbing was somewhat lightened with the aid of home-made soap. The farmer in large measure made his own equipment. The more important implements such as wagons and plows were built by the local plowwrights and wheelwrights; and the coopers furnished the barrels and casks. Beef was corned or dried, pork salted and smoked, and in this condition placed on the market. Cider was supplied by grinding apples and extracting the juice from the home press, or perhaps at the village distillery. There was a considerable trade in spirits, apple brandy being the principal beverage, together with some liquor distilled from grain. Most of the bread was made in the home, but commercial bakeries were to be found in several New Jersey towns, where some of the surplus wheat was converted into ship-biscuit, hardtack and crackers.

Agriculture was the predominant colonial interest. Lumbering and the extraction of naval stores were in fact "by-industries" of agriculture. Whale fisheries and the mining of iron and copper were secondary to farming; the domestic manufactures came chiefly from the farm, and the bulk of trade was concerned with the marketing of agricultural staples.

**Marketing Legislation**—Both production and trade in farm produce were influenced from time to time by legislation set up in the colony. Much of the early trade was in barter, and wheat being a common commodity, a bushel of this grain was sometimes used as the standard unit of exchange. In order to facilitate exchanges and the operations of barter, and to give a basis for comparing wheat in value with other commodities, the colonial assemblies from time to time rated the value of various kinds of country produce, taking into consideration the current supply and demand. For example, the Assembly of East Jersey, in session at Elizabeth, December 2, 1675, passed an act "that the valuation of the species concerning the pay for this country's rate" should be according to the following schedule:

| | |
|---|---|
| Winter Wheat | 5 shillings per bushel. |
| Summer Wheat | 4 shillings 6 pence per bushel |
| Pease | 3 shillings per bushel |
| Indian Corn | 3 shillings per bushel |
| Rye | 4 shillings per bushel |
| Good Barley | 4 shillings per bushel |
| Beef | 2 pence per pound |
| | 50 shillings per barrel |
| Pork | 3 pence per pound |
| | 70 shillings per barrel |
| Try'd Tallow | 6 pence per pound |
| Green Hides | 3 pence per pound |
| Dry Hides | 6 pence per pound |
| Tobacco, good and merchantable | 4 pence per pound |

A few months later the Assembly decreed that the salary for the Governor, to be collected by the constables of the respective towns, should be paid in "good Merchantable Pease and Wheat, or if any Town will pay in Tobacco

not less than a Hogshead," and the "Prices of the Aforesaid Species" were named as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Winter Wheat ..... | 5 shillings per bushel |
| Summer Wheat ..... | 4 shillings 6 pence per bushel |
| Pease ..... | 3 shillings 6 pence per bushel |
| Good Merchantable Tobacco... | 3 pence per pound |

Standard weights and measures were fixed by the Assembly in 1676. In 1681 the West Jersey Assembly passed a similar measure. Legislation on the packing trade was passed by the Assembly in 1676, authorizing the appointment of an official packer in every town whose duty it was to see that the meat intended for export was properly packed and salted. The West Jersey Assembly took similar action in 1685. Later the duties of the packer were extended and he was placed under oath to carefully inspect the products and prevent frauds. The labeling of each approved barrel of salt pork and beef with the initials "N. J.," was required by law adopted in 1725, thus establishing what might be regarded as the New Jersey brand of meat. Numerous other acts were passed, designed to prevent abuses in the trade in leather, grain and flour. The East Jersey Assembly in 1676 established the office of sealer of leather, whose duty it was to inspect the product of tanyards. Exportations of flour were placed under inspection by law in 1752, and the legal size of a loaf of bread was fixed by the West Jersey Assembly in 1696.

Restrictions on the exportation of New Jersey products were frequently laid by the Assembly for the purpose of encouraging manufactures within the colony. The transportation of hides or tanned leather out of the province, or their sale to anyone not residing within it, was prohibited by law in 1678. In order to encourage ship building within the province the exportation of timber, planks, boards and similar material was forbidden in 1694.

From a similar motive a duty was laid on wheat exported to other provinces in 1714, being "for the encouragement for their own manufacture of bolting, that they themselves may have the benefit arising from their own produce."[56] This was repealed in 1717. Duties were again laid in 1725 and tried for a limited period. Such restrictions, however, were not successful, working hardship rather than advantage. Generally speaking, it seemed to pay Jerseymen better to sell the raw materials outside than to try to convert them into manufactured goods within the province.

**Trade in Farm Produce**—The mercantile motive prompted most of the settlements in New Jersey, as in the other colonies. European nations hoped that their colonies might become an important source of trade and in different ways endeavored to encourage the production of certain desired commodities. However, the settlers were mainly concerned in the early years with providing sufficient produce for their own domestic wants. Agriculture was essentially a subsistence industry. Still there were some marketable surpluses which steadily increased as the colonies grew. A considerable foreign trade had developed before the end of the seventeenth century. In 1682

[56] *New Jersey Archives*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 196.

it was reported that beef, horses, pork, pipe staves, boards, bread, flour, wheat, barley, rye, Indian corn, butter and cheese were exported to Barbados, Jamaica, and Nevis, also to Portugal, Spain and the Canary Islands. In return the colonists received sugar, syrup, salt and brandy. The raising of a surplus of livestock for export under the difficult conditions of the New World is regarded as a noteworthy accomplishment.

There was some trade in whale oil and furs, beaver, raccoon and mink to England. From the West Jersey ports of Salem and Cohansey there was a considerable trade with New York, Boston and the West Indies in cedar posts, shingles, pipe staves, wheat, grain, pork, beef, tallow and deer skins. Of the two ports, Salem handled the larger volume. Rice and cranberries were among the exports from Salem reported[57] in 1698.

By 1725 New Jersey was described as the "most prolific province of any in North America, sending vast quantities of flour, beef, pork, horses, etc., to New York and Pennsylvania." By this time, much of New Jersey's produce was transported to New York and Philadelphia for reshipment. It was estimated that more than one-quarter of the exports from New York and a like proportion from Pennsylvania came originally from New Jersey.[57a]

The first ferry between New York and New Jersey was opened at Communipaw in 1661.[58] The Weehawken ferry began in 1716. Complaints were early heard that Philadelphia and New York merchants were profiting at the hand of the New Jersey farmers. It followed that a considerable volume of bills of credit of Pennsylvania and New York came into circulation, and it was estimated that at 5 per cent. New Jersey was annually paying large tribute to the neighboring colonies.

The Raritan and the Delaware rivers became the channels of a considerable trade in wheat. Much of the wheat sold at Philadelphia came from the upper region of the Delaware River. It was customary for the farmers to haul their wheat to the river front, load it on large flatboats, some carrying 500 to 600 bushels, and float it down to Philadelphia at the time of the spring freshets. The freight rate from Minnisinks (Sussex County) to Philadelphia was 8 pence per bushel. This trade was said to have been "of great importance to the inhabitants."

In the middle of the eighteenth century New Brunswick, being at the head of navigation of the Raritan, conducted a very substantial trade with New York. Produce was brought in considerable quantities from the farm regions to the west, north and south. Several small craft sailed from it daily, carrying corn, bread, lumber, linseed and flour, part of the cargoes eventually reaching New England, and part reshipped to the West Indies.

Exports from Perth Amboy reported from 1770 to 1772 showed a considerable trade in grain and lumber; for example: 3,898 barrels of flour, 1,352 barrels of bread, 8,906 bushels of Indian corn, 115,420 staves and headings, 1,000 shingles, 1,000 hoops. In addition there were 350 bushels of bran, 50

---

57 Thomas, p. 33.
57a *New Jersey Archives,* Ser. I, Vol. V, p. 96.
58 Winfield, p. 233.

bushels of potatoes, 2 tons of cider, 17 barrels of pork and beef, 9 firkins of butter, 25 bushels of turnips, 1,000 ropes of onions, 10 barrels of beeswax, 21 casks and 55 barrels of apples. It is not stated whether all of these were exported to foreign countries or whether a part of them went to other provinces. Probably the latter was the case, since in 1765 it was reported that very little produce was shipped in vessels clearing for foreign ports, most of the produce from New Jersey going to New York and Philadelphia.

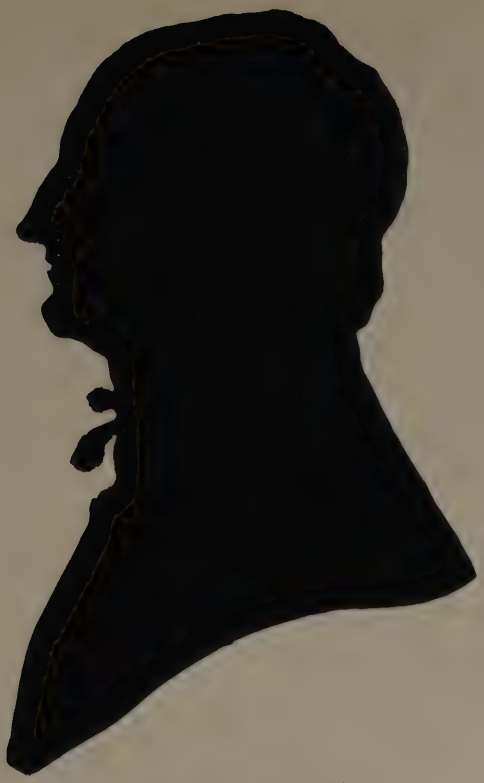
Farm produce was transported largely by water. The roads were few and badly kept. Even the stage coach routes across the State were little more than rough trails, at times scarcely passable for a vehicle. The great bulk of the produce was loaded on boats and taken down the creeks and rivers to the nearest seaport.

**Prices**—Although complete data are lacking on prices of farm produce during the colonial period, a fairly even level seems to have been maintained. At least, violent fluctuations are not apparent. The exportable surplus was so small as to be easily absorbed by foreign markets, which served to equalize prices. Of course there were fluctuations due to variation in production and local demand. From 1668 to 1692, prices declined 20 to 40 per cent., due doubtless to the growing abundance of produce. The years preceding the Revolutionary War were marked by rising prices, as a result of enlarged home markets. The author of *American Husbandry*[59] remarked that "the vast increase of people . . . . has of late years so raised the price of grain as to make the culture of it much more profitable than formerly."

In 1766 occurred an incident which well illustrates the factors influencing prices. Ships arriving in New York and Philadelphia seeking cargoes of grain boosted the price of wheat to $1.00 a bushel. This so stimulated shipments to these ports that the market was quickly flooded, and the price promptly fell.[60]

**Agricultural Leaders**—This period was not without a group of leaders who were interested in placing agriculture on a scientific basis. Already there had been numerous books published in England on agriculture. Some of these works found their way into New Jersey, but probably few reached the rank and file of the colonial farmers. Now and then a "country gentleman" with a bent for reading, and a mind trained to a scientific attitude, studied these books, tried experiments, and endeavored to gather facts which would aid the advancement of agriculture. Such a man was Benjamin Franklin, whom New Jersey claims as one of her farmers. Franklin, seeking to retire from his active public career in 1747, bought a farm near Burlington. The exact location is not known. Presumably it was in New Jersey, although it may possibly have been across the Delaware in Pennsylvania. Franklin, writing to his friend Jared Eliot, author of *Essays on Field Husbandry*, described his farm and experiments. The farm was in a run-down condition

[59] Vol. I, Chap. II.
[60] *New Jersey Archives*, Ser. I, Vol. XXV, p. 263.



GEORGE MORGAN

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*

"PROSPECT," THE HOME OF COL. GEORGE MORGAN, AT PRINCETON

(From a painting by Maria Templeton)

*(From N. J. Agr. Exp. Sta., Bul. 451)*

when he acquired it. One of his first steps was to drain the fields and to get rid of the weeds, then to sow different kinds of grasses and carefully observe their development. Franklin was not permitted long to enjoy the pleasures of rural life and was soon drafted into public service. He nevertheless always retained his interest in agriculture, and contributed materially to its progress. He took advantage of his residence in England and France to study the agriculture of those countries, to converse with their scientists and to send important varieties of crops to the American colonies. To Franklin goes the honor of having first introduced rhubarb into the New World.

It is greatly to be regretted that the site of Franklin's farm has not yet been determined. This is one of the problems which remains to challenge the admirers of America's great scientist and statesman.

Benjamin Franklin's son William, last colonial Governor of New Jersey, banished because of his loyalty to the Crown, is another interesting figure connected with the agriculture of this period. He made his residence in Burlington and also had a beautiful country seat on the Rancocas Creek, five miles southeast of the city. Here he developed a typical country gentleman's estate, among the unique features being a deer park. Apparently he took a profound interest in farm problems. While his father was in England in 1769 he sent a request for an improved English plow, sometimes called the Rotheran or patent plow, since he was not satisfied with the clumsy plows made in the province. William Franklin also influenced the colonial Assembly in 1765 to grant bounties for silk, flax and hemp. But he was not permitted long to enjoy his country home. After banishment and residence in England for some years, he deeded the farm to his son, William Temple Franklin, who occupied it until after the death of the grandfather.

Another prominent figure interested in economic plants was Colonel Peter Schuyler, who kept a botanical and zoölogical garden near Newark, at the present site of Belleville. A visitor in pre-Revolutionary days found in his gardens a large collection of citrons, oranges, limes, lemons, aloes, pomegranates and other tropical plants.[61]

Deserving of mention, also is Jacob Spicer, pioneer farmer of Cape May County, who kept records of his farm business and left us valuable facts about the agriculture of his time.

**Rural Life**—The farmer of colonial days was a self-sufficient, versatile, Jack-of-all-trades type of man. The nature of the farm, his environment, the conditions with which he had to struggle, all were conducive to an independent, self-reliant, individualistic personality. He was versatile because he had to be. He must be a tiller of the soil and in addition something of a carpenter and a manufacturer. He had to be handy with tools, he had to know how to care for animals, he had to think for himself and manage his own business. He butchered the farm animals, repaired his machinery and harness, erected buildings and fences, made ax-handles and brooms, tanned leather and cobbled shoes.

---

[61] Benedict, p. 300.

Having only limited opportunity for association with other people and being removed from city and town life, it was but natural that he should develop an attitude of suspicion and dislike for people in other walks of life, particularly the merchant and trader, of whom he was all too often the victim.

Generally he was religious. Many of the settlers in New Jersey, particularly the Quakers and the Scotch, and to some extent the Puritan stock from New England, were moved to emigrate from their native lands because of religious conviction. The local church was therefore a highly important factor in colonial rural life. The farmer was inclined to superstition, a heritage from ancient times when agriculture was closely allied with astrology. He was dependent upon the seasons and the weather and the various forces of nature over which he had no control. With the lack of scientific knowledge it was only natural that he should develop habits based upon tradition and unscientific observation. Many customs prevailed among farmers which modern science has proved to be unsound. For example, it was a common practice to plant the root crops during the late phases of the moon and the crops which matured above ground during the new phases.

The colonial farmer was in large measure the slave of prejudice and the creature of habit. Being mainly dependent upon his own resources, he held resolutely to his fixed opinions and was not easily persuaded to change his mind. Observers of American farming were impressed with the degree to which agricultural practices were determined by tradition and custom, rather than by a rational consideration of facts. It was usually difficult to persuade a farmer of the old school to adopt an improved method. Under such circumstances, changes were made reluctantly, and progress was slow.

Simplicity and frugality reigned in the typical farm house. Yet the rural people enjoyed the simple pleasures of life in homely fashion. When the crops were harvested and the fall work finished came the time for friendly visitation among relatives and neighbors. Husking bees, hog killings, sheep shearings, barn raisings were social events of importance. Vendues and market days furnished occasion for farmers to get together and exchange experiences and news. The quilting party was a splendid time for women folk to discuss their home problems and enjoy the usual neighborhood gossip. Fairs and church festivals gave other opportunity for satisfying the social urge.

The lot of the colonial farmer, all things considered, was a fairly comfortable and happy one. The farm family lived well. The essentials of life—food, clothing and shelter, were not wanting. A writer[62] in 1775 remarked that "nowhere on the coast are the necessaries of life in greater plenty—fish, flesh, fowl and fruits, every little farmer has at his table in a degree of profusion." There was never a complete crop failure—never a famine. The dire poverty so common in European countries was conspicuously absent here.

Educationally the colonial farmers were not far advanced. There were no public schools. The average farmer could read and write and figure, but the "three R's" were the extent of his schooling. Occasionally there was the exceptional countryman who had the advantage of an academy training. The

---

[62] *American Husbandry*, Vol. I, Chap. II.

farm home was not very well provided with books. There was little beyond the Bible and the farmer's almanac.

The farmer's almanac came into common use about the middle of the eighteenth century, and may be considered the first publication of educational import in the field of American agriculture. It gave the farmer information about the seasons and the weather which, because they so vitally affected his business, he studied thoroughly and conscientiously. The almanac was authority on many other questions, for example, farm practices, cures for sundry disorders, and court schedules. It served also as a sort of farm diary. Notes were made on the margin or on blank pages inserted as to the important farm events of the year—weather items, such as heavy rainfall, the first frost of the fall, intense heat and droughts; likewise the time of planting corn or the birth of a new calf or the first apple blossoms, the date of the harvest, barn raisings, hog killings, and similar events.

One of the first magazines published in the American colonies, a product of New Jersey, devoted considerable space to agriculture. The *New American Magazine* was established by Samuel Neville, of Woodbridge, in 1758. The first issue carried the initial installment of a series of articles entitled "The Country Farmer." It reflected a forward look in agriculture, pointing out backward conditions of farming in the colony, and indicating the need for more scientific knowledge applied to agriculture. Probably very few farmers read the *New American Magazine,* but it is significant as a pioneer step in directing the public to a better knowledge of the industry.

**Conclusion**—The colonial period was of necessity a time of experimentation and adaptation for agriculture. The native plants, soil and climate had to be tried out, with the aid of such knowledge as the European peoples possessed, and the plants and animals brought from the Old World had to be acclimated. It was necessary to adjust European systems of land tenure and methods of cultivation to new conditions; to secure an adequate labor supply, and after domestic needs were met to find markets for the surplus. When the Revolutionary War overtook the peaceful pursuits of the colonies, New Jersey had become a land of husbandry. Agriculture had been established as the basic industry, which was to be further developed and modified by the changing conditions that followed.

References:

Acrelius, I, 1759. *A History of New Sweden, or the Settlements on the Delaware.* Stockholm. Translation by Wm. M. Reynolds, 1874. Mem. Hist. Soc. Penn. v. II, Philadelphia.

American Husbandry, 1775, London.

American Philosophical Society Transactions, 1789, Vol. I.

Benedict, W. H., 1925. *New Brunswick in History.*

Bidwell, P. J. and Falconer, J. I. 1925. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States,* 1620-1860. Carnegie Inst. Washington Pub. No. 358.

Blodget, S. 1806. *Economica: A Statistical Manual for the United States of America.*

Budd, Thomas. 1685. *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America.* In Gowan's *Bibliotheca Americana,* No. 4.

Coxe, Wm. 1817. *A View of the Cultivation of Fruit Trees, and the Management of Orchards and Cider.*

Danckaerts, Jasper. 1680. *Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80.* Mem. L. I. Hist. Soc., Vol. I.

Jameson, J. F. 1909. *Narratives of New Netherlands,* 1609-64.

Kalm, P. 1749. *Travels into North America.* Trans. by Forster, J. R., 2 Vols.

La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, 1799. *Travels Through the United States of North America,* 2 vols. London.

New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings.

*New Jersey Archives.*

*New Jersey Gazette.*

Rutherford, John. 1786. *Notes on the State of New Jersey.* In Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc., s. 2, Vol. I, 1867, pp. 79-89.

Scot, George. 1685. *The Model of the Government in the Province of East New Jersey in America.* In Whitehead, W. A., 1875. *East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments.*

Shaw, W. H. 1884. *History of Essex and Hudson Counties in New Jersey.*

Smith, Samuel. 1765. *The History of the Colony of New Jersey,* Burlington.

Thomas, Gabriel. 1698. *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and County of Pennsylvania and of West New Jersey in America.*

Van der Donck, A. 1656. *Description of the New Netherlands.* In N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col., s. 2, Vol. I, pp. 125-242.

Van Tienhoven, C. 1650. *Information Relative to the Taking up of Land in New Netherland.* In O'Callaghan M. D. (1851) *Documentary History of the State of New York,* pp. 25-36.

Van Winkle, D. 1902. *Old Bergen: History and Reminiscences.*

1912: *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware,* pp. 33-49.

Wansey, Henry. 1796. *The Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America in the Summer of 1794.*

Wiggins, Frances S. 1840. *The American Farmer's Instructor or Practical Agriculturist.*

Winfield, Chas. H. 1874. *History of the County of Hudson.*

Yong, Capt. Thomas. 1634. *A Brief Relation of a Voyage, etc.* In Myers, A. C.,

THE OLD STAGE COACH

# CHAPTER XII.

## ROADS AND TRAVEL IN COLONIAL NEW JERSEY.

**By Nellie Myers Kull, A. B.**

The story of New Jersey has been the story of her roads. Her Indian trails, deepened into bridle paths and broadened into cart roads, have finally smoothed out into great trunk highways. In the early days as well as today, the chief terminals of her roads were New York and Philadelphia. At the end of the seventeenth century these towns were still in their infancy but their locations meant that they were bound to throw many roads across little New Jersey in the next two hundred years, roads, moreover, which would also be the direct route between the developing States of New England and the South.

Speeding by motor or express train across the State in two or three hours today it is difficult to imagine the wilderness of the colonists, two centuries and a half ago. Their wilderness was a primeval forest, many of its trees measuring five feet in diameter and one hundred fifty feet in height. The white man could scarcely push or cut his way through the centuries' accumulation of fallen, decayed tree trunks and the tangle of underbrush between the giant trees. Into this wilderness stretching over mountains, hills and valleys, the colonists followed the streams. They cut out clearings, built their cabins and called it home. Miles of forest separated their settlements. This was particularly true of East Jersey. The early settlers on the sluggish streams of West Jersey found loamy, fertile plains along the banks, which meant that they did not need to conquer the wilderness to procure land for tillage. However, the deep forests were not far behind any Jersey farm or settlement and had to be reckoned with if a visit to a neighbor or a journey to the mill was thought of. Soon the white man had adopted the canoe of the Indians as the best way up and down the creeks and rivers, which were his first highways as they were the chief roads for Indian travel.

Connecting the water ways were narrow trails through the wilderness which became another legacy from the Indians. Usually only twelve to eighteen inches in width, sometimes worn a foot deep by generations of soft moccasined feet, these Indian trails were the white man's first land paths through New Jersey. Nor could he have chosen better. The Indians had found the highest, dryest way across the swamp, the lowest over the mountains, the best fording place across the stream and generally the most direct route.

Probably the oldest Indian trail through the State was called the Minisink Trail. Over this path the Minisinks traveled from their favorite hunting grounds in Eastern Pennsylvania on their periodic journeys to the ocean to procure fish for food and shells for wampum. The path passed from Minisink Island in the Delaware River below Port Jervis, north of Morristown,

crossing the mountains west of Springfield and coming six miles west of Elizabeth. It crossed the Raritan at Kent's Neck, about four miles west of Amboy and continued to Shrewsbury and the sea.

The first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch maintained scattered settlements along the Delaware as well as along the New Jersey shore of the Hudson, across from New Amsterdam. The only connection between these two groups of settlements was an Indian trail through the forest. Over this path letters were relayed by white messengers or friendly Indians in five or six days time. After the English came to East Jersey in 1665 and to West Jersey in 1675, this single road used by the Dutch became the so-called Upper Road or King's Highway of the English. It crossed the bay from New York to Bergen or to Elizabethtown by ferry, passed through Woodbridge and Piscataway, forded the Raritan at Inian's (New Brunswick), passed through Kingston, Princeton, Trenton, into Pennsylvania, down to Bristol and Fort Casimir (New Castle) and so to Philadelphia. The Raritan and Delaware rivers were fordable at low tide at Inian's or at Trenton, consequently these points marked the direction of the road for the Indian and later for the Dutchman and the Englishman.

A little later the Lower Road branched off from the Upper, four or five miles west of Inian's, proceeding down through Cranbury and Burlington. After crossing the Delaware it rejoined the Upper Road on its way to Philadelphia. It is recorded that in 1668-70, one Peter Jegow had "License to keep an House of Entertainment for Accomodation of Passengers, Travelers and Strangers over against Mattinicunk Island" . . . . where this Lower Road crossed the Delaware between Burlington and Bristol.

Another Indian trail went from the ocean to the Delaware and was adopted and used by the English before 1700. It led in a southerly direction through Monmouth County, from Shrewsbury through Middletown toward Freehold, through Allentown, Crosswicks and Bordentown to Burlington and Haddonfield, on to Salem and was called the "Old Burlington Path." George Fox on his journey from Maryland to New York, in 1672, passed along this trail through West Jersey. This too was known as King's Highway.

These three roads, the Minisink Path, the Upper Road with its branch, the Lower Road, and the Old Burlington Path had been adopted by the Dutch and English from the Indians. They had just "growed" like Topsy. No Act of Assembly or Road Commissioner laid them out. By 1675, however, the colony of East Jersey had become a little roads-conscious and the first Public Roads Act was passed. The General Assembly directed that two men in each town in the province should be appointed to lay out common highways.

The deputies who lived down in the Navesink towns of Shrewsbury and Middletown were unable to attend the sessions of the General Assembly on time. Their Indian path through the forest was the lower end of the old Minisink Trail and was likely wet in the low stretches and grown over with briar thickets, while travel by water was even more difficult. So the second

Public Road Act was passed in New Jersey in 1676 "for the more sure and speedy passage of the deputies, for the future" and "their timely appearance at the General Assembly." Two or more men were to be appointed from Middletown "to join with two or more out of Piscataqua, to make out the nearest and most convenient way that may be found between the said towns," and the expense was to be met by the county.

Perth Amboy had become a town of great expectations in the eleven years since Philip Carteret had landed at Elizabethtown in the name of the English King. The General Assembly met in Perth Amboy and she dreamed of becoming the chief city in this colony if not of the western world. It was known there that most of the travel from New York to Philadelphia passed over the so-called Upper Road, from New York and Elizabethtown to Inian's Ferry and so on to the Delaware. The residents of Amboy felt that the few gentlemen traveling by horse or by foot should cross from New York by ferry to their town and thence by Burlington to Philadelphia. In 1683 the proprietors presented the following dignified instructions to Governor Lawrie: "We could wish it might be discovered whether there may not a conconvenient Road be found between Perth Town and Burlington for the Entertaining a Land Commerce that way." The Governor did as "instructed." He caused the road to be laid out and ferries to be established connecting New York and Perth Amboy and Perth Amboy, across the Raritan, to Radford's (South Amboy). The lower stretches of the road followed the old Burlington Path. The travelers, however, seemed to prefer the old Upper Road. So little used was Governor Lawrie's Road that twelve years later, 1698, the proprietors in their instructions to Governor Jeremiah Basse, again pressed the matter asking him to lay a tax upon the county for the improvement of their road, "so much to the Publick Benefit of the Province." In spite of laws and improvements this road never drew the main traveling "Publick" from the old Upper Road, full though that was of mud holes and hidden stumps.

Along these early highways, as well as along the banks of the Raritan, Delaware, Passaic, and Hackensack rivers, the country had become quite thickly settled these fifteen or twenty years. Shiploads of Quakers continued to sail up the Delaware and more and more Presbyterians pressed into East Jersey by boat and by groups on horse and on foot, while the Dutch were quietly adding to their acres and their farm buildings through the mid-lands of the colony.

A few mills were being established on the swifter streams to supplement the handmills on the farms. By the early 1680's Thomas Olive and Mahlon Stacy had built flour mills near Rankokos Creek and at Trenton. Corn and wheat meant life for man as well as his farm animals. Records of sawmills also appear at this time. The people on the farms and in the settlements needed roads or "ways" to meeting house and to court, to the blacksmith's shop and river landings, but particularly to these mills and to market. The streams were the most important and satisfying highways thus far and the

colony's supply of creeks and rivers was large, as the map will show. It also shows that the general direction of most streams was East and West. To reach a settlement on a river a few miles south entailed a long water journey down one stream and up another, with several miles along the coast between, whereas a road across, through forest and meadow, would cut down the distance very greatly. Evidently public demand for land roads and particularly north and south roads reached the General Assembly.

In March, 1682, the General Assembly of East Jersey, meeting that year at Elizabeth Town, passed an act for "making and settling of highways, passages, landings Bridges and ferries within this province . . . . fit and apt for travelling." The act was quite sweeping. It named specific men in each county to lay out and build the roads. These boards continued for many years and the places of those who died were filled by acts of Assembly. The expense of road-building was to be charged to the county and to be met by taxes. This act of the General Assembly of 1682 gave great impetus to road development. Many roads were opened in all directions through the colony, leading to and from the two highways and the rivers and connecting plantations, farms and embryo towns. This impetus lasted into the beginning of the eighteenth century when we find record of thirty-five new roads opening up in Middlesex County alone, between 1705 and 1713. Probably it was under sanction of this law that Governors Lawrie and Basse acted in '83 and '98, when they caused the Perth Amboy ferry and the road to Burlington to be established.

The old ford at Inian's was replaced by a ferry in 1696. This same year the commissioners were urged by the Assembly not to change roads in their zeal unless necessary. The need for roads was felt in West Jersey as well. In November, 1681, a law was passed at Burlington, "that there shall be a highway surveyed and set forth between Burlington and Salem, the same to be begun at or before the first day of the second month next; And that twenty men . . . . shall be appointed for the said work, ten thereof from Burlington, and ten from Salem."

In 1684, it was enacted that more highways be laid out "in the Salem limits at the application of several of the inhabitants." In 1682 fairs or public markets had been established in true English manner at both Salem and Burlington to be held twice a year in May and November in each town one week apart. A few years later Burlington's "delicate great market house," along with her wharves and docks, was described by Gabriel Thomas in his "History of West Jersey." These market days were important in West Jersey farm and town life. With their establishment, roads were demanded for the easier and quicker transportation of farm produce as well as barterers from the territory round about Salem and Burlington. Over these short, level roads between the Delaware River towns there began an early vehicle traffic. A few rude home-made carts bumped along on their wide wheels to market twice a year. In November, the farmer and his wife rode atop or trudged beside a load of corn, ground or not according to the distance from the mill.

HISTORICAL BUILDING, VINELAND

flax, bags of dried apples and herbs, eggs and fresh-killed meat. In May the carts creaked under the winter's harvest of cheeses, butter, raw wool and knitted stockings and mittens and woven things as well as eggs and poultry.

An interesting comment on West Jersey roads appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* as late as 1739: "We hear from Gloucester County in the Jerseys that on Saturday last one John Matson was riding in his cart; the wheel passing over a stump overset the cart on him and killed him on the spot."

Up to 1800 all products of agriculture, mines and trade of the valley of the Delaware and her tributaries came down to Burlington and Philadelphia by boat. Roads to landings and fords on the rivers up and down the colony developed as supplementary to the water transportation. Besides flat boats and rafts, the Durham boats, managed with poles, were one type used. Long and narrow, drawing two feet of water, they carried from 500 to 600 bushels of wheat. This produce was brought to the rivers late in the winter while roads were still frozen, then sent down during the spring freshets, even from as far as Navesink on the New York State line. Below Trenton, sailboats were used. Early in its history, before the development of Philadelphia, Burlington was looked upon by its settlers as the chief future commercial port on the Delaware. By Act of Assembly, all vessels with business in the province must clear at its "chief town and head, the port of Burlington." And before 1700, vessels clearing from her docks were carrying cargoes from farms, mines and forests to the principal ports of the world, bringing back in exchange to the West Jersey farmers, sugar, salt, molasses, rum and hardware as well as luxuries. All of these facts of trade were reasons for strong pressure upon the General Assembly in both proprietary colonies for more and better land-roads, and resulted in networks of roads radiating from Camden, Burlington, Trenton and Phillipsburg, the river towns. A description of or even the naming over of the large number of roads which developed during the twenty years following the General Assembly Road Acts of East Jersey in 1682 and of West Jersey in 1681, because of the colony's natural growth, is quite impossible in a short paper. The description of a few typical ones may be suggestive.

A few roads near the Raritan and the old Upper Road are interesting. One was called the "Road up Raritan" and records place it quite positively as early as 1686. It branched off from the Upper Road at Piscataway, passed in a northwest direction through New Market[1] to Bound Brook and on to Somerville, by a route a little south of the present highway. At the town of Raritan, it threw one branch off to the Mills of North Branch and on to Easton, and another west to Lambertville on the Delaware. The exigency causing the laying out of this road is as follows: In the year 1686,

[1] Names of present day towns are given to designate the routes of the roads. The implication would be that the towns were well established before the laying out of the roads. Often the coming of a well marked road meant the development of a town and always its growth. Often the modern name is not the same as that of the early village.

some servants of Lord Neill Campbell, who had acquired 1,650 acres of land on the Raritan and North Branch, were walking down the Raritan River to attend a Woodbridge meeting, passed through the fields of Mr. John White. Standing at his gate, the angry Mr. White stopped them, demanding why they were on his land, to which they answered that they knew no other way. Insisting that they should not proceed further, the incensed gentleman hastened to Perth Amboy where he protested to Governor Lawrie. The Governor sensed the emergency and even before the servants had returned home a way was laid out behind the fields and improved lands of the inhabitants along the Raritan. So declared one of these servants in an affadavit a few years later.

Other early Raritan Valley roads well established before the Revolution were, first, the Middlebush Road, running from Inian's through Middlebush to Millstone and down toward Princeton through Rocky Hill, second, a road from Bound Brook to Pluckemin between the mountains, and third, a road from the Road up Raritan back to Millstone on which road the first bridge over the Raritan was built. Over this bridge Washington's army crossed from Princeton to Pluckemin, probably going by way of Somerville. Other early Middlesex County roads were local and were laid out as emergencies grew, to enable interior neighborhoods to reach mills, markets, meeting houses and courts in the important towns of Woodbridge, Piscataway and Perthtown.

In West Jersey as early as 1696 an Indian trail, through Cooper's Ferry and Haddonfield down to Little Egg Harbor, had become the Philadelphia and Egg Harbor road. Several famous taverns thrived beside it, Blue Anchor being one and Samuel Scull's at Long-a-Coming, another. Three roads branched from it. Not laid out according to law, it was abandoned later but the modern highway to Atlantic City duplicates its direction. Many early roads of West Jersey were ferry roads, means of reaching the river at Cooper's Ferry (Camden) and Burlington from interior farms and villages. In 1762 the important road from Cooper's Ferry (Camden) to Burlington was mentioned in a deed as "The Great Road to the Ferry." In 1697 an act for "a road to and from Cape May" was passed. The inhabitants were described as "under extreme hardship for want of a road . . . . through Cohansey . . . . to Burlington to attend public services." Ordered to be laid out within four months, it was not completed until ten years later. A later road connected Cape May with Somer's Point and Tuckerton.

Following the Road Act of 1682, throughout the large county of Monmouth on the east (including the present Ocean County and part of Mercer), many roads were laid out by her new commissioners. Many never materialized and some grew over with thickets before many years. But their descriptions are interesting and characteristic of those in other counties. The proposed roads were variously called according to their width. A King's highway was broad, six rods or more, and without swinging gates, whereas drift ways were narrower. No mention is made of purchasing land for high-

ways. The roads laid out were described in quaint fashion. They were to run from John Stout's bridge, past another's sawmill to a girdled white oak, or a little walnut tree marked, through Widow Bound's orchard, behind William Leed's new house, through gullies, over hills, around swamps and bogs, across certain cartways and through other meadows.

In Newark several roads were built in 1705 to connect the plantations near the mountain with "the Town on the River," following Indian paths for the most part and avoiding bushes and swamps as the Indian had done. A road to cut off a broad bend of the Passaic River at Passaic required a full year to attract the "Governor's gracious consent to it." Through Sussex, the northernmost county, ran the Minisink trail and other Indian trails but it had not even a post route or post office until after the Revolution. However, the old Mine Road, said to have been the first constructed road in the United States, passed through Sussex County from the Pahaquarry mines across the line in Warren County, on its hundred miles up through the Delaware Valley, above the Jersey territory and to the Hudson. This road is said to have been built of stone by the Dutch before 1664. Early in the nineteenth century a stage wagon existed which took a week from Newton to New York and back.

Such a wide spread building of roads in the two colonies of Jersey around the seventeenth century sounds both prosperous and efficient. It leads us also to wonder what sort of roads were built. Surveyors were available, but surely no civil engineers. The men designated in each county or township by Acts of Assembly to lay out "roads fit and apt for travelling" were not specified as being trained for their jobs but were responsible citizens and probably good workers. Their assistants were the farmers along the roads who brought their axes and mattocks for tools and later, ox teams or horses and carts.

When the Road Act of 1676 directed two or more men to be chosen out of both Middletown and Piscataqua to lay out the nearest way between the said towns, they were expected to have it completed in five weeks. Probably twenty miles long, this thirty-five-day road indicates the ease of road "laying" on New Jersey flats as well as the sort of road which satisfied the deputies. We do not wonder that the Quaker preacher, William Edmundson, was lost in 1677 for a whole day, probably on the "Lower Road," although with an Indian guide. They retraced their way to the Raritan which they followed to a "small landing from New York" (probably Inian's), proceeding thence by a small path (Upper Road) to the Delaware falls. This Lower Road came up for attention in the General Assembly in 1695 when we read that "the new road from Mr. John Inian's, his house upon Raritan river . . . towards Burlington is a part of the great thorofair of this Province from New England, New York &c to the west ward . . . . " and in need of repair. So it was enacted that the innkeepers of the towns of Piscataway, Woodbridge and Elizabethtown be taxed to prevent the road from falling into decay for the next five years. This assessment was to be laid upon

these prosperous innkeepers by town meeting, only ten pounds a year all told, and the money turned over to Mr. George Drake of Piscataway who was to employ men and teams for the work. It has been said that the portion of the Lower Road turning off from the Old Upper Road west of New Brunswick and now called George's Road, received its name from Mr. Drake rather than from the King or George Washington. A Colonial Road Commissioner was a high calling and his name was perpetuated in roads as well as in Acts of Assembly.

However remembered, the seventeenth century road builder had no knowledge of proper road construction. The so-called roads were little more than foot paths even as late as 1716, when an Act of Assembly specified ferry rates for "single person or man & horse." No mention was made of carts and wagons. In 1697 Philadelphia claimed thirty carts and wagons, but they had not appeared on country roads, save on a few short roads around Salem and Burlington.

As the earliest roads had been the narrow Indian trails, widened a little and with trees and underbrush cut out, to allow a horse to pass, the first roads laid out by Act of Assembly were no better. No more than bridle paths and laid out with no technical skill, they had no drainage and no bridges. The first dirt roads were made by dragging the surface to remove the top turf and filling in the holes with loose dirt. Their care consisted of refilling the holes with more loose dirt. In dry weather they were rutted from dried mud, bumpy with stumps and choked with dust. Much of the year they were seas of mud and water. One traveler, Cuthbert Potter, on a journey from Virginia to New England in 1690, wrote in his journal, "July 20. I went from Mr. Onions (Inian's) to Eliza Town, there having been very much rain, in sight of Collonel Townlies' my horse fell with me, and by God's mercy I escaped drowning having been twice under water wet all my linnen and papers. July 21. I tarried all day with Mr. Townley, dried my linnen and papers . . . ." Report of the road could not have been favorable at Trenton, for he had brought with him horses and a guide in order to reach "Eliza Town."

Even as late as 1768, Governor Franklin in addressing the Assembly on the condition of the roads in the colony, said, "even those which lie between the two principal trading cities of North America are seldom passable without danger or difficulty."

Travelers as well as the colonists must have been relieved when winter came with ice and snow. Then traveling became easier. Mud holes were frozen and sometimes smoothed over with snow. The small streams became excellent ice paths. Sleighs were common long before wagons. It was an easy matter to reach the markets in winter, and so rid the farms of the summer produce. Visiting of neighbors and attendance at meeting were the social events of the winter. Besides dirt roads, corduroy roads were sometimes built, though rarely. They were constructed of logs laid side by side with dirt sprinkled over the top. Their chief use was in the swampy regions such

as between Newark and Bergen, where they were necessary if there was to be a road at all. A third type was the plank road, planks spiked crosswise of the logs of the corduroy. Three plank roads were recorded around 1850 in Monmouth County, two of them out from Freehold. Used for the heavy wagons of marl, they were abandoned in a few years. A plank road over the Great Swamp from Powles Hook to Newark is often referred to. Gravel pits were discovered rather early, particularly in Somerset, Passaic, Hunterdon, Essex and Hudson counties. They were quickly exploited for improving the dirt roads and later used for building the great turnpikes. More and more roads were laid out and built. Early records mention the two-rod roads as well as of four and six. Just what the dimension indicated is not clear but they begin to sound better than bridle paths. Often they needed repairs which the Assembly was slow to order, but few roads were discontinued. In spite of traveler's tales of near drownings in mud holes and of their horses stumbling over stumps, traveling continued. Those were brave men and women on the road. One woman rode horseback from Boston to Philadelphia in 1702, carrying a baby in her lap the whole way. Each one carrying a twin, Deacon Amos Harrison and his wife rode on one horse to meeting in Newark every Sabbath. Bethuel Pierson, wife and daughter arrived on another, while a young belle of the time declined the invitation of an admirer to ride behind him on his nag nine miles to Elizabethtown.

In 1707, five years after the proprietors of the two Jerseys had surrendered their rights to Queen Anne to become a Royal Colony, there appeared the first official mention of a wheeled vehicle venturing across the colony of New Jersey. The Assembly protested to Governor Cornbury that a few men had been granted patents to transport goods on the Amboy Road for a certain number of years and that it was contrary to the statute regarding monopolies. The Governor admitted that such exclusive rights had been given but added, "at present, everybody is sure, once a fortnight, to have an opportunity of sending any quantity of goods, great or small, at reasonable rates, without being in danger of imposition; and the sending of this wagon is so far from being a grievance or a monopoly, that by this means, and no other, a trade has been carried on between Philadelphia, Burlington, Amboy and New York, which was never known before, and in all probability never would have been."

That a wagon had actually been driven over these roads which all travelers of the period found extremely poor as bridle or even foot paths, would seem to be a real accomplishment. Its trips were irregular as were the freight rates. No mention was made of carrying passengers. The wagon itself probably had large wheels, with their wooden or iron tires from six to eight inches wide, and was drawn by four or six horses. Sometimes the wheels of these crude wagons were no more than sections sawed from a round tree trunk. Between the appearance of this wagon in 1707 and the year 1723, road vehicles multiplied. The crude two-wheeled cart and heavy, cumbersome wagon, neither of which could cross rivers or make long journeys,

blossomed into a landcraft designed for travel purposes. Among the Thirteen Colonies this development took place first on the roads of New Jersey between New York and Philadelphia.

Many ferries appeared in the next few years, particularly across the Delaware and Hudson rivers and New York Bay. About 1730, a bill was reported establishing a ferry from "Peter Inloes in Salem County to New Castle County on the west side of the Delaware." Within a short time the following ferries were in operation: Redford's between Perth and South Amboy, Cooper's at Philadelphia, Ramsey's at Trenton, Coryell's five miles above Trenton (now Lambertville), New Blazing Star over Kill Van Kull to Staten Island as well as those over the Passaic and Hackensack rivers. Laws appeared recognizing the new conditions. One law designated ferry charges thus: "For a coach or chariot, one shilling. For a chaise of four wheels, 6 pence. For a chaise of two wheels, 4 pence. For a cart or wagon with their loading, 1 shilling, & without loading, 6 pence. For a sled, loaded or unloaded, 1 penny."

Stage coach days were tavern days as well. Often uncomfortable, usually unsanitary, they became a necessity to the traveler as well as his horses. Sometimes built in the center of an existing town, often a tavern drew a town around itself. They became the center of a community for gossip and news as well as social life. Their very names spell colonial romance. By 1750, there were six taverns in New Brunswick, one being the Indian Queen. The first had been established by Ann Belding in 1735. Princeton had as many, the most famous being Nassau Inn, still flourishing, and the Red Lion. The Sign of the Green Tree in Trenton, Ayres Tavern in Amboy and the Sign of the George in Philadelphia, all appear in stage route notices.

In 1723, there appeared the first advertisement for freight and passenger business. "If any person or persons may have occasion to pass or repass or convey goods from Philadelphia to Trenton and backward, their goods may be secured at the house of John Wollard at Trentown . . . . or to the mill there, or at the Crooked Billet in Philadelphia." There is a pleasant indefiniteness in this notice. It concluded by saying that the conveyance might be from "Trentown" Monday or Tuesday and from Philadelphia Thursday or Friday. All depended of course upon demand. Of greater indefiniteness is the fact that it is not stated whether the conveyance is to be by wagon or boat. Mr. W. H. Benedict felt it was by boat for the "mill' is mentioned and the Crooked Billet is known to have had a wharf. At least energetic persons were awakened to the fact that traveling was in the air. More folks were going places and needed their possessions carried. A few wheeled carts and wagons were reported to have crossed between the big towns and if one had the means for carrying passengers or goods, the public must be informed. Hence the beginning of such advertisements. Most travelers still rode their own or hired horses. Some still walked. In this latter class belonged young Benjamin Franklin on his first journey across New Jersey from Boston to

Philadelphia. His traveling experience illustrates the difficulty of planning a schedule in the early 1700's. Leaving New York for Perth Amboy by ferry in the evening, their boat was so endangered by a high wind, that they anchored in New York Bay to avoid the Long Island shore. After tossing about all night in an open boat, they landed at Perth Amboy and crossed to present South Amboy by Radford's Ferry. There Franklin started to walk to Burlington. Around noon he reached a "poor inn" where he remained until the next morning. That night he stayed at Dr. Brown's Inn and reached Burlington the fifth day, Saturday, to learn that the boat for Philadelphia had just gone and that no other would leave until the following Tuesday. Walking along the river, he was accosted by some men in a boat who offered to row him to Philadelphia. He embarked and they rowed until midnight when the men refused to go further until morning. So they lay in the mouth of a creek until daybreak. Reaching the Pennsylvania shore, Franklin paid his hosts his last copper, although he had done most of the rowing, and walked into Philadelphia between eight and nine Sunday morning. It is said that he stayed at the Crooked Billet, the inn named in the above traffic notice.

In Bradford's Philadelphia *Mercury* of February 18-23, 1728-29, a notice appeared offering "the Plantation called Radford's Ferry over against Amboy" for hire, and adding that a stage wagon was kept at said ferry for transporting passengers and goods to Burlington, and "doth attend whenever freight presents." This is the first definite mention of a stage wagon.

Before long that stage wagon waiting for business at the Amboy ferry had been improved upon. Drawn by four or six horses, its box over the big wheels was gaudy with paint. The passengers climbed over the high wheels and over the benches which were no more than boards extending from side to side across the wagon box. Upon these backless benches the passengers made themselves as comfortable as possible and were ready to enjoy the regularity of the new stage's schedule. For in this year, 1733, Solomon Smith and James Moore of Burlington gave notice to "Gentlemen, Merchants, Tradesmen, Travellers and others" that they had two "stage waggons" so that they were able to go to Amboy and back again once every week or oftener "if business permits." This sounds like a definite promise, although increased service still depended upon demand.

About this time, 1730, a bill was introduced into the Assembly regulating the width or distance between the wheels of carts and wagons. They probably fitted into the ruts of the road better if all were the same width. The wheels of the stages revolved on crude boxes kept greased by a frequent application of tar that was carried in a bucket hanging beneath the wagon. Clumsy linchpins usually held the wheels, but they had a way of bobbing out and letting the axle down with a thud into the mud, sending the passengers sprawling on the straw-covered floor of the stage.

Thus far all wagon routes had used the Perth Amboy-Burlington road. It is to be hoped that some of the proprietors were still living who had peti-

tioned Governor Lawrie back in 1682 to lay out that road to attract travelers away from the Old Upper Road running through Inian's. The new popularity of Lawrie's Road as a stage route would have pleased them.

However the old competition returned, for in *The Mercury* for January 31-February 7, 1737-38, the public was advised that a stage would run between Trenton and Brunswick twice a week "during next summer." It was to be fitted up with benches and have an added comfort of being covered over so that passengers might "sit easy and dry," and care would be taken "to deliver goods and messages safe."

These stage routes across New Jersey presupposed water journeys by ferry across the Delaware either at Burlington or Trenton and again to reach New York. This second route probably meant a water trip down the Raritan from New Brunswick to New York or further wagon trip to Perth Amboy and across by ferry there. Nor were these water jaunts at either end of the New York to Philadelphia journey slight matters. The newspapers of the day contained many water accidents. On November 26, 1729, it was recorded that a gust of wind overturned a ferry boat at Perth Amboy, drowning two men and two horses out of seven each. A Philadelphia newspaper two years later stated that one Samuel Crosley, baker, fell overboard on a passage boat to Burlington and was drowned. Even as late as 1775 a traveler protested that he spent twenty hours in a sailing vessel going sixteen miles up the Delaware, and after losing part of his baggage at Perth Amboy, was nearly shipwrecked in New York Bay. The recorded number of six to ten passengers suggests the size of the early ferry boats. At first they were single canoes, or two or more such craft lashed together. The second type was a wide, flat bottomed plank boat moved by pole or oars. The third was a similar flat boat pulled across the stream by a rope or propelled by sails. There was good reason for many of the stage notices modifying their proposed schedules by the phrase, "wind and weather permitting."

The Trenton-New Brunswick route was evidently discontinued for a time, but according to a notice inserted by its owners in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for April 10, 1740, they had been "petitioned and assured of patronage by many persons, because of its conveniency and cheapness and the inconveniences people had labored under from being detained and paying the extravagant rates" of competing routes. This implied rebuke would seem to have been too much for the Amboy ferry and Burlington route, for no public notices appear concerning them for fifteen years. In place of the Burlington route there appeared the Bordentown-Amboy route in 1740 under the management of that energetic hustler and promoter, Joseph Borden. His stage was to be "ready and well fixed on the first day of May to carry passengers and goods between Perth Amboy and Bordentown, for 4 shillings a passenger and all goods at reasonable rates." Joseph Borden also ran his own stage boats from Bordentown to Philadelphia, and, together with his partner, Pontius Stelle, inserted a second advertisement a little later, offering to carry passengers or goods on to Burlington and Philadelphia from

ORANGE ROAD AND HARRISON AVENUE IN MONTCLAIR

Crosswicks Bridge or from Bordentown by water if business presented. They added that their route was proving most convenient for speedy transportation, from New York to Philadelphia. This advertisement was also printed in Dutch.

Four years later, the Trenton-Brunswick route again appeared in public print, assuring travelers that their wagons were going "certainly twice a week" and giving directions for the sending of goods between Philadelphia and New York.

In 1750 there was printed in the *New York Gazette* and *Weekly Post Boy* the opening shot of Joseph Borden's campaign, boosting his own route and criticizing his competitors. He urged that "all gentlemen and ladies that have the occasion to transport either themselves, goods, wares or merchandise from New York to Philadelphia," will find his stage boat and stage wagon route much shorter and easier performed than the Brunswick way and generally drier. To be sure, it was shorter (ninety miles in five days instead of seven) and to have the journey on both water and land under one management was a further benefit. Two years later, Mr. Borden's notices proclaimed only thirty or forty hours as the time required for a trip by his route. This could not have included the layovers at taverns to rest and feed horses and passengers which would cut into three days besides.

The next year, this Borden stage line added another attraction in a stage boat fitted with "a very handsome cabbin and all necessary accomodations," even to a tea table. It would leave New York at White Hall Slip every Monday and Thursday, "wind and weather permitting."

In contrast, we find a newspaper item telling of the sad fate of an overambitious driver on this line: "On Tuesday the week before last, one of the Bordentown stage waggoners, named Bliss, on returning home from Amboy ferry, endeavored to get before one of the other waggons and turning out of the road for that purpose, run against a small stump, by which he was flung out of the waggon, and the wheel going over his head, crushed it instantly and killed him without his saying a word."

Under new managements, the Trenton-Brunswick, also the Burlington stage routes were revived and there followed a brisk competition between the three lines, giving spice to their advertisements. Now Wells and Weggery of the revived Burlington line declared that whereas the Bordentown stage boat was often three tides upon the water, their stage was capable of performing the whole distance (water trip) in twenty-four hours and urged mankind to "encourage so public a good."

It was in 1753 that the first mention appeared of the relay of horses. The stage from Perth Amboy would "change horses and drivers at Cranbury and proceed to Burlington that same day," while at New Brunswick, the passengers and goods were shifted from the wagon of Francis Holman to that of Isaac Fitzrandolph and taken to the New Blazing Star the same day. The next improvement was a stage wagon starting from Philadelphia instead of the east side of the Delaware, when John Butler announced that he would

proceed with his "waggon . . . . from the Sign of the Death of the Fox in Strawberry Ally," over the Trenton Ferry, through Princeton and New Brunswick to Perth Amboy "where will be a good boat." Just how the stage crossed the Delaware is unknown but probably with its wheels in two boats lashed side by side, as was the early custom. It made a precarious journey for "gentlemen and ladies." In 1767, there was newspaper record of a stage toppling into the water from a scow, and drowning Mistress Morris, wife of an actor, together with her maid.

An entirely new stage route had been opened in 1759 to accommodate residents of Mount Holly, Middletown and Shrewsbury. Its start was at Cooper's Ferry, Philadelphia, and it reached New York by ferrying to Long Island from the bay near Sandy Hook. Each year brought a new accommodation for the "Travelling Publick." In 1764, Sovereign Sybrandt, realizing the dangers and discomforts of the long and tedious water crossings to New York, gave notice of his "all land route." To be sure it meant five ferryings, but they were short and avoided the broad bays, by adopting the Old Upper Road fom New Brunswick through Elizabeth and Newark on to Bergen and Powles Hook, and across the Hudson to New York. This route ferried its stage wagons across five rivers, the Delaware at Philadelphia or Trenton, the Raritan at New Brunswick, Passaic at Newark, Hackensack at Powles Hook (Jersey City), and the Hudson. Even a land route was tedious. This stage route was on the very road mentioned in the newspaper of August 12, 1751, which stated that "we hear from Elizabethtown that two women have been killed these few weeks past, near that place by falling out of riding cars."

Speed was becoming the battle cry of the opposing stage route owners. Twenty years after the passengers in the stage wagons of Solmon Smith and James Moore bounced over the road for about a week before finally reaching their destination. A two-day trip from New York to Philadelphia was advertised in 1766. Each hour clipped off the schedule meant a proud proclamation by the owners of the line. Doubtless, the bouncing, clutching passengers enjoyed the glory of having shared a record trip, though the wagon was springless and the benches hard, and doubtless they grumbled over the poor accommodations and the delay when the trip had been slowed up by more mud holes than common. This notice of 1766 warned the public that the stage set out at sunrise, but promised that the seats would be on springs. This route changed horses at Princeton, where Nassau Inn came into prominence as a halfway house.

In 1768 travelers were promised a trip from New York to Philadelphia and back in five days, while two years later Abraham Skillman announced that he could reach Philadelphia from New York through Powles Hook in two days. For this rapid trip he charged twenty shillings (around four dollars) per passenger and limited his load to eight. The culmination in speed limit would seem to have been reached the next year, 1771, when John Mercereau announced that his "Flying Machine" would perform the journey in a day and a half for the summer season (twice a week from November to May). In reality this stage used two days for the whole distance, as the

advertisement asked that the intending passengers cross the ferry from New York the night before to be ready for the early morning start from Powles Hook.

Although the crude drawing at the top of Mercereau's advertisement of the Flying Machine is the usual one for such notices, that of the shallow, straight wagon box between high heavy wheels with a covering of linsey woolsey over its tunnel-shaped top and drawn by four swift horses, still the following footnote appears above his name: "As the Proprietor has made such Improvement upon the Machines, one of which is in Imitation of a Coach, he hopes to merit the Favour of the Publick."

The archaic, springless wagon of 1725 had remained practically the same for fifty years. Now, its top was flattening and side curtains of leather or wool were adopted. The rear benches still had to be reached by climbing over those in front, but gradually they were furnished with boards or strips of leather for backs and the body of the wagon increased in height and width. Usually the seats were set on iron springs or hung in yielding leather straps. These vehicles variously described as waggons, stage waggons, stages, flying machines were now called stage coaches. They were still painted in bright colors and drawn by four horses, which were changed every few miles.

A description of the trip from New York to Philadelphia in the "Flying Diligence" after the journey had been still further reduced to around sixteen hours of actual travel is found in a record of that time.

"Between three and four in the morning," the traveler writes, "we set off in the stage, rode nine miles to Bergen Neck, and then crossed a ferry, which brought us to Woodbridge. Just before we reached the second ferry, we perceived the dawn of day, and, when we were two miles from it, the sun rose, so that we had ridden sixteen miles and crossed two ferries before sunrise, beside shifting horses twice. The third stage brought us to Brunswick, where we breakfasted. We crossed the Raritan in a scow, open at both ends to receive and discharge the carriage without unharnessing or dismounting, and the scow was pulled across the river by a rope. We passed through Princeton about noon, and got to Trenton for dinner; then passed the Delaware in another scow, which was navigated only by setting poles; drove thirty miles over a plain, level country at a great rate, and arrived in Philadelphia at sunset."

By 1776 the usual stage coach routes were interrupted by the "enemy's fleet" in the Bays, although they were resumed again after the war, and by 1804, as many as twenty stages were arriving and departing from Powles Hook (Jersey City) in different directions, and Alden's *New Jesey Register* of 1811, speaks of five lines running daily, except on the Sabbath, between New York and Philadelphia.

It is interesting to read the recorded journeys through New Jersey of travelers who did not use the public stage. Back in 1744 Dr. Alexander Hamilton, of Annapolis, wrote his *Itinerarium,* the record of his journey from Annapolis through the Middle States to New Hampshire. He traveled horseback, with his negro servant, Dromo, on another. They crossed the Delaware

at the ferry at Bristol and rode on to Trenton, where they put up at Eliah Bond's at the Sign of the Wheat Sheaf. The next morning they left a little after five, and "rid twelve miles of a very pleasant road well stored with houses of entertainment. . . . All around you in this part of the country, you observe a great many pleasant fertile meadows and pastures. . . . The houses upon the road are many of them built of rough stone. . . ." He passed through Princeton and stopped at the Sign of the Black Lion at Kingston. While sitting on the porch after breakfast, "a waggon arrived with some company. . . . They travel here in light convenient waggons, made somewhat chaise-fashion, being high behind and low before, many of them running upon four wheels so that the horses bear no weight, but only draw, and by this means, they can travel at a great rate, perhaps forty or fifty miles a day." He "jogged on" toward New Bunswick at four, arriving at six in the "neat small city . . . . built chiefly of brick." A little before six the next morning, Dr. Hamilton, with his Dromo, forded the Raritan, ferrying being impossible as the tide was low and the scow aground. They went by Perth Amboy, "the Principal town of New Jersey . . . . having a good harbour, but small trade." There they stopped at the "King's Arms" and ferried across to Staten Island.

In his "Travels through North America," in 1760, Andrew Burnaby wrote on July 6 that after traveling from Philadelphia to Sheminay Ferry by stage and to Trenton in a chaise with friends, they ferried across the Delaware. "We went to Sir John Sinclair's at the Falls of the Delaware, about a mile above Trenton, a pleasant rural settlement, where we spent a most agreeable evening. In the morning, the company returned to Philadelphia, and having hired a chaise, I proceeded to Princeton, twelve miles distant. . . . In the afternoon I proceeded to Brunswick. . . . Indeed at this place and Philadelphia were the handsomest women that I saw in America. . . . The country I passed through is exceedingly rich and beautiful; and the banks of the river are covered with gentlemen's houses." He proceeded in his chaise on to Perth Amboy, Elizabethtown and Newark, each of which he found to be a small town "with very neat barracks for 300 men." From Elizabethtown, he proceeded to Staten Island by Ferry, nine miles up the Island and again the ferry to New York.

Another English traveler, Lord Adam Gordon, on his way from the Carolinas to New York in 1765, mentioned the ferry boats across the Delaware as the most convenient and best served of any he ever saw. "You may drive in your Carriage and Six without getting out or unharnessing one horse, which is a great saving of time to Travelers." He crossed the Delaware at "Trent-Town, a pretty Country place," and rode on to Princetown. "All the country from this to Brunswick . . . . and so to Elizabethtown is Verdant and beautiful. . . . The Jersies in general is a pleasant, open and well-cultivated Country, producing Grain, Grass and Cyder in great abundance. It is often called the Garden of America and its appearance very much resembles England. The Soil is not rich but is kindly, and it is counted extremely healthful."

The Lafayette

CAPE MAY

Congress Hall

Naval Hospital

We have seen the methods of travel across New Jersey improve a great deal during the eighteenth century, in the development of the stage coach as well as effective schedules by land and water. However it was not because of better roads, but in spite of poor ones. Jealousies among sections often stood in the way of improvement. Perhaps the chief handicap was the lack of any organized system for carrying on road improvement. In 1765-68, the legislature attempted to raise funds by a lottery for shortening and improving the great thoroughfares, but with no success. The Englishman, Dr. John Berkenhout, in his *Reflections,* after passing from New York to Philadelphia during the Revolution in 1778, wrote that in America, "the roads in which an army can possibly march are few, therefore knowing the situation of his (Washington's) magazines, it is always easy to know what route he will take. I speak with some degree of confidence; I was bred a soldier." Such a note by a Tory proves New Jersey's even fairly good roads to be few.

By the beginning of the nineteenth centry, New York and the cities of eastern New Jersey had come to realize that most of the produce from the farms and mines of the Delaware Valley was going down that river to Philadelphia as its market. To turn this tide toward the east became the serious business of farmer as well as merchant. The turnpike companies of the early 1800's resulted, and road building became a serious matter requiring money and engineering skill as well as gravel and men willing to work out their road tax. By 1825 fifty-four original charters had been secured for turnpike companies in New Jersey, and 550 miles of gravel and dirt laid. In 1834 the first canal was completed between Trenton and New Brunswick, and in 1833 the State's first railway. With these came the steam boat and the steam engine, and not far behind them the automobile and the airplane. No longer must the traveler sleep on straw filled ticks, two or three in a room, at uncomfortable taverns. Nor need he walk up steep rises of the road, nor put his shoulder to the stage coach wheel when the steaming horses stall in a slough. Nor is his wife jolted on the hard seats while the lumbering coach lurches across the ford or staggers over the corduroyed swamp. Travel across New Jersey has added efficiency and swiftness to itself. It is difficult to measure how much it has lost in pleasure as well as discomfort.

REFERENCES:

Benedict, W. H.: *Travel Across New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century.* (In New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings, 1922-23.)

Burnaby, Andrew: *Travels Through North America,* 1775. New York, 1904.

County Histories of New Jersey.

Deshler, C. D.: *Early Roads in New Jersey.* A paper read before the New Brunswick Historical Club, May 26, 1880.

Dunbar, Seymour: *History of Travel in America.* 4 Vols. Indianapolis, 1915.

Hamilton, Alexander: *Itinerarium, Being a Narrative of a Journey from Annapolis Through Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey,* &c., May-September, 1744. Ed. by A. B. Hart. St. Louis, 1907.

Leaming, Aaron & Spicer, Jacob: *Grants and Concessions and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey.* Philadelphia, 1751.

Mereness, N. D.: *Travels in the American Colonies,* 1690-1783. New York, 1916.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## RELIGION IN COLONIAL NEW JERSEY.

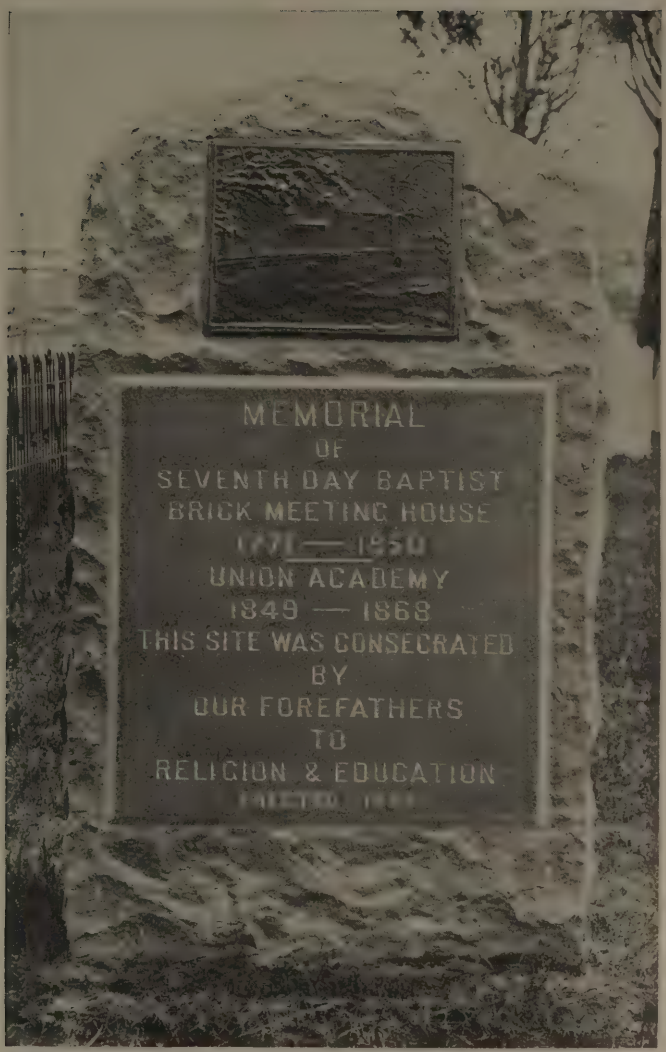
**By Milton J. Hoffman, D. D., Professor of Church History, New Brunswick Theological Seminary.**

No adequate study of any aspect of a country's history requires proper orientation quite as much as does the history of its religious development. This is particularly true when a study concerns beginnings in a new land under conditions at once unique and unprecedented. It is not altogether easy to place ourselves in the position of those who nearly three hundred years ago were facing new problems in a strange land. The attempt, however, must be made, for only so can one escape too fulsome praise on the one hand or supercilious condemnation on the other. To judge other ages by the moral standards of our own is a common fault. What to us may seem cruel intolerance, did not appear so to those who were defending a point of view which to them allowed no compromise.

The study of the religious history of any one of the original colonies is absorbingly interesting. In this respect New Jersey yields first place to none, for with Rhode Island and Pennsylvania it claims the distinction of first having defined the proper relations between church and State, and thus offered so convincing a solution of a most vexing problem that the conclusion reached by the settlers in New Jersey was later incorporated in the fundamental law of our land.

Today New Jersey, especially in the northern half, is one of the most densely populated states in the Union. Much of our study will concern a time when the population numbered only a few thousand. In 1660 there were no more than 60,000 white people along the entire Atlantic seaboard. This number had increased to two and one-half millions at the outbreak of the War for Independence. It is estimated that in 1702 there were 12,000 people in East Jersey and 8,000 in West Jersey. Because of utter lack of transportation facilities, save for a few navigable rivers, each settlement became self-contained. Owing to this isolation there was very little intercommunication between the colonies. A journey that today requires a few hours then took a week. Then it took longer to go by stage from New York to Philadelphia than it does today to go by train from New York to Denver.

Since the chief highways were rivers, ships were in constant use. But as rivers ran from the mountains to the sea, and since between the rivers there were vast stretches of territory without roads, each colony found it almost as convenient to keep in close touch with the mother country as with its almost adjoining neighbor. This fact deserves emphasis, for it is the key to the appreciation of the diversity of religious usages, faiths and forms of church government represented in the colonies. No experiment in religion wholly unique or original was made here. The colonists brought to these




MARKER AT SHILOH

shores such religious concepts and convictions as they had, exactly as they brought with them the style of clothes they wore and the language they used. What religious heritage they had was a heritage from overseas. Had all the colonists come from one country in Europe, the religious history of our country would be vastly different.

It has often been remarked that the settlements in America were made at a time when the religious life of Europe was in a state of violent flux and change. Throughout northern Europe authoritarianism in religion or church had either been broken down or suffered from the violent impact of individualism and democracy. Not a few of the colonizing enterprises were the result of the claimed divine right of individuals or groups of individuals to worship as conscience decreed. The principle of State-Churchism was intolerant of such manifestations of religious ferment and fervor. Not infrequently persecution became the spur to emigration. However, the quest for religious liberty was by no manner or means the only motive that drove the colonist overseas. Perhaps quite as many were actuated by economic necessity, which was the very evident reason for the original settlement of New Amsterdam. Social pressure lured many to Virginia and elsewhere, while the spirit of adventure brought recruits by the scores to every colony. Yet the fact remains that religion, often with attendant persecution, was a prominent if not predominating colonizing motive. The reason is not far to seek, for religion was so dynamic an element in the European life of the period. The Renaissance had vastly altered medieval thinking which was clerical thinking. Thousands had been emancipated from superstitious fears, and had, as in Italy, drifted from their church moorings altogether. The Reformation by Christianizing the Renaissance had in a measure saved it for the church. If the thinking of the medieval man, regardless of social grade, was wholly religious inasmuch as he was completely under the power of the Church and therefore obeyed submissively the word of the priest, so that eternity, hell, purgatory, became tremendously real, no less was the thinking of the more modern man religious, for his very emancipation had given him new insight into truth, so that his heart could approve only what his mind and conscience allowed. This revolutionary change made differences inevitable. These differences occasioned bitterness in households and communities, and were the cause of civil strife and foreign wars. Religion grew by what it fed on, and no individual could escape being influenced by the surging religious life of his day.

When the emigrants bade farewell to friends and loved ones they did not bid farewell to their cherished convictions and beliefs. From this point of view they changed *coelum non animum.* The Dutch took their Reformed Church with them to New Amsterdam, the Swedes transplanted their Lutheranism on the Delaware, the English established the Church of England in Virginia, and the Puritan laid deep the foundation for Congregationalism in Massachusetts. It was not long before the same bigotry and superstition, the same intemperance and unchastity, the same worldliness and skepticism that cursed the Old World were manifest in the New. By the same token there

were found here the same loyalty to convictions, love of truth, devotion to home and church, sobriety, thrift, industry and godly fear.

These general observations apply to New Jersey as they do to the other colonies. Prior to 1664, when the English took possession of New Amsterdam there was but a handful of scattered settlements in the colony. The Dutch had crossed the Hudson, and had begun settlements in what are now Hudson and Bergen counties. They had also made a settlement on the lower Delaware, and laid claim to all that territory. They therefore contested the rights of the Swedes sent out by Gustavus Adolphus in 1637, and not long afterward captured the entire colony, thus ending all Swedish efforts at colonization. It is of interest to note that whereas Governor Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam, abetted by his ministers, Megapolensis and Drisius, enacted very oppressive measures against the Lutherans who had settled in their midst, the conquered Swedes on the Delaware were allowed to enjoy their Lutheranism unmolested. Parenthetically it may be stated that the attitude of the Dutch towards the Lutherans, Jews and Quakers proves conclusively that the much lauded toleration of the early Dutch settlers in the New World has been overstated.

The study of the religious history of New Jersey is most rewarding, for in it we trace the long struggle to secure unqualified religious freedom. With the possible exception of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, New Jersey affords an unexcelled opportunity for the study of this process at close range. In fact, religious freedom seems native to New Jersey, for there was never a time when the state lorded it over the church or vice versa. This was due to several factors, among which may be mentioned the liberality of the first Proprietors, the cosmopolitan character of the early inhabitants, among whom were Dutch and French Calvinists, English Puritans, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians—not to mention, as a writer of the time put it, "Here are a vast number of Deists, Sabbatarians, and Eutychians, as also of Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers"—no one group being large enough to lord it over the rest. It must be remembered that while creeds were varied and forms of church government quite diverse, practically all of the early settlers were united in opposition to ecclesiastical despotism. Besides, there were only a few Roman Catholics in the province, and consequently there was no need for repressive measures against them.

The limits of this chapter make it possible to relate only in outline the history of various communions. It is the writer's purpose to trace the development of the ideal of religious freedom—the separation of Church and State—the contribution made by the churches to the cause of freedom, the part played by the churches in moulding public opinion and giving to the State at large ideals of justice and virtue which, while constantly threatened, are our glory today.

For the purpose of our study the English occupation of New Amsterdam in 1664 makes an appropriate starting point. No sooner had the news of this capture reached Charles II than he deeded all the Dutch possessions to his brother James, who in turn granted what is now New Jersey to Lord Berkeley

OLD TENNENT CHURCH AT ENGLISHTOWN

Used as a hospital during Battle of Monmouth Court House. Where Molly Pitcher won her fame.

and Sir George Carteret. While no mention of religion is made in this grant the proprietors, in order to stimulate immigration, at once followed the example of Rhode Island by inserting in "The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Caesarea, or New Jersey, to and with all and every the Adventurers and all such as shall settle or plant there," such items as these:

"That no person qualified as aforesaid within the said Province, at any time shall be any ways molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference in opinion or practice in matter of religious concernments, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the said Province . . . . any law, statute or clause contained, or to be contained, usage or custom of this realm of England, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding."

"That no pretence may be taken by our heirs or assigns for or by reason of our right of patronage and power of advowson, granted by his Majesty's Letters Patents unto his Royal Highness James Duke of York, and by his said Royal Highness unto us, thereby to infringe the general liberty of conscience, aforementioned: we do hereby grant unto the General Assembly of the said Province, power by act to constitute and appoint such and so many ministers or preachers as they shall think fit and to establish their maintenance, giving liberty beside to any person or persons to keep and maintain what preachers or ministers they please."

The suggestion that the General Assembly be invested with large powers gave immediately guarantees against autocracy. According to the "Concession and Agreement" the Assembly was to make all necessary legislation, provided that no laws be passed prejudicial to the rights of the proprietors, or "especially that they be not repugnant to the article for liberty of conscience above mentioned." It is interesting to note that the first Governor of New York, Governor Nichols, ignorant of the fact that James had surrendered his rights, was urging colonization of New Jersey by offering inducements and liberties similar to those offered by Berkeley and Carteret; in fact, the terms were almost identical as the following quotation shows:

> In all territories of his Royal Highness, liberty of conscience is allowed, provided such liberty is not converted to licentiousness, or the disturbance of others in the exercise of the Protestant religion.
>
> Every township is obliged to pay their minister according to such agreement as they shall make with them, and no man to refuse his proportion, the minister being elected by the major part of the householders, inhabitants of the town.

One settlement almost contemporaneous with the loss of Dutch sovereignty is of peculiar interest, especially as it shows that whatever the Dutch did to the Lutherans on Long Island they had a reputation for tolerance in other colonies. In 1661 a deputation came from Milford, Connecticut, to New Amsterdam to secure permission to settle in "Achter Coll" (that part of New Jersey directly west of Newark Bay). Fearing the loss of the highly

theocratic character of their churches, owing to being merged with other and more liberal Connecticut churches, they made this request in order to "enjoy such liberties and privileges both Civill and Ecclesiastical, as might best advantage unto and strengthen them . . . . and their friends that may hereafter desire to join with them for the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ Jesus in the Congregational ways." They asked that the freedom which they had enjoyed in New England be guaranteed them in their new home, and that their churches be permitted under the protection of the Dutch Governor and courts "to consociate together for mutual helpfulness." To these two requests the Dutch made this characteristic reply:

> Because there is no difference in the fundamental points of the Worship of God betwixt these and the Churches of New England, as only in the Ruelinge of the same—
>
> The Director General and Counsell doe make noe Difficulte to give way & Consent to the Twoe first Propositions, because in our natyff Country, alsoo here was never practised restraint of Conscience.

Since agreement on all points could not be reached, the actual removal from Connecticut did not take place until 1666, when Carteret granted to the petitioners such rights as they desired, together with the gift of enough land for a church, church-yard and other public uses, with two hundred acres for the maintenance of the ministry. These settlers coming mostly from Branford, Milford, Guilford, and New Haven were deeply devout. To remain at home meant union with the more liberal churches of Connecticut, hence endangering the purity of their original organization. It is natural, therefore, that they should be very circumspect as to the type of people who were to be allowed to emigrate with them or later join them. Before leaving Branford they adopted two fundamental agreements, to wit:

> 1st. That none shall be admitted freemen or free Burgesses with our Town, upon Passaick River, in the province of New Jersey, but such planters as are members of some or other of the Congregational Churches; nor shall any but such be chosen to Magistracy, or to carry on any part of Civil Judicature, or as deputies or assistants to have any power to Vote in establishing Laws, and making or Repealing them, or to any Chief Military Trust or office. Nor shall any but such church members have any Vote in any such elections; Tho' all others admitted to be planters have right to their proper Inheritances, and do and shall enjoy all other Civil Liberties and Privileges, According to Laws, Orders, Grants, which are or hereafter shall be made for this Town.
>
> 2nd. We shall with Care and diligence provide for the maintenance of the purity of Religion professed in the Congregational Churches.

They further added:

> That in case any shall come into us or rise up amongst us that shall willingly or wilfully disturb us in our Peace and Settlements,

> and especially that would subvert us from the true Religion and worship of God, and cannot or will not keep their opinions to themselves or be reclaimed after due Time and means of Conviction and reclaiming hath been used it is unanimously agreed upon and consented unto as a fundamental Agreement and Order, that all Persons so ill-disposed and affected shall after Notice given them from the town quietly depart the Place Seasonably, the Town allowing them valuable Considerations for their lands or Houses as Indifferent men shall price them, or else leave them to make the best of them to any Man the Town shall approve of.

There is no record that these rather harsh restrictions were ever enforced, although there were occasions when attempts at enforcement were made.

The Newark experiment is mentioned, not because it was typical, but because it was wholly exceptional. It has been spoken of as "an isolated phenomenon, a misplaced fragment of New England" set down in the midst of a province having a totally different organization. The original church established by these people became Presbyterian early in the eighteenth century, and the First Presbyterian Church of Newark is a lineal descendant of this wholly unique enterprise. This story is interestingly told by Dr. Stearns in his "History of the First Presbyterian Church of Newark."

It seems passing strange that a group of people who suffered most cruelly for the faith in England under Stuart régime should have contributed more than any other body both to the maintenance of the principle that church and state remain separate, and to the introduction of more humane legislation directed towards reform of the criminal code and treatment of Indians and negroes. They called themselves "Friends," although more commonly known by the epithet their enemies fastened upon them, "Quakers."

In 1646 when he was twenty-two years old, there came to an Englishman, George Fox, a transforming and what always remained with him a central and vital experience. The conviction that Christianity is not merely an outward profession, but an inner light by which Christ directly illumines the believing soul, overpowered him. To him there was no such thing as a professional ministry, for God can and does call whom He will. If there are sacraments at all they are inward and spiritual. Fox held that it is as needless to tell a Christian, illumined by an inner light, to tell the truth as it is to order the sun to shine. Imposed oaths are not only unnecessary but wrong. Artificial man-made titles must be abandoned. War and slavery are alike useless and abhorrent. Coming as it did just as England was rising from the throes of civil war, little wonder that this movement produced a sensation. It grew steadily, often by leaps and bounds, for it had about it a missionary fervor that few could resist. As was their zeal, so were the stringent laws enacted to curb them. By 1661 no less than 3,179, including Fox himself, suffered imprisonment.

If more space is given to this religious body than to others, it is because the Quakers played a part in New Jersey history all out of proportion to their numbers. Little wonder that bitter persecution at home drove many to

take advantage of the more liberal inducements New Jersey offered. As early as 1668 a considerable number of the residents of Elizabethtown, Shrewsbury, Middletown, Piscataway, and Woodbridge, the earliest settlements in East Jersey, were Quakers. That year marks the first meeting of the General Assembly, although there were no representatives of the Quakers present because they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King and Proprietors. It is interesting to note that the first General Assembly drafted a criminal code which required the death penalty for witchcraft, and heavy fines for "swearing or cursing."

In 1672 George Fox made his first visit to the New World. He traveled along the "Burlington Path" or "Lower Road," which branched off five or six miles from the Raritan River, and sweeping eastward, reached the Delaware, where Burlington now stands. He found it hard to secure guides, of whom he writes:

> They were hard to get and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country to pass through, since called West New Jersey, not then inhabited by English, so that we have travelled a whole day together, without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams or houses. We came one night to an Indian town and lay at the king's house, who was a very worthy man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on, but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town, where we stayed, the king came to us and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much, and also to his people, and they were very loving to us.

Fox was then on his way to visit the Quakers of East Jersey, Long Island and New England. He was very much encouraged, both by the numbers of the Quakers whom he met, as well as by their devoted spirit. He speaks of Shrewsbury where "they had a large and precious" meeting. While in that village one of the members of his party, a certain John Jay, a Barbados planter, was thrown violently from his horse and was taken up for dead. Fox demonstrated his ready common sense and upon examining the unfortunate man, discovered that the neck was not broken, but only dislocated. "I took his head in both my hands," says Fox in telling of the incident, "and setting my knees against a tree, I raised his head and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin and the other behind his head and raised his head two or three times with all my strength and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in the throat and quickly to breathe." When the unfortunate man became conscious again he was carried into a house, where Fox ordered him to be put to bed and a warm drink to be given to him. The account of this incident ends quite quaintly: "and the next day we passed away (and he with us, pretty well), riding sixteen miles!"

In 1674 when the English by terms of a treaty regained possession of

New York, which had again been in the hands of the Dutch for nearly a year, Lord Berkeley, now an old man with finances nearly depleted, sold the whole of West Jersey to two Quakers, John Fenwick, a Buckinghamshire yeoman, and Edward Byllynge, a merchant of London, for the sum of 1,000 pounds. The fact that this happened so soon after George Fox returned to England, and from William Penn's part in the immediate subsequent transactions makes it very clear that this purchase was made in order to make Quaker colonization in an extensive scale possible. In 1675 Byllynge became bankrupt and his share came under the control of William Penn, Gawan Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas. These men now began an almost modern advertising campaign to induce Quakers to emigrate to the new land. Yet they were careful not to make promises they could not fulfil. After explaining their purchase and their hopes, Penn adds these cautionary words:

> The ninety parts remaining are exposed for sale on behalf of the creditors of Edward Byllynge. And forasmuch as several Friends are concerned as creditors as well as others, and the disposal of so great a part of this country being in our hands, we did in real tenderness and regard to Friends and especially the poor and necessitous, make Friends the first offer, that if any of them, though particularly those that, being low in the world, and under trials about a comfortable livelihood for themselves and families, should be desirous of dealing for any part or parcel thereof, that they might have the refusal. This was the real and honest intent of our hearts, and not to prompt or allure any out of their places, either by the credit our names might have with our people throughout the nation, or by representing the thing otherwise than it is in itself.

In 1675 the first contingent under John Fenwick sailed from London on the ship *Griffin,* landing at a spot, which, from the "delightsomenesse of the land," he called Salem. The next year, 1677, 230 additional Quakers landed at Raccoon Creek. The king from his yacht in the Thames had given them his blessing. Upon landing they went at once to Burlington.

Fully 800 settlers came during the first 18 months. By 1681 there were at least 1,400. By buying land from the Indians instead of taking it they held the friendship of the natives. Purchases were by no means always made with money. An example of one purchase throws light on how things were done. "30 matchcoats, 20 guns, 30 kettles, and one great one, 30 pair hose, 20 fathom of duffields, 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair tobacco tongs, 60 scissors, 69 tinshaw looking-glasses, 120 awl-blades, 120 fish-hooks, 120 pipes, 2 grasps of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 200 bells, 100 Jews' harps, 6 anchors rum."

The same year the Proprietors agreed upon "The Charter of Fundamental Laws of West New Jersey," one section of which states:

> That no men, nor number of men upon earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters, there-

> fore it is consented, agreed and ordained, that no person or persons whatsoever within the said Province, at any time or times hereafter, shall be any ways upon any pretense whatsoever, called in question or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, estate, or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith, or worship towards God in matters of religion. But that all and every such person, and persons, may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments, and the exercises of their consciences in matters of religious worship throughout all the said Province.

It is doubtful if religious liberty had ever before been so clearly defined. Little wonder that not only Quakers but many others hurried to this new haven of security.

In 1679 Sir George Carteret died, and his widow was compelled to sell East Jersey to pay debts. Penn snapped up the chance, associating eleven others with him in the purchase. Twelve others were joined with these, thus making twenty-four proprietors in all. This meant that practically the whole of New Jersey was under Quaker control. The constitution of 1681 went beyond that of 1675, as the latter said nothing about office holding, for which the constitution made provision in the following terms:

> X. That liberty of conscience in matters of faith and worship towards God, shall be granted to all people within the Province aforesaid; who shall live peaceably and quietly therein; and that none of the free people of the said Province shall be rendered uncapable of office in respect of their faith and worship.

This still further stimulated immigration.

The newcomers were well pleased. Many enthusiastic letters from which it is a temptation to quote, still exist in praise of the new country. "I like the place well," one said, "it's like to be a healthful place, and very pleasant to live in." "It is a country," writes another, "that produceth all things for the support and sustenance of man." "Whatever envy or evil spies may speak of it, I could wish you all here," declared a third. Yet they did not forget the mother land. "O remember us," they write, "for we cannot forget you. Many waters cannot quench our love, nor distance wipe out the deep remembrance. . . . Though the Lord hath been pleased to remove us far away from you, as to the ends of the earth, yet are you present with us. Your exercises are ours, our hearts are dissolved in the remembrance of you."

For East Jersey the twenty-four Proprietors drew up a rather elaborate code of laws. That all persons accused of crime may have a fair trial it is provided "that in all courts, all persons of all perswasions, may freely appear in their own way, and according to their own manner," and "that all witnesses . . . . shall . . . . give or deliver in their evidence, or testimony, by solemnly promising as in the presence of God, to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth."

East Jersey was almost as definite on the matter of religious liberty as West Jersey. The statute guaranteeing religious liberty reads thus:

> All persons living in the Province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God, and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peacefully and quietly in a civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudged for their religious perswasions and exercise in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled to frequent and maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever: Yet it is also hereby provided that no man shall be admitted a member of the great or common Council, or any other place of publick trust, who shall not profess faith in Christ Jesus, and solemnly declare that he doth no ways hold himself obliged in conscience to endeavor alteration in the government, or seeks the turning out of any in it or their ruin or prejudice, either in person or estate, because they are in his opinion hereticks, or differ in their judgment from him: Nor by this article is it intended that any under the notion of this liberty shall allow themselves to avow atheism, irreligiousness, or to practice cursing, swearing, drunkenness, prophaness, whoring, adultery, murdering or any kind of violence, or indulging themselves in stage plays, masks, revells or such like abuses; for restraining such and preserving of the people in diligence and in good order, the great Council is to make more particular laws, which are punctually to be put in execution.

From the above it might be inferred that Quakers were the only residents in the colony or that they were vastly in the majority. This is hardly true. Though during the last two decades of the seventeenth century they were in the majority, the number of immigrants who held different religious views or no religious views whatever increased steadily. This influx of non-Quakers presented two serious problems, one that of military defense, the other religious tests for citizenship, including the question of Sabbath observance. Pacifism with all its implications was a fundamental tenet of the Quakers. They dared to take the teachings of Christ seriously and apply them rigorously. Not even to insure religious liberty would they resort to arms. Before the great emigration of Quakers from England got under way, William Penn and his associates in an open letter addressed to those who were contemplating leaving for the New World, said:

> We would not have any to think, that it is promised to maintain the liberty of the exercise of religion by force and arms; though we shall never consent to any the least violence on conscience, yet it was never designed to encourage any to expect by force of arms to have liberty of conscience fenced against invaders thereof. (They go on to plead) in the name and fear of God Almighty . . . . that all groundless jealousies may be judged down and watched against, and that all extremes may be avoided on all hands by the power of the Lord; . . . . nor any provocation given to break precious unity.

Once settled in New Jersey the problem of military preparedness was lifted from the realm of the abstract and theoretical to that of the concrete.

There were enough non-Quakers who persisted in making an issue of this question. They did not trust the Quaker contention that if the Indians were treated honorably and honestly, the whites had nothing to fear from them. Nor had they forgotten that the Dutch had conquered the Swedes, and had in turn been conquered by the English. What assurance had they that a similar fate might not befall them? In West Jersey a compromise was effected, revealing at once the generosity of the Quakers and their determination to refuse resort to the sword under any circumstance. In order "that their principles may not be found or judged injurious to the King and Queen's service" an act was passed granting those who had no scruple against bearing arms or making military preparation, perfect liberty to do so, lest "the liberty that we claim to ourselves may not justly be denied to them, lest we should do as we would not be done unto."

In East Jersey where the proportion of non-Quakers was larger, the Assembly in 1683 passed a militia act requiring every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to drill four days in every year under penalty of a fine for neglect or refusal. The Council refused to approve this law "so far as it extends to the people called Quakers, who for conscience sake cannot bear arms, or contribute to the same," thus the act was "void to all intents and purposes, so far as it concerns them." The Council of Proprietors did, however, the same year frame a constitution for East Jersey, in which they made definite provision for military defenses. After stressing the need for such defense, an act for organizing and disciplining a militia was introduced with this reservation: "that none of the Proprietors and other inhabitants may be forced to contribute any money for the use of arms, to which for conscience sake they have no freedom, that which is necessary for the publick defense, shall be borne by such as judge themselves in duty bound to use arms." The Quakers were to make up for this relief from military service by more generous support of the general government. It was even provided that in case the Governor were a Quaker his inability to sign an act authorizing military measures should not be regarded neglect of duty. During the next century the Quaker attitude towards war was to give the government no little difficulty and embarrassment.

The liberal spirit prevalent in New Jersey acted like a magnet, and drew thither all manner of folk. Many sturdy Dutchmen, peeved because they were no longer free, moved into New Jersey and founded substantial settlements in Hackensack, Paterson, and New Brunswick. Scores of Presbyterians of Scotch and Irish extraction were attracted to the new land. These accessions meant reënforcement of good citizenship, for the people were earnest, thrifty, law abiding and religious. However, much dross came along with the gold. In a summary of religious conditions made by Lewis Morris in 1700 he says that in most of the towns the people were "a mixture of all Perswasions," and that "the Youth of the whole Province are very debauch'd and ignorant." The Middletown settlers "are p'haps the most ignorant and wicked People in the world, their meetings on Sundays is at the Public house,

CHURCH AT SPRINGFIELD WHERE THE "FIGHTING PARSON" TORE UP THE BIBLES AND HYMN BOOKS AND USED THE PAGES FOR WADDING OF THE GUNS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY DURING THE BATTLE OF JUNE 23, 1780

where they get their fill of Rum, and go to fighting and running of races which are Practices much in use that day all the Province over."

These conditions made certain legislation, that on the surface might appear to contravene the spirit of religious liberty, imperative. The noble Quakers and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, especially those who had seen what harm undesirable citizens in other colonies had done, determined not only to correct abuses, but as well to keep out of the province those elements of society which, were they admitted, would undermine the stability of the whole. The act of 1683 deserves quotation in full:

> And whereas it had pleased God, to commit this country and province into the hands of such who (For the generality of them) are fearing God, and painful and industrious in the promoting and improving the said province; and for the better preventing of such as are profane, loose and idle, and scandalous, from settling amongst us, who are, and will be, not only unserviceable, but greatly burthensome to the province: It is there fore hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all person and persons, who shall transport him or themselves into this province, shall, within eighteen months after he or they shall arrive in the said province, procure and produce a certificate, under the hands of such of that religious society to whom he or they did belong, or otherwise from two magistrates (if procurable) or two constables or overseers of the poor, with three or more creditable persons of the neighbourhood, who inhabit or belong to the place where he or they did last reside, as may give satisfaction (that is to say) that he or they came not clandestinely or fraudulently away; and if unmarried, that he or she are clear from former engagements in that particular; and also, that he or she are such as live soberly and honestly, to the best of their knowledge; and that no justice shall presume to marry any such person or persons, who shall come into this province, before such certificate be produced; or that it be laid before the governor or two justices, and give them sufficient satisfaction concerning their clearness; and that all such person and persons who shall settle in the said province, and shall refuse or neglect to produce such certificate as aforesaid, within the said eighteen months, shall be fined at the discretion of the governor and council of the said province, not exceeding twenty pounds; the same to be levyed by distress and sale on the offender's goods, and to be paid into the hands of the treasurer of the said province.

In 1696 fear that the Jacobite or Romanizing tendencies, which were becoming very prominent in England, might spread to the colonies, a bill was enacted in West Jersey "to Qualify Officers who are not free to take an oath," and declares that this shall not be a disability provided the candidate sign the following "declaration of fidelity and profession of the Christian Faith": "I, A. B., do sincerely promise and solemnly declare, that I will be true and faithful to William, King of England, and the government of West New Jersey, and I do solemnly profess and declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position,

that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deprived or murthered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I also declare, that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, preheminance, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.

"The Christian Belief.

"I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit one God blessed for ever more; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." It is noted that this bill applies only to office holders, and was intended to keep Catholics from office. By the same token it would exclude Jews and atheists as well.

In 1693 West Jersey had legislated against Sabbath Profanation, imposing a fine of only six shillings. In 1696 East Jersey passed similar though far more severe legislation with the same intent, stipulating penalties "by fine, imprisonment, or corporally, according to the nature of the offense, at the judgment of the court of justice." Disturbance of public worship was to be punished in a similar way. As early as 1683 over zealous souls had been able to put through the assembly an act making church attendance compulsory, or at least requiring private worship to the end that the Seventh Day might be better observed. It is significant that the council rejected this act for what seemed to them four very good reasons, to wit:

> 1st. There's an Act already that sufficiently provides for abstinecy from dayly labour—
>
> 2. This enforces people by paynes & penaltyes to worship whether their worship be true or false, if false better none than any, Better to bee silent than to offer the sacrifice of fooles. The worship of the wicked is Abomination to the wholy God.
>
> 3. The Bill obliging all persons to worship in publick or private or pay 5d. Every person who has not witness of his private worship (which is much if hee has any) must pay 5d. It seemes unreasonable to take witnes for private worship.
>
> 4. This bill Insinuates as if the first day were holy which the holy Scriptures never said more than any other—Every day is holy to the Lord—hee has no profane Dayes, But the holy scriptures say that he that regards a Day regardeth it unto the Lord—and hee that regardeth not &c Rom. 14, 5, 6.—if one man Esteeme a day above another, another Esteems every day alike. Lett every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Lib'ty of Conscience ought to bee preferred and Licenciousness punished which this Bill Seemes not equally to secure.

The quarter of a century of Proprietary control reveals the general spirit of tolerance so characteristically lacking in both Massachusetts and Virginia. This triumph was due wholly to Quakers whose desire for freedom for themselves did not go so far as to deny it to others.

The first care of the Quakers was to arrange for meetings, which, until the regular meetinghouses were erected, were first held in tents, or in private homes. The first general meeting for the middle colonies was held in 1670 at Shrewsbury with delegates present from Long Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania. In 1675 a meeting was held at Salem to be followed soon afterwards by a monthly meeting at Burlington. The minutes of this meeting begin with the following preamble:

"Since by the good Providence of God, many friends with their families have transported themselves into this Province of West New Jersey, the said Friends in these upper parts have found it needfull, according to our practice in the place wee came from, to settle Monthly Meetings for the well ordering the affairs of ye Church it was agreed that accordingly it should be done, and accordingly it was done the 15th of ye 5th mo. 1678."

The first meetinghouse built in Burlington was a small unheated octagonal building, following in architectural lines the churches erected by the Dutch. The rapidly enlarging delegations made an enlargement necessary, consequently a brick addition was added, heated with two large open fireplaces. This building served as a general utility place for the entire town. It was used as a schoolhouse, court room, and town hall. On its doors all public notices were posted, such as auction sales, royal or proprietary proclamations, banns for marriage, and the cattle brands assigned to each planter. Other Quaker settlements followed the Burlington model. It is difficult to overestimate the influence, either politically or religiously, of the Quakers in New Jersey.

The opening of the eighteenth century witnessed a marked change in the life and government of New Jersey. The cause of the luckless Stuarts had collapsed. The accession of William and Mary followed by Queen Anne ushered in a new day for England, as well as a changed attitude toward the colonies, particularly New Jersey. It marks definitely the very determined impact of another religious group, the Church of England, whose influence had heretofore been negligible. The first act of Queen Anne was to take from the Proprietors their right to legislation and government, while allowing them to remain in full possession of their lands. The Jerseys were united with New York, and the combined colonies governed by a single head. The Queen appointed her cousin, Lord Cornbury, as her first Governor. He was a dissolute man, haughty, overbearing and conscienceless. Bancroft says of him that "he joined the worst form of arrogance to intellectual imbecility." The Queen could not have made a worse choice, for from the day of his arrival, dissension and quarrels marked the path of government. His arbitrary decisions and foolish interference with the church life of the provinces he was called upon to rule soon left him friendless and discredited, and after less than six years of services he was recalled. Cornbury's conduct must be studied in the light of the very lengthy and explicit instructions which he received from his Sovereign, whose designs to favor the Church of England, or the Establishment as it was called, were all too apparent.

> And whereas we have been informed, that divers of our good subjects inhabiting those parts do make a religious scruple of swear-

ing, and by reason of their refusing to take an oath in courts of Justice and other places, are or may be liable to many inconveniences; our will and pleasure is, that in order to their ease in what they conceive to be matter of conscience, so far as may be consistent with good order and government, you take care, that an act be passed in the general assembly of our said province, to the like effect as that passed here in the seventh and eighth years of his majesty's reign, entitled, "An Act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, shall be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form," and that the same be transmitted to us, and to our commissioners for trade and plantations as before directed.

There are several articles dealing specifically with the Church or Religion: You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government, the book of common prayer as by law established, read each Sunday, and holyday, and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the church of England.

You shall be careful that the churches already built there, be well and orderly kept, and that more be built, as the colony shall by God's blessing be improved; and that besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the minister of each orthodox church, a convenient house be built at the common charge for each minister, and a competent proportion of land assigned to him, for a glebe and exercise of his industry.

And you are to take care, that the parishes be so limited and settled, as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work.

You are not to prefer any minister to any ecclesiastical benefice in that our province without a certificate from the right reverend father in God the lord bishop of London, of his being comformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and of a good life and conversation; And if any person already prefer'd to a benefice, shall appear to you to give scandal either by his doctrine or manners, you are to use the best means for the removal of him, and to supply the vacancy in such manner as we have directed.

You are to enquire whether there be any minister within your government, who preaches and administers the sacraments in any orthodox church or chapel, without being in due orders, and to give account thereof to the said Lord bishop of London.

And to the end the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the said lord bishop of London, may take place in our said province so far as conveniently may be, we do think that you give all countenance and encouragement to the exercise of the same, excepting only the collating to benefices, granting licenses for marriages, and probate of wills, which we have reserved to you our governor and the commander in chief of our said province for the time being.

And you are to take especial care, that a table of marriages established by the canons of the church of England, be hung up in every orthodox church, and duly observed, and you are to endeavor

to get a law passed in the assembly of our said province (if not already done) for the strict observation of the said table.

You are to take care, that drunkenness and debauchery, swearing and blasphemy, be discountenanced and punished: And for the further discountenance of vice, and encouragement of virtue and good living (that by such example the infidels may be invited and desire to partake of the Christian religion) you are not to admit any person to publick trusts and employments in our said province under your government, whose ill fame and conversation may occasion scandal.

And if any thing shall happen that may be of advantage and security to our said province, which is not herein, or by our commission to you provided for, we do hereby allow unto you, with the advice and consent of our council of our said province, to take order for the present therein, giving unto us by one of our principal secretary's of state, and to our commissioners for trade and plantations, speedy notice thereof, that so you may receive our ratification if we shall approve of the same.

Prior to 1700 individual Anglicans had drifted into New Jersey, but these had joined with Presbyterians. Lewis Morris states that at the opening of the century there were not a dozen Anglicans in the entire province. Curiously enough, Cornbury's chief satellite in advancing the cause of the Establishment was a disaffected Quaker, George Keith by name. A native of Aberdeen, Scotland, originally a Presbyterian, Keith on his arrival in New Jersey joined the Quakers. He was appointed surveyor, and ran the line between East and West Jersey. In 1689 he taught school in Philadelphia, and there headed a group of ultra-conservative Quakers. Headstrong and impetuous, he soon held services at seven different places, covering ground fifty miles in extent. Besides Elizabethtown and Amboy, he made regular visits to Rahway, Cheesequake, Piscataway, Rocky Hill and Freehold.

However, the first fires of unrestrained zeal soon burned out. By his proselyting activities Keith incurred the ill will and opposition of the Quakers. Cornbury's influence became a liability instead of an asset, for people were not slow to discover that his interest in the church sprang not from a love for souls, but rather from personal political aggrandizement. Besides, his notoriously evil life became an item of common gossip with the result that such ministerial satellites as he had became compromised. In fact, Lewis Morris, himself a zealous Anglican, dared to write that Cornbury's vicious life was the greatest obstacle to the success of the church. In fact, division among the Anglicans was the inevitable result. Rev. Thorowgood Moore, the rector of St. Mary's at Burlington, as successor to Talbot, by whom he and Rev. John Brooke had been described as "the most pious and industrious missionaries that ever the honorable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent over," publicly denounced the conduct of the Governor, and insisted that he be excommunicated. He refused to administer the sacrament to Ingoldsby, the tool of Cornbury. Moore refused to heed a summons to answer before Cornbury at New York on the ground that Cornbury had

no power over New Jersey when in New York. He further disregarded the threat of Ingoldsby to suspend him from preaching. This angered the Governor, who ordered the sheriff of Burlington to arrest Moore and convey him to Amboy. There Moore refused to apologize or humble himself, and was in consequence forcibly taken to New York, where he was imprisoned for three weeks. During Cornbury's absence he took advantage of the laxity of the prison guards and escaped. Brooke joined him and together they made their way to Boston to take ship for England. Unfortunately the vessel was lost with all on board. This left but three Episcopal clergymen in the colony, Rev. Edward Vaughan at Elizabethtown, Rev. Thomas Halliday at Amboy and Piscataway, and Rev. Innes at Monmouth.

In the meantime Talbot had made desperate efforts to secure a bishop for the colony. This he felt would materially strengthen the church and make the Governor's position still more secure. With this object in view a meeting of Anglican clergymen from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania assembled at Burlington and, at Talbot's suggestion, addressed an appeal to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, urging the necessity of the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop. A similar petition was presented to the Queen. So confident were they that their request would be heeded that they purchased a large house in Burlington for six hundred pounds sterling as a palace for the expected bishop. The bishop was not sent. The Queen's death prevented action on a similar request made in 1713.

The removal of Moore did not settle matters at St. Mary's, Burlington. The quarrel was largely a personal one between Governor Hunter, who, being a Whig Democrat, espoused the cause of the Quakers, and Talbot, who with Ingoldsby, were carrying things with a high hand. When Governor Hunter got the Assembly to pass an act qualifying Quakers for jury duty, the high church party, abetted by Talbot, were furious. Talbot begged the Society, whose agent he was, to disallow the act, and even appealed directly to the Queen to do something against "the wiles of Quakerism and Scism." From England came cold comfort, so much so that Talbot, under pretext of illness, real or imagined, begged to be returned to England. He "had been long enough in those parts to see iniquity established by law, and that by some of your own members, and what good can your missionaries do?" Hunter himself wrote to the Society saying, "Mr. Talbot has incorporated the Jacobites in the Jerseys under the name of a church in order to sanctify his sedition and insolence to the government." He added that the Society be more careful in the selection of their missionaries lest they bring the church into disrepute.

Strange to say that in spite of four years of constant bickering, Talbot and Hunter were reconciled by a mutual friend. Hunter's successor, Governor Burnet, was even more of a Whig than his predecessor, and naturally had little love for the Establishment and still less for Talbot, whose activities he despised. He accused Talbot of being Jacobite, and alleged that he had sought and obtained ordination in a questionable manner. In 1725 Talbot was discharged by the Society. This made him a martyr in the eyes of his

many friends in Burlington, who stood loyally by him. He died at Burlington two years later. In spite of his political intrigues, he had done the church good service. Had his devotion been more single minded his name would to this day be held in high honor.

From this time until the Revolution there was comparative peace in the Anglican church, both in East and West Jersey. Growth continued gradual, although the membership never became strong enough to influence the colony in any large way.

This digression may leave the reader with the impression that the union of New York with New Jersey under a royal Governor ended Quaker influence. That is by no manner of means the case. In fact, Cornbury's insolence brought out a side of Quaker character often overlooked. There is always a temptation to regard pacifists as a weak and spineless folk. The rattlers of the saber are, in popular estimation, the men of iron nerve and will. Quaker reaction to Cornbury's methods reveals them as men of conviction, fearless and determined. The Governor had succeeded in getting a militia act passed, and regarded it as a personal triumph over his Quaker enemies. In 1705 three of the Anglican party presented a memorial to the Lords of Trade, endorsing Cornbury's contention that Quakers should be excluded from office for these reasons:

> 1st. Because it can never be expected the Militia or Revenue for Support thereof or of the Government Should ever be Settled while the Quakers are in the Councill or Assembly, their very principles militating against such Establishment.
>
> 2ndly. Because whilst they are so far encouraged as to be admitted in the Councill and other publick places and Employments they awe and frighten many by their power and authority who would otherwise leave that perswasion and come over to the Christian (*i. e.,* the Anglican) Church.
>
> 3dly. Because refusing to pay Tythes on pretence of Conscience they will consequently oppose and obstruct any Act in favour of the said Church its settlement as far as in them lyes.
>
> 4thly. Because nowhere else in the British Empire, save in Pennsylvania, are Quakers admitted to office.
>
> 5thly. Because the idea that there were not enough non-Quakers to fill the offices was due to a misapprehension on the part of their Lordships, there being plenty of properly qualified persons.

The Lords of Trade took no action and Quakers continued to hold office, although it did not increase their love for Cornbury. Soon afterwards Samuel Jennings, a Quaker, was elected Speaker of the Assembly. Smith, the New Jersey historian, whose father had personally known Jennings, devotes an entire page to a deserved eulogy of this justly honored man. Among other things he writes:

> His (Jenning's) authority, founded on experienced candour, probity, and abilities, enlarged opportunities, rendered him not in one capicity or in one society only, generaly useful . . . . with a

> mind form'd to benevolence and acts of humanity, he was a friend to the widow, the fatherless and the unhappy. Tender, disinterested, and with great opportunities, (he) left but a small estate. Abhorring oppression in every shape, his whole conduct discovered a will to relieve and befriend mankind far above the littleness of party or sinister views. . . . . West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, after the surrender, for near twenty-eight years successively, were repeated witnesses of his conduct in various capacities. He studied peace and the welfare of mankind. . . . . He just lived long enough to see (the country) emerging from an unpromising state of litigation and controversy to more quiet than had been known for many years.

On April 5, 1707, Jennings read the celebrated remonstrance against the unjust demands of the brutal and licentious Governor. He read deliberately, repeating a paragraph or sentence when the Governor interrupted with "Stop" or "What's that?" In fact, on such repetition he used greater emphasis to make the intent of the Assembly perfectly clear.

"We cannot but be uneasy," he deliberately read, "when we find by the new methods of government our liberties and properties so much shaken that no man can say he is master of either, but holds them as tenant by courtesy and at will, and may be stript of them at pleasure. Liberty is too valuable a thing to be easily parted with."

The brief reply of the Governor concluded with these words, "I was going to give you some wholesome advice, but I consider it will be but labor lost, and therefore shall reserve it for persons who, I hope, will make right use of it." Upon his departure the Governor turned with emotion towards his friends saying, "Jennings has impudence enough to face the Devil."

The Assembly reconvened in October of the same year, and, if that be possible, was even more emphatic in its opposition to the Governor. This is revealed by the address which embodied such indictments as these:

> It is the general assembly of the province of New Jersey that complains, and not the quakers, with whose persons (considered as quakers) or meetings we have nothing to do. . . . . Those of them who are members of this house, have begged leave in behalf of themselves and their friends to tell the governor, they must answer him in the words of Nehemiah to Sanballat, . . . . *viz.*, "There is no such thing done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart."
>
> Your excellency has neither by birth nor acquisition a right to the sovereignty of New Jersey; nor have you any power of governing the Queen's subjects here.

There was added a scathing indictment of Cornbury's conduct both personal and official. They charge him with illegally imprisoning citizens and with governing with regard neither to expediency nor justice, and conclude by saying that "if these, and what we have named before, be acts of mercy, gentleness and good-nature; . . . . if this be the administering laws for

OLD STONE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN FAIRFIELD, BUILT 1780

the protection and preservation of her majesty's subject; then have we been the most mistaken men in the world, and have had the falsest notion of things; . . . . and must henceforth take France, Denmark, the Muscovian, Ottoman and Eastern Empires, to be the best models of a gentle and happy government."

Cornbury was removed from office the next year. The militia question, which evidently was the chief bone of contention, was not settled; in fact, it remained a vexing question during several administrations. Governor Lovelace, Cornbury's successor, employed different tactics, but with no better results as far as the militia was concerned. For their almost obstinate resistance to military service, the Quakers have been severely criticized by those who do not understand their convictions. During the administration of Governor Hunter, who, as was noted above, was a friend of the Quakers, the matter of Quaker rights to hold office was definitely settled in their favor by royal decree. The King signed the decree because it seemed absolutely necessary for the proper governing of the country.

Governor Hunter was succeeded in 1720 by his friend William Burnet, a native of New Brunswick, in whose honor one of the most important streets in the city of that day was named. Burnet was a deeply and sincerely religious man. He knew how to make friends and how to keep them. Because of his kindly disposition he had no difficulty with the Quakers, for he could appreciate their point of view. It is but natural that he should be deeply interested in the religious needs of the province. It was this concern of his that urged him to attempt two experiments which will always be of interest to the student of church history. His high ideals for the ministry, or perhaps it was his rather critical attitude towards the Establishment, got him into trouble with the English ecclesiastical authorities for he insisted that ministers, though licensed by the Bishop of London, pass an examination before they were allowed to preach. The candidate was given a text upon which he was to prepare a sermon, and was then shut up in a room with no other book than the Bible. It is not recorded how long this practice was continued or how zealously it was enforced.

The presence of not a few Deists and Atheists gave the Governor much concern for the future of the church. At his suggestion an act was introduced in the Assembly "against denying the divinity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the blessed trinity, the truth of the holy scriptures, and spreading atheistical books." The bill was rejected on its second reading. Little wonder that it was said of him that he was "the first governor who ever brought himself into difficulties by an inordinate care of souls."

In 1726 the home government asked Burnet to report as to the numbers of inhabitants in the colonies of New York and New Jersey. He sent what information he had for New York, but stated that as there was no established church in New Jersey and as the dissenting churches kept very inaccurate records, he could not furnish the desired information. He did not wish to make a census, fearing that the people might accuse him of making the same fatal mistake for which David, king of Israel, was so heartily condemned.

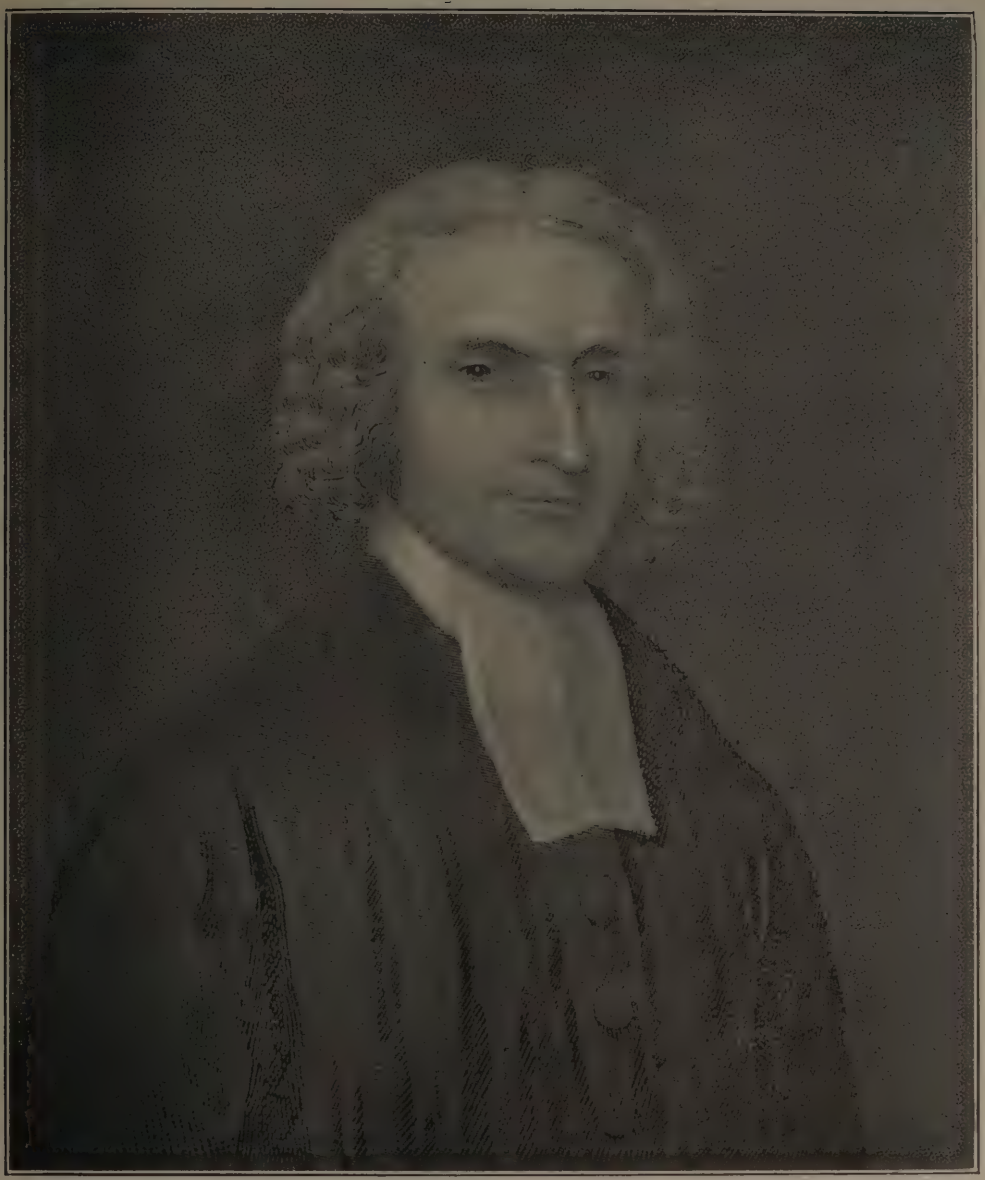
With the exception that the militia problem remained unsettled and the attempt in 1765 on the part of the Anglicans to abolish civil marriage, little legislation that directly affected the religious life of the colony was enacted. The reason why perhaps a disproportionate amount of space was devoted to a study of such legislation as was passed during the earlier part of royal control and the Quaker contribution emphasized to the seeming disparagement of other communions is the fact the Quakers more than any other group, quite likely more than all other groups combined, were responsible for the insertion of Articles XVIII and XIX in the first Constitution of the State of New Jersey adopted in June, 1776. These read:

> That no person shall ever, within this Colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor under any pretence whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person, within this Colony, ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or minstry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to perform.
>
> That there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in this province, in preference to another; and that no Protestant inhabitant of this Colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons, professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either house of the Legislature, and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity enjoyed by others their fellow subjects.

These articles remained in force until 1844, when the present Constitution of the State was adopted. Even so, Article XVIII is retained unchanged as the third clause of its bill of rights. For Article XIX of the earlier Constitution the fourth clause is added to the present document, obviously as the earlier article disbarred especially Catholics and Jews. This clause reads thus: "There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another; no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust; and no person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles."

Mr. J. De Lancey Ferguson, of Rutgers University, closes a very detailed study of the relation between church and State in New York and New Jersey with this significant paragraph:

> The last hint of State interference with religion was at length withdrawn, and the great principle that a man's religion is an affair that concerns only himself and his Maker was completely established. The victory of freedom of conscience over bigotry and sec-



Aaron Burr

tarianism was won, and that too with a minimum of strife and hard feeling. The mild and tolerant spirit of the Quakers leavened the whole course of New Jersey's growth.

Besides the Quakers and adherents of the Church of England, there were other religious groups which, because of numbers and the part they played in colonial times, deserve something more than a passing reference. As was noted above, the Dutch early crossed the Hudson and settled where now are Bergen, Hudson and Middlesex counties. This movement was intensified, owing to Lord Cornbury's coercive measure. Then, too, though not large in volume, there was constant immigration from Holland. The Dutch settlements along the Raritan, particularly in that region of which New Brunswick is the center, were numerous. They brought with them the Dutch Reformed Church and their Calvinistic creeds. Reference will be made later to the noteworthy contribution this group made to the educational life of the colony and later to the State.

Another of the major groups were the Presbyterians. Every year brought Scotch-Irish settlers to New Jersey from the New England colonies. Most of these settled in East Jersey. Reference has already been made to the settlement of Newark. It was, however, during the last decade of the seventeenth and the first two decades of the eighteenth century that the foundations of Presbyterianism were laid in New Jersey. The story of that stream of emigration that flowed from Scotland during those years, especially from 1690 to 1700, reads like one of the romances of history.

The massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572, was not freighted with more fateful consequences than the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685. Six hundred thousand Huguenots sought exile in flight, with the result that France lost her most industrious, thrifty, hard working and law abiding citizens. The revocation of this Edict virtually made Protestantism illegal in France. A blight, as it were, fell not only on Reformed communities, but on the entire land. These exiles greatly enriched Holland, England and America. This same year marks the beginning of a costly and painful, though fortunately, a brief interlude or epoch in England's religious life. On the death of Charles II, 1685, his brother, an avowed Romanist, ascended the throne of Great Britain as James II. A subservient Parliament permitted the Roman Mass to be celebrated at Westminster during Holy Week. In the West of England and in Scotland there were thousands who did not blandly acquiesce, but on the contrary, their discontent soon ripened into revolt. The spirit of John Knox was abroad in the land. Under Charles II the Covenanters had met imprisonment, exile and death. These persecutions were as child's play compared with those that followed under the régime of the fanatical James. The summer of 1685 saw the Jeffreys wreaking vengeance on those who had taken part in Monmouth's rebellion. This career of rapine and slaughter is still referred to as the "bloody circuit." Among the martyrs of that summer, the names of Margaret Wilson and Margaret McLaughlan, who were drowned in the tidewaters of Blednock, singing their psalms of praise until the waters sealed

their lips, will be remembered. Of this fateful year Macaulay says, "Through many years the autumn of 1685 was remembered as a time of misery and terror. Never, not even under the tyranny of Laud, had the condition of the Puritans been more deplorable than at that time."

Little wonder that out of this blackness and terror the Covenanters turned their eyes westward. Tidings of free religion in a free land formed for them a silver lining to a very dark cloud. The fact that there were Scotchmen among the proprietors of East Jersey gave added inducement to emigrate thither. Soon the inns, homes and wharves of Leith were crowded with Quakers and Covenanters eager to take the first ship for the new land. The clan of the Campbells were especially marked out for extermination. This threat urged Lord Neil Campbell to purchase a proprietary right in the colony of East Jersey, and almost immediately afterward he took his flight from Scotland accompanied by several scores of persecuted followers. He and his followers were eagerly welcomed by his fellow-Presbyterians already in New Jersey. A few years later these pioneers with others who had joined them, built the Church of their Covenanted Faith on "Free Hill" in Monmouth County.

No account of those stirring days would be complete without a reference to the "pest ship," as it was called. George Scot, "Laird of Pitlochie," organized as pitiful a group of followers as history records. This sterling patriot who had himself been thrice imprisoned for his faith, was moved with compassion upon the hundreds of persecuted who were confined in the dungeon-like prisons of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Leith. Some of these had been horribly mutilated—noses slit, ears cropped and cheeks branded. He succeeded in getting their sentence commuted from death to banishment. As many of these wretched sufferers as the ship would hold embarked with him on the "Henry and Francis," a vessel "of 350 tons and 20 great guns." No sooner had they set sail when that pestilent ship-fever in its most virulent form broke out among the passengers, whose bodies, owing to the inexpressible horrors of prison confinement, offered little resistance to this fell epidemic. Frequently as many as four died in one day, and altogether some seventy perished, the brave leader and his wife being among the victims.

In spite of all this misery and death, these brave souls did not surrender to their fears. With indomitable courage they faced the perils of the untried wilderness. Woodrow, in his interesting account of this voyage, tells how they sent back to Scotland a protest against their banishment from their "own native and convenanted land, by an unjust sentence, for owning truth, and holding by duty, and studying to keep by their covenanted engagements and baptismal vows, whereby they stand obliged to resist, and testify against all that is contrary to the word of God and their covenants." Concerning their attitude toward King James, they say, "Their sentence of banishment ran chiefly because they refused the oath of allegiance, which in conscience they could not take, because in so doing, they thought they utterly declined the Lord Jesus Christ from having any power in his own house, and practically would by taking it, say he was not King and head of his church and

over their consciences; and on the contrary, this was to take and put in his room a man whose breath is in his nostrils, yea, a man that is a sworn enemy to religion, an avowed papist, whom by our covenant we are bound to withstand and disown."

It is not to be wondered at, although it added greatly to the heartache of sorely tried souls, that the people of Perth Amboy gave them none too cordial a welcome. They speak of a kinder reception further inland, for there is evidence that they soon made their homes in and around Woodbridge. The names of some of these pioneers can still be read on the stone slabs in the "Old Scots" cemetery some six miles north of Freehold. The "Old Scots" church is perhaps the first organized Presbyterian church in New Jersey. The chief strength of Presbyterianism was, however, soon to be found in such centers as Newark, Elizabethtown, Freehold, Woodbridge, and New Brunswick. In 1706 the first Presbytery, that of Philadelphia, was organized. Gradual growth justified a Synod with three Presbyteries in 1717. This Synod was increased the next year by the formation of the Presbyteries of New York and New Jersey.

Two features of outstanding importance enliven the history of the Presbyterian Church from this point until the end of the colonial period: the Great Awakening, resulting in schism, and the establishment of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. As a background for the study of the revival period of the third and fourth decades of this century, it is well to appreciate religious and moral conditions prevailing at that time. For this we have no better authority than William Morris, who in a memorial written in 1700, says:

> The Province of East Jersey has in it ten towns (viz.), Middletown, Freehold, Amboy, Piscataway and Woodbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, Acqueckenenck, and Bergen, and I Judge in the whole Province that there be may be about Eight thousand souls. These Towns are not like the Towns in England, the houses built close together on a small spot of ground, but they include large portions of the Country of 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15 miles in length, and as much in breadth, and all the settlements within such State and bounds is said to be within such a Township, but in most of these townships there is some place where a part of the inhabitants sat down nearer together than the rest, and confined themselves to smaller portions of ground, and the town is more peculiarly designed by that Settlement. Those Towns and the whole province was peopl'd mostly from the adjacent colonies of New York and New England, and generally by Those of very narrow fortunes, and such as could not subsist in the places they left. And if such people could bring any religion with them, it was that of the country they came from, and the State of them is as follows:—
>
> *Bergen,* and the out Plantations are most Dutch, and were settled from New York and the United Provinces, they are pretty equally divided into Calvinist and Lutheran, they have one pretty little Church, and are a sober people, there are a few English Dissenters mixt among them.

*Elizabeth Town & Newark,* were peopled from New England, are generally Independents, they have a meeting house in each town for their public worship, there are some few Churchmen, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers among them.

*Woodbridge* was settled from New England, were generally Independents, till about 16 years since, there was a number of Scots Presbyterians amongst them, the People are divided mostly into Presbyterians and Independents, and there is mixt amongst them Baptists, Quakers, Ranters, cum multis aliis.

*Piscataway* was settled from New England, and is called the Anabaptist Town, from about twenty in that Town that agree in that Persuasion, the rest of the People are of all, or of no religion.

*Perth Amboy* the Capital City was settled from Europe, and we have made a shift to patch up the old ruinous house and made a church of it, and when all the Churchmen in the Province are put together, we make up about twelve Communicants, the People of that town are a mixture of all Persuasion.

*Freehold* was settled from Scotland (Mr. Keith began the first settlement there, and made a fine plantation, which he afterwards Sold, and went into Pensilvania) and about one half of it are Scotch Presbiterians, and a sober people, the other part was settled by people (some from New England, some from New York, and some from the forementioned towns) who are generally speaking of no religion. There is in this Town a Quaker Meeting-house, but most of the Quakers who built it are come off with Mr. Keith, they have not fixed yet on any religion, but are most inclinable to the Church, and could Mr. Keith be persuaded to go into those Countrys, he would (with the blessing of God) not only bring to the Church the Quakers that come off with him in the East and West Jersey, which are very numerous, but make many converts in that Country.

*Middletown* was settled from New York and New England, it is a large Township, there is no such thing as Church or Religion amongst them, they are p'haps the most ignorant and wicked People in the world, their meetings on Sundays is at the Public House, where they get their fill of Rum, and go to fighting & running of races which are Practices much in use that day all the Province over.

*Shrewsberry* settled from New England, Rhode Island and New York, there is in it ab't thirty Quakers of both Sexes, and they have a meeting house, the rest of the People are generally of no religion—the Youth of the whole Province are very debauch'd and very ignorant, and the Sabbath day seems there to be set apart for Rioting and Drunkedness. In ah word, a general Ignorance and immorality runs through the Youth of the whole Province.

In West Jersey in the year 1699 there were 832 free-holders of wch there were 266 Quakers, whose numbers are much decreased since Mr. Keith left them. The Quakers in yt Province are ye men of the best Rank and Estates—the rest of that Province (generally speaking) are a hotch potch of all Religions, the Quakers have several meeting houses disperst up and down that Province, and I

believe none of the othe Perswasions have any. They have a very Debaucht Youth in that Province and very ignorant.

The fact that Mr. Morris was one of the few who belonged to the Establishment may have colored his views somewhat. He was not likely to see much virtue in non-conforming sects. There is other contributing evidence showing that spiritual vitality and moral standards were at a low ebb. The need for a real awakening was imperative. This revival, as it is commonly called, came during the third decade of the eighteenth century. Generally speaking, this awakening is associated with the outstanding, if not peerless, evangelist of his day, George Whitefield. He has suffered alike from indiscriminate praise and harsh criticism. The fact is that the beginnings of this mighty movement are not due to him, for he came upon the scene when a quickened religious life was everywhere manifest. In 1727, a young man of twenty-three came to Northampton, Massachusetts, to assist his aged grandfather, Pastor Stoddard. This young man was none other than Jonathan Edwards, destined to leave the impress of his personality in terms of deep culture, philosophical acumen, theological sagacity and fervent piety upon his and succeeding generations as few others before or since have done. By 1733 his earnest soul-searching sermons, irreproachable life, and loving prayers had worked a wonderful transformation in the life of the city. Of this change Edwards very modestly relates the following:

> The work of God, as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town, so that in the spring and summer, anno 1735, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God. It was never so full of love, nor so full of joy, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families on the account of salvation's being brought unto them; parents rejoicing over their children as being new-born, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary. God's day was a delight, and his tabernacles were amiable. Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, every one intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth; the assembly in general were from time to time in tears while the Word was preached, some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pity and concern for the souls of their neighbors. Our public praises were then greatly enlivened; God was then served in our psalmody in some measure in the beauty of holiness.

Little wonder that news of this revival spread far and wide. The report of it stirred John Wesley in England, for he wrote in his journal, "Surely this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes." The first place at a distance to catch the practical meaning of what was going on in Northampton was Newark, New Jersey, where, as was noted above, a considerable colony of Congregationalists, now turned Presbyterian, had settled. In 1708

there had come to Elizabethtown a youth of twenty years, Jonathan Dickinson, a native of the village of Hatfield, a few miles from Northampton. His influence was as strong in Newark as in Elizabeth, for it seems that he had caught the spirit of Edwards. A contemporary chronicler gives us an account of what took place: "Sometime in August, 1739 (the summer before Mr. Whitefield came first into these parts), there was a remarkable revival at Newark. . . . This revival of religion was chiefly observable among the younger people, till the following March, when the whole town in general was brought under an uncommon concern about their eternal interests, and the congregation appeared universally affected under some sermons that were then preached to them."

Similar scenes took place at New Londonderry, Pennsylvania, although the source of the revival here must be traced to the little Log College at Neshaminy, a few miles north of Philadelphia. In 1716 there came to this country a Scotch-Irish minister of the Establishment, who after two years of preaching service, applied for membership in the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia. After careful examination, he was admitted to such membership and was installed as pastor over the small church at Neshaminy. There he settled with his wife and four sons, the oldest of whom had already received some theological training in Ireland. The observations of two years had profoundly impressed William Tennent with the absolute necessity of more definite theological instruction in this country. He, therefore, began instructing his own sons in his home, an experience which suggested to him the possibility of inviting other worthy youths to share in the instruction which he was giving to his own boys. This suggestion was eagerly approved and in consequence, a small log building, eight feet wide and twenty feet long was erected. This was Tennent's school, his neighbors jokingly calling it "The Log College." Save perhaps the log cabin in Kentucky in which Abraham Lincoln was born, no other log cabin has had for our country such beneficent influence as the Log College at Neshaminy.

The eldest of William Tennent's four sons, Gilbert by name, came to New Brunswick in 1727. He soon came in contact with that virile preacher of the Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan, a village in the neighborhood of New Brunswick, Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen by name. This venerable minister had broken completely away, not from the orthodoxy of his associates in New York, but from their methods of doing the work of the church. While his sermons lacked neither in scholarship nor in doctrinal content, they had about them a warmth and glow and heart-searching quality which made people come from far and near to listen to a preacher who stirred men's souls. In other words, Rev. Frelinghuysen had caught and was using to good advantage methods which later were called revivalistic. In conference with his colleague, Gilbert Tennent complained of the fruitlessness of his own labors and received the kind of counsel which the experiences of his abler brother in the ministry suggested. At about the same time, Mr. Tennent was brought low with sickness, so much so that his life was despaired of. He prayed earnestly for just one-half year of life in which, as he himself later suggested,

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NEWARK

he might "endeavor to promote his kingdom with all my might at all adventures." His prayer was granted and upon his recovery his sermons revealed personal power and conviction which had been wanting in his former efforts. His method of preaching "was sealed by the Holy Spirit in the conviction and conversion of a considerable number of persons, at various times and in different places, in that part of the country, as appeared by their acquaintance with experimental religion and good conversation."

It must be observed that what happened in Newark, Elizabethtown, and New Brunswick preceded by several years Edwards' remarkable experiences at Northampton, and by a still longer period the coming of George Whitefield to this country. This point, as was intimated above, is frequently overlooked. Without a question of doubt, the wonderful revivalistic success of Whitefield was due to the type of preparation as has just been described. In May, 1738, at the urgent request of the Wesleys, whose experiences in Georgia, it will be recalled, had been everything but happy, George Whitefield, the firebrand of the great awakening, came to this colony. Fired by rich memories of marvelous evangelistic success in England, filled with sanguine hopes for the conversion of vast multitudes, entertaining extensive plans for an orphanage in Georgia where there was less need of such an institution than anywhere else, George Whitefield addressed himself ardently to the tasks awaiting him in the New World. His first stay, however, was only of three months duration, for he returned to England to seek ordination as a priest, and at the same time to raise funds for the new orphanage. Both wishes were fulfilled, for he had little difficulty in securing ordination and was successful in raising more than one thousand pounds. An embargo prevented his immediate return and, therefore, he resorted to field preaching, particularly as many Churches of the Establishment were closed to him, not being in sympathy with the highly emotional character of Whitefield's sermons. He returned to the New World in August of 1739, landing at Philadelphia where the fame of his work in England had preceded him. Every history of that period records how he took his stand in the balcony of the old courthouse in Market Street and how the power of his wonderful voice enabled the crowds aboard the ships moored at the foot of the street four hundred feet away to hear every word he said. As was to be expected, the churches of the Establishment were very unfriendly to his mission. Before going to Georgia, he made a journey to New York City, preaching in every town along the way. In New Brunswick he was deeply stirred by the power and eloquence of Gilbert Tennent, who from that day became very intimately associated with him in his evangelistic efforts. In January, the foundations for the orphan house in Savannah were laid. This institution was appropriately enough called "Bethesda."

Our interest is not primarily in the success which accompanied Whitefield's efforts, or to describe the stirring scenes which accompanied many of his meetings. Of far greater importance is the effect which this particular evangelistic effort had upon the Presbyterian Church. That there should have been a profound stirring of new life into all the colonial churches,

whether they were in sympathy with Whitefield's methods or no, is not surprising. Into the Presbyterian Church Whitefield brought not peace, but a sword. The Synod of Philadelphia soon found itself divided into what was called the Old and the New Side. The Old Side stood unequivocally for the maintenance of the standards of the church and for requiring that no minister was to be installed over a church unless he had received thorough college training. The situation had been very much aggravated because both Tennent and Whitefield had been exceedingly injudicious in their harsh criticism of their fellow ministers. In a sermon preached at Nottingham on the subject, "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry," Gilbert Tennent went to extremes in vituperation and abuse. At the Synod in 1741, the Old Side declared that the men of the New Side "have at present no right to sit and vote as members of this synod, and that if they should sit and vote, the doings of the synod would be of no force or obligation." This action was primarily directed against the Presbytery of New Brunswick, although by implication it affected the Presbytery of New York as well, for these two Presbyteries soon united in their opposition to the Old School. That the Old Side had no little justification for their action is proved from the comment made by Dr. Timothy Cutler, the former rector of Yale College, when with considerable feeling but no little truth, he wrote:

> It would be an endess attempt to describe that scene of confusion and disturbance occasioned by him (Whitefield): the division of families, neighborhoods, and towns, and contrariety of husbands and wives, the undutifulness of children and servants, the quarrels among teachers, the disorders of the night, the intermission of labor and business, the neglect of husbandry and of gathering the harvest. . . . . In many conventicles and places of rendezvous there has been checkered work indeed, several preaching and several exhorting and praying at the same time, the rest crying or laughing, yelping, sprawling, fainting, and this revel maintained in some places many days and nights together without intermission; and then there were the blessed outpourings of the Spirit! . . . . After him came one Tennent, a monster! impudent and noisy, and told them they were all damn'd, damn'd, damn'd; this charmed them, and in the most dreadful winter I ever saw people wallowed in the snow night and day for the benefit of his beastly brayings, and many ended their days under these fatigues. Both of them carried more money out of these parts than the poor could be thankful for.

When faithful ministers were called "unconverted," "Pharisees," "hypocrites," it is not surprising that very bad feeling arose. But these excesses should not blind the reader to the fact that those who sympathized with Whitefield and Tennent, that is to say the adherents of the New Side, performed a very real service for the religion of that day. That there had been much sterile orthodoxy and a conspicuous absence of vital Christian life is abundantly evident. It cannot be denied that considerable more energy was being spent in defending Christian dogma than in trying to live a Christian

life. All this was changed within a remarkably short time, and the change was due to the efforts of the men of the New Side. What is more important, we find the churches adhering to the New Side doubling their number within two decades, while the churches adhering to the Old Side decreased in numbers and were unsuccessful in finding ministers for the reduced number of churches.

Two practical results must be attributed to the activities of these memorable years. The outstanding leaders of the New Side, while they were not as rigid in requiring a college education for ministerial candidates, soon discovered that only an educated ministry would suffice for the needs of the new day. Therefore, in 1744, four men, Dickinson, Burr, Pemberton, and Preiser, all of the Presbytery of New York, met together to formulate plans for the erection of a college in New Jersey. They appealed to Governor Morris for a charter, but were refused. Fortunately, John Hamilton, the next Governor, was of a different mind and gladly granted the first charter on October 22, 1746. Unfortunately, this charter is lost. Consequently, a second one was granted by Governor Belcher on September 14, 1748. The location of the institution was not definitely fixed until 1752. Under the leadership of Rev. Jonathan Dickinson it began its work at Elizabethtown. Dr. Dickinson's death occasioned its removal to Newark, presumably that Rev. Aaron Burr, the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that city, might act as temporary president and keep the institution going. New Brunswick had been so favorably spoken of as a possible location for the new institution that the second public commencement was actually held in that city. There appears to have been some strategy in this move, for the advocates of New Brunswick as the seat of the college evidently hoped that a public exercise of this character would stir up the enthusiasm of the people and make such a substantial fund of money forthcoming as would silence all opposition to the location there. In September, 1750, the trustees of the institution made a proposal to both New Brunswick and Princeton, suggesting that each city ascertain how much money it could raise for the institution, leaving the inference that the one that offered the greater inducement would be rewarded by the location of the institution in its midst. In May of the following year the trustees decided in favor of New Brunswick, provided that the citizens secure "one thousand pounds proclamation money, ten acres of land contiguous to the college, and two hundred acres of woodland, the furtherest part not more than three miles from the town." Exactly what happened during the remainder of that year is not definitely known. On September 27, 1752, the trustees voted to establish the new institution at Princeton, since the people of New Bunswick had not fulfilled the terms agreed upon. Three years later President Burr removed to Princeton with seventy students, and occupied the building which Governor Belcher had characteristically named "Nassau Hall." It is apparent that the Presbyterians were angling for the coöperation and support of the Dutch Reformed Church, for they made Rev. John Frelinghuysen, of Raritan, and Rev. John Leydt, of New Brunswick, trustees. Few institutions have a nobler record of more honorable service alike in war and peace. Education-

ally, it has become by all odds not only the pride of New Jersey, but of the Nation as well. Theological instruction, which was without a question of doubt the objective which the majority of the advocates of the College of New Jersey had in mind, was during the early years closely linked up with the college proper. During the nineteenth century the theological department became dissociated from the college and has remained so ever since.

It is interesting to note that the College of New Jersey was not founded by the action of either Synod or Presbytery. For that reason, it has been urged that this institution was not established by the church. It is pointed out that the petition made to the Governor for the granting of a charter was signed by a few who were not Presbyterians. The provision in the second charter to the effect that "those of every religious denomination may have free and equal liberty and advantages of education in the same college, any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding," is emphasized as suggesting that the Presbyterian Church as such did not definitely sponsor this institution. Such a conclusion, however, is superficial, for a more detailed study of prevailing conditions will reveal that the College of New Jersey was in a very real sense the child of American Presbyterianism. Whether men belonged to the Old or New Side, they were united in their deep respect for education and were determined to honor the heritage which they had received from the Reformation movement. John Calvin and John Knox had alike insisted upon the indispensability of an educated ministry for the church. This same spirit prevailed among the Presbyterians in the New World. While it is true that the request for a charter was made, not by a Synod or Presbytery, but by four influential men, it can hardly be denied that these men were inspired by no other ideal than the hope of establishing a college for the Presbyterian Church, although they insisted that the institution should be open to students from every other religious denomination. This becomes still more evident when it is considered that four of the first seven trustees named under the first charter were Presbyterian ministers. Even the adherents of the Log College at Neshaminy were enthusiastic supporters of the new venture. In 1746 occurred the death of William Tennent, and with it the abandoning of the Log College, for there seemed to be no one capable of carrying on the work. Consequently, five members of the Log College or Tennent group, all Presbyterians, were added to the original Board of Trustees. Hardly had the second charter been granted when the trustees sent a petition to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for aid for the new college. To strengthen this appeal, the Synod of New York sent Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies across the sea, commissioning them to raise what funds they could among the Presbyterians of England, Scotland and Ireland. Their efforts were rewarded by subscriptions totaling approximately four thousand pounds. When one adds to this the fact that most of the students in the earlier years came from Presbyterian homes, there can be little doubt but that to the membership of the Presbyterian churches at that time, the college of New Jersey appeared to be particularly their school.

It is passing strange to note that whereas the matter or type of min-

isterial education required should be in a large measure responsible for the schism in the Presbyterian Church, the College of New Jersey should prove to be an outstanding factor in the healing of this breach. In 1758 both parties recognized that the graduates of the College of New Jersey satisfied all reasonable educational requirements for the ministry. With surprisingly little difficulty, both parties came together again and united in an earnest effort to endow a theological professorship. From this time until the outbreak of the war for Independence, the Presbyterian Church enjoyed steady and substantial growth.

**The Protestant Dutch Reformed Church**—The history of the Reformed Church in America, originally called the "Protestant Dutch Reformed Church," links itself up so immediately with the fortunes of that communion in New York that a word must be said about the early migration thither. On September 11, 1609, the Half Moon (Halve Maan), a vessel of eighty tons burden, passed through the Narrows and anchored in what is today New York harbor. Hendrik Hudson, an Englishman, but in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, was the commander of this ship. In his attempt to find a northwest passage to the East Indies, he sailed up the river which bears his name as far as Albany. He little thought that he was doing something far more important than discovering the route which he had set out to find. Other ships followed, and by 1614, trading posts were established at Fort Orange, now Albany, and at New Amsterdam, now New York. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was organized, under whose direction two years later, permanent colonization of the New Netherlands was begun. It is significant to remember that the majority of the first settlers were not Dutch, but Walloons. Holland was at this time the refuge for the oppressed, because in that land religious toleration prevailed. The brave Stadtholder, William the Silent, laid down the principle of religious freedom as indispensable to a strong and settled government. He had fought with Spain one of the bitterest wars in the record of human history. The freedom which the Dutch had won they did not deny to others. Therefore, the early colonists did not come to escape religious persecution, but rather their motive was temporal gain. However, as early as 1626 two "krankenbezoekers" or "visitors of the sick" were appointed by the church in Holland, it being their task to comfort and pray with the sick. It was not till the spring of 1628 that the first minister in the person of Jonas Michaelius arrived from Amsterdam. He organized the first church, numbering fifty communicants, almost equally divided between Dutch and Walloons. The colony gradually grew in number and without a doubt some families moved over the Hudson, particularly as a reasonable degree of peace had been kept with the Indians. We happen to know that as early as 1660 an unorganized congregation had been meeting for worship at Bergen, now Jersey City.

However, when in 1664 the English took New Amsterdam and changed the name to New York, a considerable influx of Dutchmen into New Jersey followed. By 1682 preaching services were held at Hackensack. The year

1669 witnessed the organization of two additional churches, the one at Freehold (Marlboro) and the other which was destined to play a very large part in the development of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Jersey, at Raritan, now Somerville. Lord Cornbury's arrogant attitude, as has already been noted, resulted in the organization of still more Reformed churches in New Jersey. In 1705 there were thirty-four Dutch churches in New York and New Jersey.

The growth of the Dutch Reformed Church was exceedingly slow. One reason is self-evident. Had the Dutch remained in possession of New Amsterdam, the story of the growth of this particular communion would have been far different than it is. Immigration almost ceased, for the Dutch did not feel at home among the English. A second and still more active reason was the fact that the Dutch clung to the use of their mother tongue in public worship. The language of the country was English. It was the language of the court room, legislature and school. Soon the children born in Dutch homes were unable to understand the language in which their minister preached. Consequently, a considerable number went over to the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches. What is more, many congregations were torn asunder over the language question, the older people clinging to the Dutch with a fanaticism worthy of a better cause, and the younger people demanding English. A third reason which was not peculiar to the Dutch was their long dependence upon the Classis of Amsterdam. Most of the ministers, almost to the time of the Revolution, were born and educated in Holland. Needless to say, several ambitious young men who loved the church went to Holland for their university training and to receive their ordination there. This feeling of dependence upon the mother country seemed to have materially lessened the spiritual zeal of the people. Yet, the fact of dependence brought about three startling changes, ecclesiastical freedom or independence, the establishment of a college and theological seminary, and the very rapid introduction of the use of English in public worship. In 1764 the Classis of Amsterdam approved of the call made by the Consistory of the Dutch Church in New York upon Dr. Archibald Laidle, a Scotchman then the minister of an English congregation in Flushing, Holland. A better man than he could not have been found for this position. He was a man of learning, of eminent piety, excellent judgment and conciliatory disposition. In spite of such unusual qualifications, he was unable to reconcile the ultra-Dutch party who were very persevering in their opposition to the English language. In a measure, this same situation prevailed in New Jersey. Here the more liberal party joined with similar minded men in New York in the formation of a "Coetus" in 1747. This organization was to have no ecclesiastical authority, but was to be merely advisory. However, they soon felt their strength increasing to such an extent in fact, that they undertook to ordain young men to the ministry without waiting for the permission of the Classis of Amsterdam. A rival organization called the "Conferenti" was soon in the field. This party under the leadership of Dominie Ritzema was as strongly opposed to securing ecclesiastical independence from Holland as it was to the founding of a col-

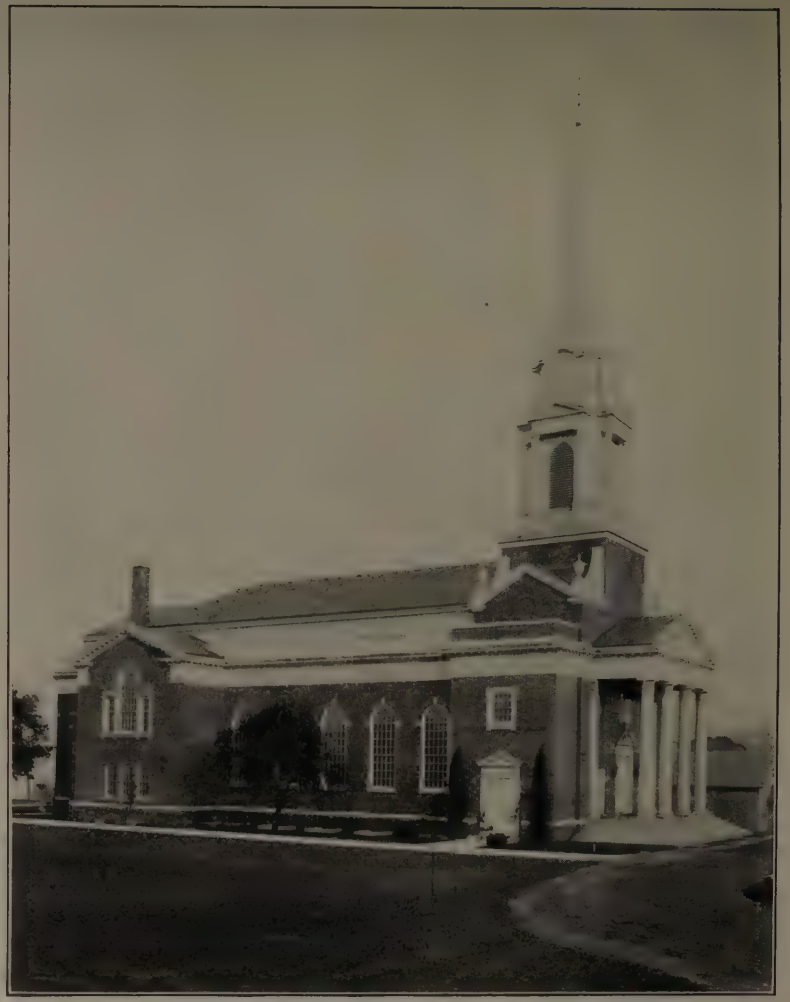
lege and theological seminary in this country where young men of the Dutch church, born and raised here, could receive their education and be ordained to their work without resorting to the expensive and tedious procedure of going to Holland for their education and ordination alike. Under the leadership of Dominie Theodore Frelinghuysen, the son of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, who had established the Dutch church in the Raritan Valley and had been the firm friend of Tennent and Whitefield, the movement for the establishment of a college was vigorously pushed. Frelinghuysen spent a whole winter riding up and down the Mohawk and Hudson valleys, urging upon the churches the indispensable character of such a step. He issued a call for a gathering of ministers and elders to meet in New York in May, 1755. At this assembly over thirty men were present, the New Jersey churches being well represented, especially since Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, now the minister at Raritan, was ardently advocating the same step. The gathering at New York approved of the plan of establishing an academy and authorized Mr. Frelinghuysen to proceed to Holland with the hope that he might there secure the assent of the Classis of Amsterdam, and also interest certain rich people in the project. His commission was prepared in dignified Latin, a part of which in translation reads: "Therefore we . . . . do resolve in these present critical times to strive with all our energy, and in the fear of God, to plant a university or seminary for young men destined for study in the learned languages in the liberal arts, and who are to be instructed in the philosophical sciences; also, that it may be a school of the prophets in which young Levites and Nazarites of God may be prepared to enter upon the sacred ministerial office."

For one reason or another the Albany congregation refused to give their pastor a leave of absence, and it was four years before Mr. Frelinghuysen was able to undertake a journey, which unfortunately proved to have been very ill-starred. His success in Holland was meagre, for he found the Classis of Amsterdam quite apathetic. Just as the ship in which he was returning to this country was approaching New York, by some mischance, he was lost from the vessel and was drowned. Leadership for the new venture now fell upon the shoulders of Hardenbergh, who it is interesting to relate, married the widow of his friend and schoolmate, Frelinghuysen. The minister of the Dutch church in New Brunswick, John Leydt, was equally enthusiastic. That the Consistory of the Dutch church at Tappan refused to continue paying the salary of their dominie, Samuel Verbrycke, because he was so vigorously promoting the interest of the college that was to be, testifies alike to the determination of the dominie and to the fact that by no manner or means all the laymen in the church were equally enthusiastic about the venture. To make a long and interesting story short—after successive attempts to secure a charter from the royal Governor, one was finally granted on November 10, 1766, by Governor Franklin. The original charter is lost, not even is there a copy of it extant. Its purport can be gathered from the charter granted in 1770. This charter begins: "George the Third by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc." It specifies

"that there be a college, called Queen's College, erected in our said Province of New Jersey." The object for which the college was to be established was clearly stated: "for the education of youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity, preparing them for the ministry and for other good offices." One looks in vain through the charter for any closely drawn sectarian or denominational lines. Membership in any particular denomination is required neither of the Board of Trustees, Faculty or students. The charter does clearly stipulate that the president must be a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. It is apparent from the charter that the framers were quite aware that the Dutch people would inevitably face the language difficulty. The Conferenti party was determined to make Dutch the official language of the church. The Coetus group were of another mind. The charter, therefore, definitely specifies: "It is hereby declared and expressly enjoined that there shall always be, residing at or near such college, at least one professor or teacher well versed in the English language, elected, nominated, maintained, and supported by the said corporation, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, grammatically to instruct the students of said college in the knowledge of the English language. Provided also, that all minutes of the meetings and transactions of the trustees, and all rules, orders and regulations, relating to the government of the said college, and all accounts relating to the receipts and payments of money, shall be in the English language and no other." The question as to the location of the new institution created no little difficulty. Albany in New York, Hackensack, Tappan and New Brunswick in New Jersey were equally desirous of having the institution established in their midst. The general view of the matter is that New Brunswick offered the larger financial inducement and, therefore, at a meeting held in Hackensack on May 7, 1771, it was decided to establish the college in that city where it is today located. New Brunswick had evidently learned her lesson, for some twenty-five years before this she had lost the opportunity of securing the College of New Jersey, later Princeton University.

The establishment of the College of New Jersey added no little difficulty to the problem which the Dutch Reformed ministers were facing in the way of founding a college of their own. A considerable number of the leading men of the time felt that the educational forces in the Reformed Church would link up their strength with that of the Presbyterian. It would be quite possible, so they maintained, to have a special Reformed Church Chair of Theology established in connection with the institution at Princeton. This would guarantee a high standard of educational efficiency and at the same time adequately safeguard the interests of the Reformed church. A similar situation prevailed in New York City, for there King's College, later Columbia University, had just been established. The charter of this institution was quite liberal for the times, for it provided for the establishment of a chair of Theology maintained by the Dutch Reformed church. Naturally, not a few of the leading ministers and laymen of the New York churches urged the consolidation of their forces with that of King's College. Dominie Ritzema seems to have been especially enthusiastic about this move, hoping, as there

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, MONTCLAIR



ELIZABETH RODMAN VOORHEES MEMORIAL CHAPEL
New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick

is reason to believe, to receive the appointment for himself. It is, therefore, apparent that only men of heroic faith in the future would have gone on with the venture in the face of so many difficulties and contending factions.

During the early years the existence of the college was rather precarious. It seemed to be next to impossible to secure adequate funds to finance the project. That it was able to struggle through the early years is due to the sacrificial labors of the teaching staff and the members of the Board of Trustees. The War of the Revolution, as can readily be imagined, worked a great hardship on the new institution, especially as New Brunswick was more than once on the direct line of the marches made by the contending armies. In fact, during the first six months of the year 1777 British regiments encamped on what is now the college campus. During the war the college was transferred from New Brunswick at least twice, once to Hillsboro, now Millstone, and once to what was then called North Branch, where the college met in the church building in that place. In fact, it is hardly correct to speak of the institution as a college at all, for the emphasis seems to have been laid upon the grammar school or preparatory department. The college proper was suspended during the closing years of the eighteenth century.

It is interesting to note that the Dutch churches in this country became independent of the mother land five years before the outbreak of the American Revolution. The one chiefly responsible for this happy consummation was Dr. John Henry Livingston. While not a native of New Jersey, as he was born near Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1746, his name will always rank high among those who have brought distinction to this State. He was graduated from Yale College in 1762 and although he first planned to enter the profession of law, the attraction to the gospel ministry proved too strong for him. His parents were members of the Dutch Reformed Church, and partly for this reason he chose the ministry of the Dutch church at about the most gloomy period of her history. He went to Holland to continue his studies at the University of Utrecht and there received his Doctor of Divinity degree. He was authorized by the Classis of Amsterdam to officiate in the English language as one of the pastors of the Collegiate Church in New York. While in Holland he was much distressed by the condition of the church in this country, for he realized full well that the arrangement of utter dependence on the Classis of Amsterdam could not continue. He, therefore, had many conferences with leading divines in the Netherlands and before returning to this country, he had drawn up a "Plan of Union" which had the approval of the Classis of Amsterdam. This plan provided for the establishment of one general body which was afterward called a "synod," and of fifty-eight bodies, later known as "Classes." It also provided for the establishment of a professorship of theology and for the founding of schools. The Revolutionary War made any effort in the way of establishing a school of theology impossible. In 1784 Dr. Livingston began a training school for ministers in his own home in Brooklyn, at the same time continuing to hold his pastorate in New York City. It was not until the first decade of the nineteenth century

that the General Synod undertook to raise money for a professorship in theology. The work at Queens College had been suspended for twelve years. In 1807 the trustees of Queens College were very anxious to revive their institution and, therefore, they proposed to the General Synod a union of the college and the theological professorate. This union was consummated with the result that Dr. Livingston came to New Brunswick in 1810 at the age of sixty-four to become the professor of theology and at the same time, president of the college. These offices he held until his death in 1825. Of Dr. Livingston it has been well said that he "was for more than a half century the guiding and directing mind of the (Dutch Reformed) church in every important work. He was not only the father of our system of theological education and the first professor, but he was the eloquent advocate of missions, he shaped our constitutional law, and adapted the psalmody for church worship; and he put the impress of his mind on the ministry not only, but on the whole church."

Two incidents during Dr. Livingston's administration are of unusual interest. At the meeting of the General Synod in 1814, when the needs of the institution were eloquently presented, a quiet mannered minister in the person of Rev. Elias Van Bunschooten walked down the aisle of the church and laid upon a table the sum of $14,000, which he later increased. In those days that was a remarkably large gift. Evidently others were stirred to similar generosity. Ten years later Col. Henry Rutgers, of New York City, a leading citizen and a leader in the Dutch Reformed Church as also a trustee of the college, made a gift of $5,000 to the institution. As a result of this gift, the name of Queens College was changed to Rutgers College. The record of this change in name reads as follows: "His name is given the College as a mark of their respect for his character and in gratitude for his numerous services rendered the Reformed Dutch Church." Quite recently the name of this institution, after more than a century of most effective service, was changed to Rutgers University. The scope of its work has been materially increased, with a corresponding greater service to the State at large.

With the passing of the years the connection between the General Synod of the Reformed Church, which was constantly supervising the theological training given at the college, and the Board of Trustees of the college as such grew less and less. By the middle of the nineteenth century the theological department was distinctly separated from the college and has remained so ever since. While the campus of the seminary and college remain adjoining and the relation between the two institutions most happy, technically and actually, both bodies were and remained independent of each other.

**The Baptists**—The unusual liberal spirit as regards religious freedom early attracted Baptists to New Jersey. The Puritans of Massachusetts, the Dutch in New York had dealt very unkindly with them. Their experiences in New England, save in that haven of refuge, Rhode Island, amounted to little less than persecution. There is evidence that there were Baptists in New Jersey as early as 1660, although their first church, that at Middletown, was

not organized until 1688. John Bowne, though unordained, was the leader of this group. A few years before when he lived at Gravesend, Long Island, he had been arrested by Peter Stuyvesant for showing kindness to the "abominable people called Quakers." Upon refusing to pay his fine he was banished, but he used his exile to excellent advantage, for he went to Holland, where he so vigorously pled his case before the Dutch West India Company that this organization administered a severe rebuke to Stuyvesant for his repressive and arbitrary measures. A man of such fearless and independent spirit furnished the type of leadership which an unwelcome group required. Bowne was not only the first preacher, but he donated the land upon upon which the first meetinghouse was erected. Of the early Baptist ministers the name of Abel Morgan, "the great, the incomparable Abel Morgan," is best remembered. As a scholar and theologian he provided impregnable defense of Baptist principles. Few could withstand the directness of his speech or the vigor of his arguments. From 1739 to 1785 he was pastor of the Middletown Church. He was a born patriot. His defense of the American cause, his stirring appeals to valor, sacrifice and endurance were worth a regiment of soldiers.

Though there were those who hold that the church at Piscataqua, now Piscataway, is older than the one at Middletown, the best authorities date its founding a year later. The majority of the members of this group under the leadership of Hanserd Knollys, came from New Hampshire, having left there to escape persecution. The third church, founded before the opening of the eighteenth century, was located at Cohansey, under the guidance of Rev. Elias Keach. This group was composed largely of emigrants from Tipperary, Ireland. The divergent character of the origin of each group testifies alike to the general diffusion of Baptists and to the strength of Baptist conviction. Of these three churches Mr. Benedict in his "History of the Baptists," says, "These three churches were among the first constituted members of the Philadelphia Association, and it is pleasing to reflect that, amidst all the changes of time, the dilapidations of churches, and the inroads of heresy and fanaticism in other communities which once appeared fair and strong, these bodies have maintained a regular standing, and each of them is now sound in the faith, respectable in size, and in a flourishing condition."

The chief claim to distinction of the Hopewell Church, founded in 1715, is that it became the mother of several distinguished preachers, who in turn organized other churches. Its first pastor, Rev. Isaac Eaton, established an academy, which proved to be a pioneer in the movement that led later to the founding of Brown University. Almost contemporaneous with the founding of the Hopewell Church were Cape May, Scotch Plains and Morristown. By 1792 there were twenty-four organized Baptist churches in the colony, with 2,994 members, sixteen ministers and thirty-one meetinghouses. In the nature of the case, the limits of this paper do not permit of a discussion of the theological controversy in the Baptist church as between Arminianism and Calvinism, or to mention certain more radical sects such as the Anabaptists, the Rogerine Baptists, the Tunkers, or the Seventh Day Adventists. Before the

Revolution broke out, the Baptists had laid a very excellent foundation in New Jersey for the future to build upon.

**The Beginning of Methodism**—It is passing strange that the communion which later proved to have exerted the most profound religious influence in New Jersey was almost the last to become established in the colony. The planting of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country was about the most momentous event of American church history during the close of the Colonial Era. When it is recalled that John Wesley himself had been in this country in 1737, that the Great Awakening was largely the result of the fervor of Methodist enthusiasm, and that the classes from which immigration to the colonies was largely drawn were for the most part those who had been most profoundly influenced by the Wesleyan revival in England, it seems almost incredible to reflect that the first group of Methodists, as far as history records, did not meet in this country until 1766. This little group met in the home of Philip Embury, in New York City, who in his native Ireland had been recognized as a local preacher. It appears that he had been in this country six years before he continued his preaching activities which his coming to this country had interrupted. The occasion of his first sermon is most interesting. Dr. G. C. M. Roberts, in an authentic letter sent to Dr. Abel Stevens, tells the story of the first meeting thus:

> A few of them only were Wesleyans. Mrs. Barbara Heck, who had been residing in New York since 1760, visited them frequently. One of the company, Paul Ruckle, was her eldest brother. It was when visiting them on one of these occasions that she found some of the party engaged in a game of cards. There is no proof, either direct or indirect, that any of them were Wesleyans and connected with Embury. Her spirit was roused, and, doubtless emboldened by her long and intimate acquaintance with them in Ireland, she seized the cards, threw them into the fire, and then most solemnly warned them of their danger and duty. Leaving them, she went directly to the dwelling of Embury, who was her cousin. It was located upon Barrack Street, now Park Place. After narrating what she had seen and done, under the influence of the Divine Spirit and with power, she appealed to him to be no longer silent, but to preach the Word forthwith. She parried his excuses, and urged him to commence at once in his own house and to his own people. He consented, and she went out and collected four persons, who with herself constituted his audience. After singing and prayer he preached to them and enrolled them in a class. He continued thereafter to meet them weekly. Embury was not among the card players, nor in the same house with them.

There is every reason to believe that as a result of this meeting a class according to the Wesleyan pattern was organized. This class continued its meetings in Embury's own home, but it was not long before the group grew in numbers and, therefore, required a larger meeting place. To defray the expenses of a hired hall, collections were taken. Within a few months fourteen or more had been genuinely converted and these were organized in

High School

TOMS RIVER
Catholic Church

Presbyterian Church

classes, one for men and one for women. Embury, who was both a class leader and a licensed local preacher, showed that he had caught Wesley's gift of organizing into classes and continued instruction to those whom his preaching won.

Methodism in its ecclesiastical form owes its origin in New Jersey to the work of a local preacher, an officer in the British Army, Captain Thomas Webb by name. It appears that the hall in which the first Methodists met in New York was not far from the barracks occupied by the British troops. The enthusiastic singing of the Methodists soon attracted some of the soldiers and it was not long before three were converted. It happened that in February, 1766, an officer of the Royal Army in military dress and wearing a sword entered the meetinghouse. His presence inspired fear, for the worshippers believed that this officer of distinguished military bearing had come either to disperse them or to reprove them for having been responsible for the conversion of at least three of the soldiers under his command. However, their fears were soon allayed, for he knelt in prayer with the rest, listened devoutly to the preaching of Embury, and at the close of the service introduced himself as "Captain Thomas Webb, of the King's service, and also a soldier of the Cross, and a spiritual son of John Wesley." Seven years before this while listening to a sermon preached by John Wesley in Bristol, his heart was strangely warmed and he became a zealous Christian. He had preached his first sermon in 1765 at a Methodist meetinghouse in Bath. It so happened that the circuit preacher failed to come and, therefore, Captain Webb in his regimentals walked up to the altar and there began to preach. His address revealed the depth of personal conviction and the reality of his faith. So strangely was the audience moved that it was not long before Wesley heard of the event and immediately licensed Captain Webb to preach. Of him Wesley said, "Captain Webb kindled a flame here and it is not yet gone out. The people generally were much quickened. I found his preaching in the street at Winchester had been blessed greatly."

A military mission brought Captain Webb to Philadelphia, where he preached in a sail-loft, with the result that a class of seven members was organized. Soon afterwards he was retired from army service, which left him free to devote all his energies to making preaching tours, many of which were made in New Jersey. The planting of Methodism in Pemberton, Trenton and Burlington is due to the work of Captain Webb.

While Embury was preaching in New York, Robert Strawbridge working in Maryland, and Captain Webb itinerating in New Jersey, an event of unusual significance took place. In 1771 John Wesley commissioned Francis Asbury to preach in the New World. Francis Asbury possessed in a marked degree just those qualities which enabled him to leave the impress of his personality upon the New World to such an extent that American christianity will never be able to repay the debt due him. In addition to firm convictions, fervent spirit and rare preaching power, he possessed just those qualifications for organization and administration which the work in America required. In principle he was quite as high-church as was Wesley himself, but fortunately, he had none of Wesley's despotic temper. Asbury imme-

diately perceived that the spirit and temper of the American colonists was different from that which prevailed in old England. He had the wisdom, foresight, tact and good sense to adjust organization and method to conform to the spirit of the New World. Technically, his position here, particularly after he had been ordained superintendent and bishop alike, was quite as autocratic as that which Wesley held in England, but Asbury knew how to use his power without abusing it. Here remains an abiding illustration of how a "polity theoretically aristocratic or monarchic in the atmosphere of our republic has grown into a practically popular government, simply through tact and good judgment in the administration of it, without changing a syllable of its constitution."

Begun in New York, the center of gravity of the Methodist Society moved rapidly southward. Captain Webb has established Methodism in Philadelphia, as also in several centers in New Jersey. Robert Strawbridge had been doing remarkably fine work in Maryland, with the result that as Boston became the headquarters of the Congregational churches, New York of the Episcopalian, Philadelphia of the Quakers and Presbyterians, Baltimore became the headquarters of Methodism. It was here that Asbury established his residence, although as a matter of fact, he was rarely at home, because he devoted the rest of his life to what later became known as circuit riding. It is within the bounds of truth to say that New Jersey profited more from the work of Asbury than any other Colony or State.

The first Methodist Conference was held in Philadelphia in 1773, when a total membership of 1,160 was reported, with ten preachers, no one of whom had been born in this country. The second conference was held in the same place the following year, reporting a membership of 2,073 and seventeen preachers. The next conference, also at Philadelphia, met simultaneously with the Continental Congress, and reported a total membership of 3,148. War clouds were rapidly gathering, with a consequence that some of the foremost preachers of Methodism had returned to England, because they felt that they could not carry on their work without compromising their royalist principles. The fourth conference, at Baltimore, in 1776, showed a continued increase in membership and preachers as well, for there were reported 4,921 members and twenty-four preachers. During the next two years, owing to the ravages of war, the membership of the Methodist Church declined. The year 1779 witnessed marked revivals, especially in those sections of the country not affected by the war and, therefore, showed a total increase of 2,482 members and forty-nine preachers. It is significant to relate that in the reports that year, only 140 members are credited to New Jersey. However, an enduring foundation had been laid for subsequent Methodism to build upon, so that today it is about the strongest religious organization in the State.

**Congregationalists and Lutherans**—During the eighteenth century when most of the Protestant denominations still flourishing today became established in the New World, it is noticeable that two of the major groups did little more than establish themselves in New Jersey. Their number remained negligible until well on into the nineteenth century. The communions

TEMPLE B'NAI ABRAHAM, NEWARK

OLD ST. MARY'S CHURCH AT BURLINGTON

referred to are the Congregationalists and Lutherans. The former had claimed New England as their peculiar field, and naturally their strength numerically and otherwise lay there. The earliest Lutherans arrived at New Amsterdam, where they received scant hospitality at the hands of the Calvinistic Dutch. The Swedish Lutheran settlement on the Delaware, while at first promising, was soon, as it were, swallowed up by the Dutch. Quite naturally the majority of the Lutherans came from Germany. These settled themselves in New York City, up the Hudson near Newburg, and particularly in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys. Equally marked was the migration southward and westward, for Germantown, Pennsylvania, became a Lutheran stronghold. The entire State of Pennsylvania was open to them, and this opportunity was not neglected.

As early as 1707 an advance band of Lutherans from Wolfenbüttel and Halberstadt, originally intending to settle in New York, made their homes in German Valley, New Jersey. Many Germans from the Palatinate followed and settled in the northwestern part of the Colony. In 1714 Lutherans became neighbors of the Dutch in the Raritan Valley and built a log church, calling it "Raritan-among-the-Hills." The first meeting of the Lutheran ministers in America was held in this church in 1735. That there were only nine churches represented at this meeting goes to show that the Lutheran Church in New Jersey had experienced very slow growth. This was due in no small degree to the fact that the Lutherans clung to their own language and customs, as did the Dutch. The purpose for the calling of this particular assembly seems to have been to adjust differences between Wolf, the pastor of the church, and his people, who were dissatisfied with their minister because he read his sermons and charged too much for funeral services. The upshot of the matter was that Wolf promised to preach sermons "out of his head" and to charge not more than twelve shillings for the funeral of an old person and six shillings for a child. Other pastoral charges were to be determined by "The Hackensack price list." After half a century of continued use, the old church became inadequate for the needs of the people. It was, therefore, abandoned and a new church erected in the adjoining village of Pluckemin in 1757, called St. Paul's Lutheran Church. A most interesting history of this ancient church has been written by the late Dr. John C. Honeyman, of New Germantown, New Jersey. As throwing a sidelight on the customs of that day, it is in place to relate that the subscription list for the building of this church is still preserved. The subscriptions were made on paper which was pasted on linen and the whole is nine feet long. In all 134 names appear on the list, nearly all of them very plainly written, "the shading and slant of letters comparing most favorably with the fine old quill manuscripts found in the British Museum." As New Jersey Methodism felt the benign influence of Francis Asbury, so the Lutherans in New Jersey were inspired by the statesmanlike leadership of the great Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who became as distinguished a circuit rider as any Methodist bishop or superintendent.

(For Bibliography, see later chapter on Religion.)

# CHAPTER XIV.

## EARLY SCHOOLS IN NEW JERSEY.

**By Evelyn Jones Hawkes, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Education, New Jersey College for Women.**

The schools of New Jersey during the colonial period present examples of several educational influences operative within the Thirteen Colonies. The nature of each influence was determined by the customs and traditions of the various groups of colonists. These precedents are most clearly manifest among those settlers who desired that their children should be brought up according to their own religious beliefs through the imparting of both secular and religious instruction by church officials. A second group of colonists laid the foundations for tax supported schools through the action of the town's people in delegating a school committee to make arrangements with a schoolmaster for the keeping of the school built upon the common land. A third type is found in the private endeavors of persons who acted individually or in conjunction with others in the same neighborhood to provide a school and to support a schoolmaster for the children of the family. In addition to these three influences there should be mentioned a fourth which, though it partakes of the nature of the second type, was general in purpose and effect. To this factor may be applied the term governmental agencies because it includes (1) legislation relating to the care of the poor, (2) laws permitting the establishment of schools in the colony, (3) instructions to the Governors in regard to license of schoolmasters, and (4) appropriation of land by the Assembly for the support of schools.

It will be impossible to treat in detail each of these four factors within the limits of this chapter. However, examples of the operation of each influence in the educational situation during the early days of the State will be presented. Therefore let us reverse the order in which these factors were named and consider first the governmental agencies affecting the establishment of schools.

**Governmental Agencies**—The custom among the English colonists of "putting out" children was established by the apprenticeship laws of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This practice indirectly affected educational conditions because of the obligation of the master to teach his apprentice to read and write. The Concessions and Agreements of 1676 provided that the children of a person dying intestate should have reserved for them two parts of the estate. In case the funds were not sufficient to support the child or children the commissioners were to appoint persons for this responsibility "and the charges thereof to be bourne by the public stock of the Province."[1] A similar law was passed by the West Jersey Assembly in 1681,[2] and the

[1] Leaming and Spicer: *Concessions and Agreements*, p. 403.
[2] Leaming and Spicer, pp. 430-33.

"QUEENS," RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

question of apprenticeship is dealt with in legislative enactments in 1744,[3] 1798, and 1799.[4] However, it was Article 18 of the Apprenticeship Law of 1744 which required writing into the indenture the provision for the education of the apprentice. This article reads as follows:

> That it shall and may be lawful for the overseers of the poor or any two of them, with the assistance and approbation of two Justices of Peace of any county, city or town corporate of this colony, and they are hereby enjoined and commanded to put forth and bind out any poor child or children, who have no parents or whose parents shall apply to said overseer or overseers for relief, or the child or children of any parents whatsoever, who shall bring up their children in sloth, idleness and ignorance, and upon advice and direction, given by the said overseer or overseers, shall, for three months after such advice and direction, refuse or neglect to put forth and bind out such poor child or children for a number of years as the said justices and overseers, in their discretion shall think proper, for a male person till they arrive at twenty-one years of age, and for a female till they arrive at eighteen years of age, and no longer, and the said justices or any two of them, amongst the common covenants in the indenture and indentures, made and agreed upon between the parties, shall always insert the following clause, "that every master or mistress, to whom such poor child or children shall be bound out as aforesaid, shall cause every such child or children to be taught to read and write." . . . .

The scanty records of the period make it impossible to determine the extent of the operation of this law. An indenture of this nature, though of earlier date, shows that:

> The Court Allows Samuel Hedge, Jun., to be Guardian of Abraham Hodges, Laite son of Barnard Hodges Dissesed, and That Abraham Hodges be Bound to Sam[l] Hedge, Jun., till he shall arrive to Twenty-one years of age, & That said Hedge Shall Teach, or Cause to be taught, ye Said Hodges ye Trade of a Cooper, and Alsoe to Read and Right English, and pay him Twenty pounds att the Expiration of ye Term.[5]

A second group of laws permitted the inhabitants of any town within the colony to levy a rate for the salary of a schoolmaster and empowered the Justices of Peace to enforce the payment of the levy. The first of these laws was passed by the Assembly of East New Jersey at Perth Amboy in October, 1693. The law, entitled An Act for Establishing Schoolmasters within this Province, states:

> Whereas the cultivating of Learning and good Manners tends greatly to the good and benefit of Mankind, which hath hitherto

---

[3] Paterson: *Laws of New Jersey*, p. 31.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 411.
[5] Salem Court Records, April 14, 1708.

> been much neglected within this Province. *Be It Therefore Enacted* by the Governor, Council, and Deputies in General Assembly now met and assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that the Inhabitants of any Town within this Province, shall and may by warrant from a Justice of Peace of that County when they think fit and convenient, meet together and make a choice of three more Men of the said Town, to make a rate for the Salary and maintaining of a Schoolmaster within the said Town, for so long Time as they think fit: and the consent and agreement of the Major Part of the Inhabitants of said Town to satisfy and pay their Shares and Proportion of the said Rate; and in case of refusal or non-payment, distress to be made upon the Goods and Chattels of such Persons so refusing or not paying, by the Constable of the said Town, by Virtue of a Warrant from a Justice of Peace of that County; and the Distress so taken to be sold at a public Vendue, and the overplus, if any be after payment of the said rate and charges, to be returned to the Owner.[5a]

Two years later this permission to levy a rate for the schoolmaster's salary was supplemented by a law allowing the school committee to arrange for the keeping of the school in such places and at such times as were convenient and beneficial to the inhabitants.[6] This law suggests conditions similar to those in Massachusetts where the scattered condition of the settlements made it necessary for the school to be moved from place to place and so to be kept from time to time in one locality or another within the jurisdiction of the town.[7]

A second type of governmental influence is found in the instructions to Governor Brainerd, who succeeded Governor Belcher in 1758. The sixty-fifth item of these instructions states:

> *We* do further direct that no Schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep School in the said province without the Licence of the said Bishop of London, and that no other person now there or that shall come from other parts, shall be permitted to keep School in that Our said province of New Jersey without your Licence first obtained.[8]

This requirement reflected the influence of the Church of England, and the controversy between the representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Quaker schoolmasters in Burlington may be cited as an example of the condition created thereby. Yet it does not appear that the requirement was rigidly enforced.[9] Nevertheless the matter did not pass entirely without notice. In 1760 Governor Boone issued a proclamation requiring all "Magistrates to inform themselves sufficiently of the Character

---

[5a] Leaming and Spicer: *The Grants, Concessions and Original Constitutions*, p. 328.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 358.
[7] Updegraff, H.: *The Origin of the Moving School in Massachusetts, Teachers College Contributions to Education*, No. 17, 1908.
[8] *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, IX, p. 68.
[9] See Whitehead, William: *Contributions to East Jersey History*, p. 179.

of the Schoolmasters . . . ., to administer the Oaths to them, and give them, under the Hands of two, a Certificate of Approbation, by which they may obtain a Licence."[10]

There was also in the instructions of Governor Brainerd an item which stated:

> . . . . it is Our further *Will and Pleasure* that you recommend to the Assembly to enter upon the proper Methods for the erecting and Maintaining of Schools, in Order to the training up of Youth to Reading and to a necessary knowledge of the principals of Religion. . . .[11]

The results of this instruction to the Governor were more far reaching than the one preceding. It was the interpretation of this provision to encourage schools that was responsible for lotteries in the interest of education. Two examples may be cited here. The first was a lottery act passed in 1761. By it the church wardens and vestrymen of St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy, were empowered to raise a sum of money for the purpose of repairing the church, parsonage, schoolhouse, and ferry house.[12] The second was passed the following year, 1762, permitting the trustees of the College of New Jersey to raise by lottery a sum of money for the use of the college.[13] This educational institution, the establishment of which is considered elsewhere, had sought in 1749 legislative sanction to a lottery for the benefit of the college, but the Assembly had refused the petition.[14]

A further extension of this same interest in the erecting and maintaining of schools is seen in the action of Governor Franklin when, on February 21, 1769, he laid before the Council the draft of a charter incorporating "The Trustees of the free schools of the Town of Woodbridge."[15] After consideration and amendment the charter was approved in May of the same year. This action by the Governor was preceded by action on the part of the people of the town in setting aside one hundred acres of land for educational purposes at the time of settlement in 1669.[16]

There was also another early grant of land for the support of schools. At the meeting of the West New Jersey Assembly in September, 1682, it was enacted that:

> . . . . the Island called Matinicunk Island, late in the possession of Robert Stacy, with all and every the appurtenances, is hereby given, and shall be from henceforth forever hereafter, be and remain to and for the use of the Town of Burlington and to others concerned therein, within the first and second tenths, the rents, issues, and profits thereout and therefrom yearly arising, to be (by

---

10 *New York Mercury,* November 3, 1760. This proclamation appears only in newspapers.

11 *New Jersey Archives;* First Series, IX, p. 69.

12 Allison, Samuel: *Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey;* Burlington, 1776, ch. 348, p. 245.

13 *Ibid.,* ch. 364, p. 252.

14 See Maclean: *History of the College of New Jersey,* Vol. I, p. 136-37; also Murray: *History of Education in New Jersey,* p. 27.

15 *New Jersey Archives,* First Series, XVIII, pp. 1, 6.

16 See Synopsis of Woodbridge Charter in Whitehead's: *Contributions to Early History of Perth Amboy,* p. 287.

> the overseers appointed or to be appointed in Burlington) employed for the maintaining of a school for the education of youth within the said town and in the first and second tenths.[17]

The use of the income from this land was suggested by one of the promoters of the academy at Burlington in 1789 as an advantage which the town possessed over other possible locations for the institution.[18]

**Schools Supported by Individuals**—The information available in regard to private teachers is sufficient to suggest that further research may prove productive. There are numerous references to schools and schoolmasters in the New Jersey items of Philadelphia and New York newspapers between 1730 and 1776. These references include calls for meetings of trustees, advertisements of textbooks; announcements of changes in masters, vacations, examination of candidates for degrees, and opening of the new term; and notices of vacant schoolhouses. In some cases the nature of the item gives the idea that schoolmasters were not worthy of the responsibility. Such persons doubtless belonged to a group of itinerant teachers who supplemented meager earnings at a trade by sums acquired through proficiency in reading.

Between the years of 1746 and 1771 there are notices of vacancies at Bethlehem, Hunterdon County; Raritan and Raritan-Landing; Mount Holly; Evesham Township, Burlington County; English Neighborhood, Bergen County; Elsinborough, Salem County; Bordentown; Moore's Town, Burlington County; Burlington; and Salem. The frequent requests from Raritan and the references to the distance from the Landing suggest that the inhabitants thereabouts were not negligent in the matter of providing instruction for their children. Apparently John Broughton, "at Raritan, six miles above Bound Brook," was greatly concerned. In four of the advertisements between 1747 and 1755 his name was given as the person to whom application should be made. The first item from "Landing, near New Brunswick" stated that there was not a schoolmaster in all that place, yet Jacobus Schureman had come to the neighborhood in 1720 as voorleser and schoolmaster and had continued his duties as teacher of children of the Reformed Dutch Church.[19]

An examination of the references to schools that were in operation at some time during the colonial period gives an index to the situation regarding the opportunities for securing instruction. A summary of such references is given in the following table:

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS MENTIONED IN NEW JERSEY NEWSPAPER ITEMS, 1730-1773.

| Location of the School | Name of the Master | Date |
|---|---|---|
| Amwell | John Forrester | 1755 |
| | Edward Dawson | 1755 |
| Baskinridge | Samuel Kennedy | 1764 |
| Bound Brook | William Haddon | 1761 |

[17] Leaming and Spicer: *Original Constitutions of New Jersey*, p. 455.

[18] See note 109.

[19] See Demarest, W. H. S.: *A History of Rutgers College*, Princeton University Press, pp. 4, 24.

NASSAU HALL, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Photograph by Orren Jack Turner.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS MENTIONED IN NEW JERSEY NEWSPAPER ITEMS, 1730-1773.

| Location of the School | Name of the Master | Date |
|---|---|---|
| Burlington | William Sorsby | 1737 |
| | Bartholomew Rowley | 1751 |
| | Thomas Powell | 1763 |
| | William Fentham | 1763 |
| | Robert Osborne | 1764 |
| Christiana | William Henderson | 1769 |
| Cranbury | Henry Moore | 1767 |
| Elizabeth Town | Edward Kite | 1751 |
| | Robert Cather | 1762 |
| | Tapping Reeve | 1766 |
| | Ebenezer Pemberton | 1766 |
| | Richard Devens | 1767 |
| | Joseph Periam | 1769 |
| | James Conn | 1771 |
| | Francis Barber | 1772 |
| Freehold | School under the patronage of Rev. William Tennent, Charles McKnight, and Dr. Nathaniel Scudder. Master's name not given. | 1767 |
| Hackensack | Peter Wilson | 1767 |
| | Stephen Voorhees | 1768 |
| | Francis Barber | 1768 |
| | Terence Reilly | 1769 |
| | John Wright | 1771 |
| Millstone | Isaiah Younglove | 1767 |
| Morris County | James Murphy | 1754 |
| | Andrew Wilson, prior to | 1777 |
| Newark | William Haddon | 1768 |
| | William Thomson | 1780 |
| New Brunswick | Edward Cooper | 1760 |
| | Caleb Cooper | 1768 |
| Middletown Point | Robert Savage | 1755 |
| Morristown | Jonathan Peat | 1765 |
| | Henry Glass | |
| | John Reily | |
| | Dan. Campbell | |
| | John Campbell | |
| | John Lynch | |
| | Abraham Dyson | |
| Penn's Neck | John Budd | 1771 |
| Perth Amboy | Richard Wright | 1731 |
| Princeton | Simon Williams | 1763 |
| | John Periam | 1764 |
| Reedington | Rev. Hals | 1752 |
| Second River | No master named | 1762 |
| Short Hills | Henry Davis | 1755 |
| Truxbury | H. Hughes | 1773 |
| Trenton | John Reid | 1764 |
| | John Toy | 1773 |
| Woodbridge | Nugent Kelly | 1759 |

Presenting material in this form tends to give certain items undue significance, especially as there are those appearing upon the above list of schoolmasters who were advertised as runaways or thieves. Such was the case with Edward Kite,[20] who in 1751 ran away from bail in Elizabeth, or James Murphy[21] of Morris County, and William Henderson[22] of Christiana, who were runaway servants. John Moore,[23] whose name is not included in

[20] *New Jersey Archives*, First Series; XIX, p. 75.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 330.
[22] *New Jersey Archives*, First Series; XXVI, p. 456.
[23] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, May 29, 1767.

the list, stopped overnight at the Widow Finn's house, near Pompton, and there robbed a fellow lodger, John Armstrong, of fifty-seven pounds proclamation money and a watch. A reward of twenty dollars was offered for the thief. Another name to which no school was assigned was that of James Robert.[24] This person, having broken jail at Chester, is described as "a great taker of snuff, and very apt to get drunk" and a bearer of two certificates from Burlington in New Jersey. Another such person was Felix Cunningham,[25] "late schoolmaster from East Jersey," who left an unpaid bill in Wilmington, Delaware. Furthermore such a list as the one given above omits reference to schoolmasters in good standing in the communities where they were teaching. Such persons were James Farrill,[26] who moved from New Jersey to Philadelphia in 1756, and J. Clerk, teacher of navigation, and W. Ransted, teacher of navigation and surveying, who gave testimonials[27] of approval of John Gordon's Mathematical Traverse Table, published in Philadelphia in 1758.

In order to understand the importance of four apparently insignificant items it will be necessary to recall that the school of the colonial period was the Latin grammar school. This type of school had been brought to this country by colonists who had been educated in Europe. In the changed conditions of the new settlements there arose a demand for instruction in English and for the addition of surveying and navigation to the course of study. For example, Terence Reilly[28] assisted in the school at Hackensack as teacher of mathematics; James Conn[29] went to the grammar school in Elizabeth as instructor in writing and arithmetic, but he also taught "Surveying, Navigation, and Merchant Accompts." In 1779 both Dr. Thomas Van Derveer[30] of Hillsborough, near Somerset Courthouse, and Rev. Mr. James Warford,[31] of the Presbyterian congregation at Amwell, advertised for English teachers. A year later (1780) an announcement of the Newark Academy[32] stated that William Thompson provided instruction in Latin and Greek languages and that "An English School is kept contiguous to the Academy, where Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and several Branches of the Mathematics are taught with care." These grammar schools not only excluded girls but also required the ability to read before entering. In the light of this explanation the following items are significant.

In 1749 William Foster[33] of Mount Holly advertised for a schoolmaster or a school mistress. Foster was a prominent Friend; his wife, Hannah, was a preacher and a person of considerable influence. However, the Mount Holly Monthly Meeting[34] was not organized until 1776; therefore this item

---

24 *Pennsylvania Gazette,* November 25, 1756.
25 *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* March 25 and April 1, 1771.
26 *New Jersey Archives,* First Series, XX, p. 49.
27 *Ibid.,* p. 114.
28 *New Jersey Archives,* First Series; XXVI, p. 528.
29 *New Jersey Archives,* First Series; XXVII, p. 603, and XXVIII, p. 7.
30 *New Jersey Archives* Second Series; III, p. 449.
31 *Ibid.,* p. 418.
32 *New Jersey Archives,* Second Series; IV, p. 199.
33 *New Jersey Archives,* First Series; XII, p. 583.
34 See Woody, Thomas: *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey,* Philadelphia, 1923, p. 93 ff.

suggests a Quaker family providing educational opportunities for both girls and boys, as was the practice among members of this sect. In 1763 William Fentham conducted the girls department of the school at Burlington. An item announcing this school read as follows:

> As Thomas Powell, of Burlington, Schoolmaster hath been applied to sundry Times to take Girls to board, and hath hitherto declined it, because he thought it inconvenient to board a Number of each Sex in the same House; William Fentham, Latin and French Master, in the same School, begs Leave to inform the Public, that Girls may be conveniently boarded, and taught Needle-work by his Wife, who has opened a School for that Purpose, and may have the Benefit of being instructed in English, Writing, Arithmetic and French, by Thomas Powell and William Fentham N. B. The Boarders will have an Opportunity of speaking the French Tongue in the House.[35]

A second girls' school in Burlington was conducted by Ann Davenport. The date of this second school was 1778. The fourth item of interest in this connection is an advertisement for a schoolmistress "who can teach Reading, and most kinds of needlework, knitting, &c."[36] The applicant was asked to confer with the printer of the *New Jersey Gazette.*

With the exception of the addition of the boarding department for girls the school at Burlington was typical of the private boarding schools of the period. The first reference to this school occurs in 1763 when Thomas Powell, the master, advertised for "A Sober single Man, qualified to teach the Latin Language."[37] William Wyatt Fentham became connected with the school in the spring of the same year and at the same time undertook to provide board and instruction for the girls who had applied to Powell.[38] This association was of short duration, however, for in July, 1763, Fentham announced the opening of his own school.[39] Here he proposed to teach "Latin, French, English, Writing and Arithmetic." The vacancy created by the separation from Powell was supplied by Robert Osborne, a teacher of Latin and Greek.[40] Perhaps Powell was seriously affected by the withdrawal of his former assistant, because the same item which announces Osborne's connection with the school mentions "Vacancy at school for ½ dozen boarders." Powell himself appears to have been the writing master. In 1764 he announced the publication of *The Writing Master's Assistant,* a "complete & practical system for teaching to write, for schools & private families. . . ."[41] For some reason Thomas Powell returned "to same House he formerly resided in" and continued his school without an assistant after 1767. The charges for board and instruction were "Twenty-six Pounds per Annum."[42]

---

35 *Pennsylvania Gazette,* April 21, 1763.
36 *New Jersey Gazette,* May 24, 1780.
37 *Pennsylvania Gazette,* January 6, 1763.
38 Note 35, p.
39 *Pennsylvania Gazette,* July 14, 1763.
40 *Pennsylvania Gazette,* August 2, 1764.
41 *Ibid.*
42 *Pennsylvania Gazette,* April 9, 1767.

**Town Support of Schools**—In Northern New Jersey there was a fusion of two elements of similar religious convictions and like political opinions. These were the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who migrated to America before the close of the Seventeenth Century, and the New England Congregationalists, who had come into the Jersey settlements by way of Long Island. From the latter migration grew the towns of Rahway and Woodbridge; from the former came the prosperity of Elizabeth and Newark. In both cases the settlers were usually men of family, property, and education. They brought with them the idea of a school in every community for the "instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue."[44]

The setting apart of one hundred acres of land, eighty of upland and twelve of swamp meadow, for the support of a school in Woodbridge has been mentioned previously. Although the charter of the town was granted in 1669, there is no record of a teacher until 1689. At this date the town voted that James Fullerton "shall be entertained in this town as a schoolmaster and be encouraged by such as see cause to employ him." In 1694 the town "passed by a vote that John Brown, of Amboy, should have twenty-four pounds a yeare allowed him for keeping a free school in this town this next yeare." John Conger, who protested against Brown's appointment, used his mark in signing documents. John Broacher, Brown's predecessor, was engaged. George Ewbanks began teaching at Woodbridge in 1771. Except the last person mentioned these masters conducted their classes in the same building as that used for church services. The Strawberry Hill School dated from 1701.[46]

In 1764 the funds derived from the rent of school land amounted to £434 7s. 9d., and a vote was taken to decide whether this money should be used for the schooling of poor children. The vote was negative. The fund continued to grow, but was dissipated during the Revolution.

A second example of town support of schools occurs in Newark. A warrant issued by the Proprietors in 1676 provided for the laying out of "so much Land as shall be convenient for Landing Places within the said Towne (Newark), Land for a School House, for a Town house, Meeting House, a Market Place or Market Places, and two hundred Acres of Upland and Meadow in proportion for a Parsonage."[47] At a town meeting one month after the date of this warrant the freeholders agreed that the "Town's Men have Liberty to see if they can find a competent number of scholars and accommodations for a School Master in this Town."[48] A similar entry in the records under the date of February 7, 1677, suggests that the town's men may not have secured the services of a teacher. This entry reads as follows:

> The Town hath consented that the Town's Men should perfect the Bargain with the School Master for this Year, upon condition

---

44 Murray: *History of Education in New Jersey*, p. 14.
46 Dally, J. W.: *Woodbridge and Vicinity*, pp. 172-79; Whitehead, op. cit., pp. 393-95.
47 Whitehead: *The Passaic Valley*, Vol. I, p. 347.
48 Newark Town Records, p. 65.

HAMILL HOUSE, BUILT IN 1810, THE FIRST UNIT OF THE PRESENT LAWRENCEVILLE SCHOOL

Photograph by Orren Jack Turner.

that he will come for this year, and do his faithful, honest and true Endeavor, to teach the Children or servants of those as have subscribed, the reading and writing of English, and also Arithmetick if they desire it, as much as they are capable to learn and he to teach them, within the Compass of this Year, no wise hindring but that he may make what bargain he please, with those as have not subscribed. It is voted, that the Town's Men have Liberty to complete the Bargain with the School Master, they knowing the Town's Mind.[49].

The first schoolmaster, John Catlin, was appointed in 1677. Catlin—also spelled Catling—was active in affairs of the town; he is mentioned in various capacities until 1682, after which the name disappears from the records. In 1677-78 he was town attorney, in 1677-79 and in 1681-82 one of the Town's Men.

The matter of a schoolmaster appears again in the town records under the date of August 10, 1696. At this time "It is voted that Capt. John Curtis, Mr. John Treat, and Mr. Theophilus Pierson shall endeavor the obtaining of a well qualified Man for a Schoolmaster."[51] This committee was changed the following January when "Theophilus Pierson, Jasper Crane, and Thomas Richards are chosen, to agree with a Schoolmaster to keep School in this Town for this Year, according to Act of Assembly."[52] The act here referred to was the law entitled *"An Act for Establishing Schoolmasters within this Province,"* passed by the Assembly at Perth Amboy in October, 1693.

The first suggestion of the location of the schoolhouse occurs in an entry for September 28, 1714, when it was ordered that the old floor on the meeting-house should be made use of for making a floor in the schoolhouse in the middle of the town.[54] At this time a new stone church had been completed and, as a matter of economy, the flooring of the old building was removed to the school, which presumably had been without a wooden floor. This school stood on the south side of Market Street.[55]

In 1773 action was taken to provide for the increase in school population by additional building. The townspeople "voted that a school house may be built on any of the Common Land in Newark, and the Particular Place shall be where a major Part of the Subscribers in Value shall Appoint. . . ."[56] Two years later the town meeting set apart "one acre and a half of Land on the Town Commons at the North end of the Town. . . . for the Use of the Academy lately erected on the said land."[57] The committee in charge of surveying this lot consisted of Lewis Ogden, William Camp, Isaac Ogden, Capt. Anthony Rutgers, Joseph Hedden, Jr., Samuel Hayes, and Joseph Alling.

---

49 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
51 Newark Records, p. 109.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
54 Newark Records, p. 124.
55 Shaw, William H.: *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey*, 2 vol. Everts and Peck, 1884; I, p. 646.
56 Newark Records, p. 155.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

The Academy mentioned here was a Latin grammar school, whereas the earlier school taught by John Catlin was an elementary school for the teaching of reading. The classical languages were taught by William Haddon, who had come to Newark from Bound Brook in 1768.[58] The English branches and mathematics were under the direction of Robert Allen, who was probably connected with the school after 1774, and William Thomson.[59] The building itself has been described as "a sightly commodious stone edifice, two stories high, with dwelling rooms for the teacher and his family, besides accommodations for people who might desire to be lodged and boarded." Although the master was a native Englishman and a staunch Loyalist, the British did not spare the structure.[61] The building was burned in January, 1780. In the claim for damage the value of the plant was estimated at £1,400. This claim mentions as surviving trustees Rev. Dr. Alexander MacWhorter, William Burnet, Esqr., Caleb Camp, Esqr., Jonathan Crane, and Alexander Eagles. No steps were taken to replace the school until 1792, when a voluntary association of citizens, acting under Isaac Gouverneur as president, purchased a lot on the corner of Broad and Academy streets. With the assistance of the St. John's Lodge of Masons a three story building was erected. For their share in the enterprise the Masons received the use of the third story. Further assistance was obtained through a lottery, whereby £800 were raised, and the sale of a negro servant for £40.[62] This combination of interests in the reëstablishment of the Academy is related to an educational movement which reached its height in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, the School Society Movement.

It should be mentioned here that the townspeople of Newark included schooling in their care of the poor. In March, 1769, the town meeting ordered that

> Caleb Camp bid off the poor at one hundred pounds light money, and is to keep them in sufficient victuals and clothing and grammar schooling to such children as require it, which said schooling &c., is left at the discretion of Samuel Huntington, one of the assessors.[64]

In 1774 the records show that "It was voted that the poor children shall be constantly sent to school at the expense of the person that takes them."[65] This action was repeated every year until 1792.[66]

**Religious Interest in Education**—In the rebuilding of Newark Academy there were philanthropic interests in addition to previously named factors in the educational situation during the early history of the state of New Jersey. The last of these factors to be considered is the activity of the various religious groups. It was said in regard to the religious affiliations of the col-

---

58 *New Jersey Archives;* First Series, XX, pp. 548, 562; XXVI, p. 141.
59 Shaw: *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey,* I, p. 652.
61 *History of Newark,* Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1913, 3 vol. II, pp. 737-38.
62 Shaw, *op. cit.,* p. 652.
64 Newark Records.
65 *Ibid.*
66 *History of Newark,* II, p. 735.

onists that "their professions are most part *Protestants,* few *Quakers,* some *Anabaptists.*"[67] The influential groups were the Quakers of West Jersey; the Church of England adherents, who were supported by interests of the royal government; the Presbyterians of East Jersey, who were allied with the Proprietary interests; and the Dutch Reformed congregations in the vicinity of New York.

The Quaker settlements in West Jersey were a homogeneous group. They consisted chiefly of English middle class farmers, craftsmen, and tradesmen who found the shores of the Delaware more comfortable than Massachusetts or conditions in England or Scotland. Later immigrations reduced the proportion of Quakers in the population, but the Concessions and Agreements of 1676 testify to the importance of this element in New Jersey history. The educational ideas of the sect are given expression in a tract published in 1685 by Thomas Budd, at that time one of the leaders in America.

> 1. Now It might be well if a Law were made by the Governours and general Assemblies of *Pennsylvania* and *New-Jersey,* that all Persons inhabiting in the said Provinces, do put their Children seven years to the public School, or longer, if the Parents please.
>
> 2. That Schools be provided in all Towns and Cities, and persons of known honesty, skill and understanding be chosen . . . . to teach and instruct Boys and Girls in all the most useful Arts and Sciences . . . . as learning to *Read* and *Write true English, Latine,* and other useful Speeches and Languages, and *fair Writing, Arithmetick* and *Bookkeeping;* and the Boys to be taught and instructed in some Mystery or Trade . . . ; and the Girls to be taught and instructed in *Spinning* of *Flax* and *Wool,* and *Knitting* of *Gloves* and Stockings, Sewing, and the making of all sorts of useful *Needle-Work,* and the making of *Straw-Work.* . . .
>
> 4. The seventh day of the Week the Scholars may come to school only in the fore-noon, and at a certain hour in the afternoon let a Meeting be kept by the School-masters and their Scholars. . .
>
> 5. Let the like Meetings be kept by the School-Mistrisses, and the Girls be kept apart from the Boys. . . .
>
> 6. Let one thousand Acres of Land be given and laid out in a good place, to every publick School that may be set up, and the Rent or income of it to go towards the defraying of the charge of the School.
>
> 7. And to the end that the Children of poor People, and the Children of *Indians* may have the like good Learning with the Children of Rich People, let them be maintained free of charge to their Parents, out of the Profits of the school, arising by the Work of the Scholars. . . .[68]

The Friends were not interested in the problem of an educated ministry. Their chief concern was to provide schools where their children could receive

---

[67] *Scott's Model,* p. 194; reprinted by Whitehead in *Contributions to the History of East Jersey,* p. 299.

[68] Budd, Thomas: *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America,* reprint by William Gowans, 1865, pp. 43-44. Original published in London, 1685.

a guarded education under the direction of the Society. Such a plan included provisions for both boys and girls. The subjects taught were reading, writing, and arithmetic and the fundamentals of some trade. The instruction was given whenever possible, by a member of the Society.

There were in New Jersey the Shrewsbury, Burlington, Salem, and Haddonfield Quarterly Meetings.[69] Of these the oldest was Shrewsbury, settled in 1670, and established as a Quarterly Meeting in 1672. Prior to 1797 there were in this Quarterly Meeting the Monthly Meetings of Shrewsbury, Woodbridge (after 1789 known as Rahway and Plainfield), and Kingwood (until 1786 a part of Burlington Quarter). In this section there was little educational activity. The urgent instructions of the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia brought no more encouraging response from the Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting than the appointment during the year of eleven men as a committee to report conditions at the next quarter. In Rahway and Plainfield the efforts of the Yearly Meeting were more productive. The school committee reported in 1785 that they had been unable to secure the proposed lot for a schoolhouse, and recommended that a building be erected upon the meetinghouse grounds. Acting upon this recommendation a second committee reported as follows:

> . . . it as their opinion that it may be proper to build an house one Story high 20 by 30 feet to front the road between the Meeting house and Stable, on the Meeting house lot at Rahway, and that thay suppose the Expense of building would be about £30 but no subscriptions are yet gone into. . . .[70]

At the next meeting it was decided to begin the work immediately and two members,

> Mordecai Marsh and Ambrose Copland are appointed to collect the money subscribed for the building the school house at Rahway and pay the same to the Committee who have the care of building the house as they may have occasion for it.[71]

In response to the recommendation of the Yearly Meeting regarding the establishment of a fund for the support of schools, the Monthly Meeting in 1789 proposed to draw up the form of subscription and promote the raising of money for the fund. Within the Meeting subscriptions for this purpose amounted to £450, distributed as follows: Rahway £200, Plainfield £200, and Mendam £50.[72]

At Kingwood the population was so scattered that the efforts of the school committee met with no success. However, at Mendham, until 1797 a part of the Kingwood Monthly Meeting, money was subscribed for a school and a lot "below the meeting house, belonging to John Brotherton" was bought in

---

[69] For the summary of the activities of the Quakers the writer is indebted to Dr. Thomas Woody, who has given his permission for this use of his work.

[70] Woody, Thomas: *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey, Philadelphia,* 1922, p. 46; quoted from Minutes of Woodbridge Monthly Meeting, 15/VI/1785.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 47, from Woodbridge Minutes, 16/VII/1789.

OLDEN TIME SCHOOL

*Reproductions from old engravings*

1794. A committee appointed to obtain funds for the building reported a collection of £20 in 1798.[73]

Burlington Quarter included the Monthly Meetings of Burlington (1678), Chesterfield (1684), Little Egg Harbor (1715), Mount Holly (1776), and Upper Springfield (1783). The actions of these Meetings with respect to schools follow in general those of the Rahway and Plainfield Meeting, yet there are references to schools under the supervision of Quakers before the minutes of the Meetings show the existence of such schools. In 1715 Rev. John Talbot, the missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, wrote to the Secretary of the Society that the work of Roland Ellis, the Society's schoolmaster at Burlington, was hindered by the presence of a Quaker schoolmaster in the community.[74] The next year (1716) in reporting to the Secretary Ellis complains of the "dayly discouragements . . . . as also of the many losses & damages that I have & do sustain by the unreasonable allowance given to a Quaker to ursurp over me, & take the bread out of my mouth."[75]

The records of the Burlington Friends show that arrangements were made in 1722 to use the meetinghouse "to teach school in provided they can have a schoolmaster that is in unity with Friends, and when it shall be so employed the said Burlington Friends to keep it in repairs, as to windows."[76] Such an arrangement was made with Thomas Powell in 1770. Powell was to pay five pounds yearly for the use of the meetinghouse for the purpose of keeping a school and in addition to the guarantee to keep the windows in good order agreed "to keep the house with the fences and deliver up the same when he shall leave them in good tenantable repair. And he will not apply the house to any other use than keeping a School."[77] Powell had for several years conducted a school in Burlington, but prior to 1770 he apparently had no connection with the Quaker school.[78]

The existence of other schools in this Quarter is shown by requests to hold meetings in the following places:

1. Near Shreves Mount at the school house.
2. At the school house near William Bishop's.
3. In the school house at Mansfield Neck.
4. In school house near William Smith's.[79]

Reference has been made to the interest of William Foster, a Quaker of Mount Holly in securing a teacher, either master or mistress, in 1749. The first official action, however, was taken in 1778 in the appointment of Henry Burr, John West, Asa Shinn, John Gardner, Jos. Burr, and Tanton Earl as a school committee.[80] Ten years later "a school was reported in operation in Mt.

---

73 *Ibid.*, p. 53, from Minutes of Mendham Preparative Meeting.

74 Letter of Mr. Talbot to the Secretary, November 1, 1715, quoted by Hills: *History of the Church at Burlington*, W. S. Sharpe, 1876, p. 145.

75 Mr. Ellis to the Secretary, quoted by Hills, pp. 147-48.

76 Woody, *op. cit.*, p. 57, quoted from Minutes of Burlington Quarterly Meeting, 26/IX/1722.

77 Woody: *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

78 See Note 42.

79 Woody: *op. cit.*, p. 57.

80 Minutes of Mt. Holly Monthly Meeting, quoted by Woody, p. 94.

Holly, and two other school houses, one of which was vacant."[81] There is evidence of a schoolhouse in the Chesterfield Meeting as early as 1693,[82] but the Little Egg Harbor Friends did not provide schools until well into the Eighteenth Century.[83] Upper Springfield Meeting, having been created during a period of educational activity among the Quakers, immediately appointed a school committee and undertook the promotion of a permanent school fund.[84]

The school committee of Upper Springfield in order to exert full control over the schools of the Meeting drew up a set of rules setting forth the duties of the master and stating the responsibility of the subscribers. A few items which show the obligations of the master are quoted here:

> 3rd. The master shall teach spelling, reading, grammar, writing and useful arithmetic, such as is generally taught in public schools.
>
> 4th. The price of schooling shall be twelve shillings and six pence per quarter, exclusive of board, and any branches of learning not usually taught by the quarter ye customary prices.
>
> 5th. The hours of teaching shall be from the 1st of the 4th month to the 1st of the 10th month from 8 o'clock to twelve in the forenoon and from 2 to half-past 5 in the afternoon and from the first of ye 10th month to the 1st of the 4th month, from 9 o'clock to 12 in the forenoon and from one to four in the afternoon.
>
> 7th. The teacher shall not dismiss any scholar without sufficient cause approved of by the Trustees. . . .
>
> 8th. The teacher shall suffer no scholar in the school that hath the itch or any other infectious distemper.
>
> 9th. The teacher shall be allowed four days in each quarter, beside the necessary time for attending Meetings.
>
> 11th. And 'tis further agreed that the subscribers shall furnish the school with a sufficient quantity of good wood.[85]

Although historians have made the statement that there was a school at Salem soon after the settlement was made,[86] the examination of the minutes reveals nothing more than admonitions "to encourage and assist each other in the settlement and support of schools for the instruction of your children, at least to read and write, and some further useful learning"[87] prior to the appointment of the school committee which, as in the cases previously cited, followed the advices of the Yearly Meeting in 1778. In 1791 the Salem Monthly Meeting reported one school satisfactory to the committee and "several other establishments now without teachers in several neighborhoods of Friends."[88] At Woodbury, a second meeting in the Salem Quarter, a con-

---

81 *Ibid.*
82 Woody: *op. cit.*, p. 78.
83 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
84 *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 102-03.
85 Minutes of Upper Springfield Trustees, 20/II/1788, quoted by Woody: *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.
86 Johnson, R. G.: *Historical Account of First Settlement in Salem by John Fenwick, Esq.*, Philadelphia, 1839, p. 168.
87 Woody: *op. cit.*, p. 119.
88 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

spicuous effort toward a permanent school foundation was a Declaration of Trust made by James Cooper in 1770.[89] A third meeting, Pilesgrove, dates from 1794. The school committee was appointed immediately upon the creation of the meeting.[90] The schools of Upper Greenwich Monthly Meeting were established in the early part of the nineteenth century.[91]

There is little information concerning the first school in Camden County, later included in the Haddonfield Quarterly Meeting. When the Irish Friends surveyed the tract, they set apart land for a meetinghouse and a schoolhouse. The surveyor, Thomas Sharpe, was the first teacher.[92] He is said to have been well versed in literature, astronomy, arithmetic, and surveying. He also served the community as clerk of the township, member of the Assembly, and Judge. The school in which he taught was located near Old Newton Meeting House, opposite the Champion School. In 1715 there was a second school in the house of Jonathan and Hannah Bolton. In this year Robert Montgomery and his wife, Sarah, conveyed to the Boltons forty acres of land in return for an annual payment of one ear of Indian corn and an agreement that Hannah Bolton would teach the children of Robert and Sarah Montgomery and any other children of the family to read English and to do seamstry work. The Friends also supplied teachers for the Presbyterian school at Blackwood (1750). Those mentioned by name were Joseph Thackara, John C. Thackara, Thomas Thackara, John Dunlevy, and Isaac Hinman. In 1753 Richard Snowdon, an Englishman, settled in Burlington. He was first a tutor in the family of John Hoskins, later in the family of Joseph Roberts, and in 1780 became the teacher of the Friends School in Haddonfield. He remained there until 1792, when he established a school at Gloucester. In 1782 an acre of land as a site for a schoolhouse was sold by John Estaugh Hopkins to John Gill, Jacob Clement, Edward Gibbs, Joseph Lippincott, John Clement, and Thomas Redman.[93]

However, Dr. Woody did not find action by the Haddonfield Meeting before 1751.[94] At this time the opinion was given that the members lived at such distance from one another that a better plan would be to exercise care in the selection of teachers by individuals employing them. The report of 1781 shows the existence of one school at Haddonfield. The subscriptions to the school fund were begun in 1790. In seven years this fund amounted to £239 18s. Among the names on the subscription list appear those of Ann Tomlinson, Sarah Hopkins, Joseph Sloan, and Samuel Nicholson.[95]

In addition to the Haddonfield Monthly Meeting there were in the Haddonfield Quarter the monthly meetings of Great Egg Harbor and Cape May (1726), Evesham (1760), Medford (1794), and Chester (1803). Of these

---

89 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
90 *Ibid.*, p. 152.
91 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
92 Prowell, George: *History of Camden County, New Jersey;* L. J. Richards and Company, 1886, p. 309.
93 Prowell: *op. cit.*, pp. 309-11.
94 Woody: *op. cit.*, p. 164, from the Minutes of the Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, 9/VII/1751.
95 Woody: *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.

four meetings only Evesham was active in the establishment of schools, though Medford immediately after the creation of the separate meeting reported two schools.[96] In 1759 there was an advertisement for a teacher at Evesham, in Burlington County. Application was to be made to Abraham Haines or Thomas Smith, Sr.[97] Although the name Haines appears in the minutes of the Evesham Preparative Meeting, there is no mention of an Abram Haines in connection with a school until 1812.[98] However, in 1761 the preparative meeting requested permission to hold meetings in Bradock's School House. Apparently the school was used for church services until 1774. A school committee was appointed in 1777 and reported the next year that a lot suitable for the erection of a schoolhouse had been selected. The meeting arranged for a committee to proceed with the details of the purchase. In 1779 the school at Chester was reported as being agreeable to Friends' advice, but the schools at both Upper and Lower Evesham were without teachers. In 1784 the report stated that another school was about to be opened at Chester, the school at Moorestown was discontinued, and the proposed school at Evesham was under construction. Two years later the report mentions progress in connection with the establishment of six schools, namely: (1) the Brick School near William Matlack's, (2) near Chester Meeting, (3) near Evesham Meeting, (4) near Samuel Allison's, (5) adjoining the meeting house at Upper Evesham, (6) near Abraham Engle's. Between 1796 and 1805 the Evesham School was under the following persons: James Griffiths, William Wood, John Jones, Abigail Hunt, and James Heminway. John Jones was teacher in 1797, and again in 1798; James Heminway was employed from 1799 to 1805.[99]

**The Church of England**—The educational work of the Church of England in the colonies was organized and conducted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society was incorporated in 1701 by the grant of a royal charter by William III. The work of the organization was promotion of the glory of God through the spread of the Church of England and its doctrines. Various lines of activity have been adopted for this purpose, namely: (1) provision of missionaries under church orders, (2) organization of churches, (3) keeping alive the doctrines of the church through the distribution of church literature and the support of schools, (4) distribution of libraries to the missionaries, (5) founding colleges to train the clergy.

The first missionaries were sent to America in 1702, beginning their work in New England, the Carolinas, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Of the 309 men employed in the colonies by the society forty-four were in New Jersey. At the outset each man received an allowance of £10 in books, and £5 in tracts, a bounty of £20 from the Crown, and a guarantee of his salary from the society. The work in the colonies was seriously

---

96 *Ibid.*, pp. 202-03.
97 *New Jersey Archives;* First Series, XX, 392.
98 Woody: *op. cit.*, p. 188.
99 *Ibid.*, p. 191; from Minutes of Evesham School Trustees.

COLLEGE HALL, THE ORIGINAL BUILDING OF THE NEW JERSEY COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

handicapped by the suspicions of other religious groups that the missionaries were working toward the establishment of the church. The open hostility to the Quakers and the continual petitioning for an American bishop gave color to these suspicions.

Instructions to the missionaries defining their duties included "the setting up of schools for the teaching of Children" and the catechizing of children and other ignorant persons. The directions to schoolmasters, drawn up in 1706, gave instructions to the masters to teach the children to read truly and distinctly that they might be able to read the Holy Scriptures, to prepare them for the public catechizing in the church by the minister, to teach them to write a legible hand, and to concern themselves with the manners and morals of the pupils.[100]

The society maintained two schoolmasters in the province of New Jersey.[101] The identity of one is uncertain; of the other there is record extending over thirty years. In 1765 Rev. Mr. McKean, the rector of St. Peter's Church at Perth Amboy, reported to the vestry that a school was needed immediately, as the barracks in which the school had been held could no longer be obtained without rent. Subscriptions were taken and a schoolhouse built. It is probable that Mr. McKean was schoolmaster or was assisted in his pastorate by a catechist who did the actual teaching. There was a school in Perth Amboy conducted by an Irishman, McNaughton, 1770. In 1773 the plan of supporting a school by subscription was used and the wealthier members of the community were urged to subscribe more than the £4 necessary for admission of a single pupil so that the poorer children might be taught in the school. Available information does not show any relation between these schools and support by the society.[102]

The society's school of which there is information was located in Burlington under the care of Rowland Ellis, who lived in Burlington from the time of his appointment in 1711 until his death.[103] The letters to the secretary giving reports of the condition of the school are full of complaints against the Quakers of the community.[104] Yet it appears that a number of Quaker children attended the school. In August, 1717, the report gives "children of Christian Parents are in number" 25, Quakers 10, in all 35. A year later the total number of pupils was 37, 20 being Church of England adherents, 12 Quakers, 5 undesignated as to religious affiliation.[105] These

---

100 Kemp, Walter: *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;* Teachers College, 1913, Chapters III-IV.

101 *New York Journal or General Advertiser,* July 8, 1773, contains report of the Society. Rev. W. Northey Jones in his *History of St. Peter's Church,* 1924, mentions McKean as schoolmaster and later S. P. G. missionary; Talbot in a letter dated September 20, 1723, refers to Mr. Searle, a schoolmaster.

102 Murray: *History of Education in New Jersey,* Washington, 1899, p. 22.

103 *New Jersey Archives,* Second Series; III, p.361. Note gives inscription upon Ellis's tombstone. No date given, but states that Ellis was schoolmaster until 1738. See note 107.

104 See Note 74 and 75.

105 Mr. Ellis to the Secretary, August 29, 1717, and July 10, 1718; quoted by Hills: *op. cit.,* pp. 152, 156.

Quaker children were not catechized as the other children were. Ellis outlined his daily program as follows:

> After morning prayers each class reads a chapter or two in the Old or New Testament, then cypher, or read, and the small children spell, at eleven o'clock all but the Quakers go to Church, read & write till 4, then spell & go to prayers. On Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays every week, and in the Church he (the rector) catechises these children that are of the church.[106]

The presence of other schoolmasters in Burlington and the improved condition in the settlement cause the society to withdraw its support in 1731.[107]

The Church of England adherents did not confine their educational interests to elementary or grammar schools. In 1722 there was agitation in favor of a college in New Jersey. In their eagerness to better the conditions in the colony representative men had presented memorials appealing for the appointment of a bishop. These men recognized that the situation in the colonies was such that the episcopal privileges and powers should not extend beyond the religious field. In expectation of the bishop's coming the settlers in Burlington had bought and made ready an episcopal dwelling. It was John Talbot who, because of the repeated postponement of the appointment, urged that the house be put to some worthy use, either as an academy or as a free school. There were, he said, several scholars in Burlington ready for college but "here is no place to send them to; thay can't afford to send their children to Europe for Education; sailing is now too dangerous and troublesome and chargeable, something of a College must be had here, the sooner the better."[108]

Talbot was supported in his efforts by Coxe of Trenton, who hoped to secure for New Jersey the college proposed by the Episcopalians in America. Coxe wrote to the secretary:

> It is reported here and in the Neighboring Colonys that the Society designed to erect a College in some part of the Continent of America for the Educating of Youth, after the Manner as is practiced in the University of Oxford and Cambridge but they are as yet unresolved what place to pitch on for that purpose.[109]

The writer of this communication presented the advantages of selecting Burlington as the site for the college. Among them were mentioned the bishop's house, the healthy location and the accessibility of the town, the satisfactory food supply, and the comfortable lodgings within the town. Reference is also made to:

> Mattinniconk in the River opposite to the Society's House and not a quarter of a Mile from it Containing about Three Hundred and

---

[106] S. P. G. *Journal*, III, p. 156; quoted by Kemp, p. 268.
[107] S. P. G. *Journal*, VII, p. 210; quoted by Kemp, p. 57.
[108] Mr. Talbot to the Secretary, November 27, 1722; Hills, p. 171.
[109] Mr. Coxe to the Secretary, April, 1728; Hills, p. 238.

> Twenty acres of Upland and Meadow. It is in the King's Gift, and no doubt for advancing so noble and Useful a design on a proper application, His Majesty will readily grant it to them.

The possession of the island would make possible a supply of "Fence and Fire Wood for many Years," provide "Pasture for Horses, Cattle Sheep, Besides that some part of it may be converted into Gardening and other necessary uses.

A number of years later the citizens of Burlington promoted an academy through subscriptions. The proposals and arrangements for this academy appear in the Parish Archives with the date May 5, 1792. The names of twenty-five subscribers are given, each subscription being £3 except that of Daniel Ellis and William Coxe (Sunbury), who subscribed £6. The plans set the salary of the principal "to be One hundred and twenty pounds per Annum, till the number of Students and Scholars amounts to forty-five in the Whole." When the total enrollment exceeded forty-five the salary was increased to £150, paid in quarterly installments. The hours of the school were "from the first day of May till the first day of September, from six till eight oClock in the Morning, from nine till twelve in the forenoon, and from two till five in the afternoon; in the other months from half an hour after eight till twelve in the forenoon, and from two till half past four in the afternoon." The vacations allowed "a week at Easter," "ten days beginning with Christmas day and ending on the third day of January," and a period "from the fifteenth of September till the first of October both days inclusive." In view of the severe discipline prevailing in the schools of the time it is interesting to note "That Corporal punishment shall be inflicted as sparingly as possible; tokens of disgrace to be substituted instead thereof, that the minds of the offenders be not mortified."[111]

The subscribers chose as trustees of the academy seven persons, namely: Joshua M. Wallace, Jno. Lawrence, Joseph Bloomfield, Wm. Coxe, jun., William McIlvaine, Wm. Griffith, and Joseph McIlvaine. In 1793 a second subscription was promoted. The announcement stated that "In the present circumstance of the Institution the house for accommodating the Pupils is too small and inconvenient and as there is the prospect of an increase in the number of Students the Trustees wish to be enabled to erect a building convenient for a school house." The subscribers are almost identical with those appearing on the list of 1792; the subscriptions ranged from £1 to £25. Although the actual incorporation did not take place until 1795, the trustees leased a building from the Vestry and Church Wardens of St. Mary's Church and proceeded with the plans for the establishment of the academy. In this lease, dated March 10, 1794, the rector of St. Mary's is also president of the corporation.[112] The property held by the society during the colonial and Revolutionary periods was deeded to St. Mary's Church.[113]

---

111 Quoted from Parish Archives by Hills, pp. 328-29.
112 Hills: *op. cit.*, pp. 331 ff.
113 Book M of Deeds in Clerk's office at Burlington; p. 588; Hills: *op. cit.*, p. 363.

The Episcopalians of the colony gave their support to educational institutions independent of the society. Furthermore they worked in coöperation with other denominations in the maintenance and supervision of schools. An example of this combination of interest occurred in the grammar school in Elizabeth where,

> To inspect the Order and Diligence of the Boys,—to give Sanction to the Authority of the Teachers,—and to afford any Aids requisite for the general Conduct and Government of the School, the Revd. Dr. Chandler, and the Revd. Mr. Caldwell, two of the Visitors, have engaged to give their attendance on it alternately, generally for one Hour in the Day.[114]

**The Presbyterians**—When the eastern and western divisions of New Jersey were united in 1702, the province contained 15,000 persons. This population consisted chiefly of Friends, Dutch Reformists, New England Puritans, and Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland. The rate of increase was such that in 1738, when the administration of the colony was separated from New York, there were 40,000 inhabitants. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians spread over New York, Pennsylvania, and the South. In New Jersey they allied themselves and became merged with the Puritans and Congregationalists from New England. To this combination were added German and Dutch elements so that the Synod of Philadelphia, organized in 1717, formed a strong bond between various units within the colonies as well as between colonies themselves.

New England pastors who came to Newark and Elizabeth were graduates of Harvard or Yale; the Scotch-Irish ministers had degrees from Glasgow or Edinburgh. These leaders were conscious of the need for educated ministers in the rapidly forming communities. To supply this need to some extent private schools were opened in which the students were offered instruction in divinity if they desired it in addition to the liberal arts. A school of this kind was one of the numerous ventures of Rev. John Harriman of Elizabeth. According to the entries in his ledger twenty-nine young men were under his tuition between 1695 and 1702. He offered them the usual Latin and Greek authors for five shillings weekly; for instruction in navigation his charges were five pounds per term.[115] The school conducted by Rev. Samuel Kennedy at Baskingridge or Bernard's Town was a classical school of high order.[116] The Mattisonia Grammar School at Freehold in 1766 announced that youth might be qualified to enter any of the American colleges or be fitted for public business. This school was under the "Patronage and Inspection of the Rev. Messrs. William Tennent, and Charles

---

[114] *New York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury,* January 6, 1772. The Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler was Rector of St. John's Church and the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

[115] Hatfield, E. F.: *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey,* Carlton and Lanahan, 1868, p. 287.

[116] *New Jersey Archives,* First Series; XXIV, p. 407; XIX, pp. 418, 421, 577-78.

McKnight, and Dr. Nathaniel Scudder."[117] Although not originating in the efforts of the clergymen mentioned as supervisors, the Elizabeth Grammar School was promoted by the trustees of the Presbyterian Church.[118]

Tapping Reeve, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, was employed by Timothy Edwards as tutor for the two children of his deceased sister. In 1767 Reeve and Ebenezer Pemberton, also a graduate of the College of New Jersey, informed the public that they would continue to teach the Latin and Greek languages and that "a commodious House is Provided in the center of the Town for the accommodation of a large school." The terms were five pounds yearly for tuition and twenty shillings charge for entrance. Board could be secured in good families at twenty pounds for the year.[119] In order to make the school a permanent institution well-disposed individuals subscribed to the amount of seventy pounds. This money was made payable to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church and was administered by that body. Under the care of Mr. William P. Smith and Mr. Spinney of the board and Dr. William Barnett and Mr. Nehemiah Wade of the congregation a schoolhouse was built upon the uppermost end of the Burial Yard Lot. Dr. Chandler,[120] Mr. Caldwell, John Chitwood, Timothy Edwards, Elias Boudinot, and William Smith were named as visitors or supervisors of the school. The school building was destroyed by the British in 1779.[121] The year after the establishment of the school Richard Devens became connected with the institution as master of Mathematics, "both theoretical and practical."[122] When Reeve resigned in 1769 to become a tutor in the College of New Jersey, he was succeeded by Joseph Periam, who remained for two years.[123] Francis Barber then came from Hackensack where he had been master in the Latin school.[124] The same year (1771) James Conn was engaged to attend the school daily for one hour in the winter and two hours in the summer to teach writing and arithmetic.[125] Of the ushers we have only the name of Samuel Baldwin.[126]

The most famous schools under Presbyterian control are associated with the names of Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabeth, Aaron Burr of Newark, and William Tennent of Neshaminy. Tennent had come to America from Ireland after having dissented from the established church in which he had been priest for twelve years. As Tennent was filled with a desire for supernatural experience, he was in full sympathy with Whitfield's revivalism. It was Whitfield who described Tennent's school as "a log house 20 feet long,

---

117 *New York Journal or General Advertiser,* December 24, 1766; *New Jersey Archives,* First Series; XXV, p. 224.
118 See Note 114.
119 Hatfield: *op. cit.,* p. 520; *New York Journal or General Advertiser,* October 16, 1766.
120 See Note 114.
121 See account of the school in Hatfield: *op. cit.,* pp. 519-21.
122 *New York Mercury,* December 21, 1767.
123 *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury,* July 24, 1769.
124 *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury,* January 6, 1772; Hatfield, 521.
125 *New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury,* October 21, 1771.
126 Hatfield: *op. cit.,* p. 521.

and as many broad."[127] The success of the men who entered upon their work in the colonies as graduates of this school caused the synod to take action in 1739 looking toward the establishment of a college to prepare ministers for the church. At this time Messrs. Pemberton, Dickinson, Cross, and Anderson were selected as a committee to promote the affair, two of whom were to seek aid in Europe if the plan seemed advisable.[128]

There arose at this time a conflict within the synod which ultimately affected the character of the institution and its official relation to the Presbyterian Church. This conflict was due to opposing opinions as to the examinations of the candidates for the ministry. It was a rule of the synod that no candidate for the ministry who had received only a private education should be licensed until such person's qualifications had been passed upon by a committee appointed for that purpose. There were among the influential ministers of the synod men who had been educated at the Log College at Neshaminy. This group, led by Gilbert Tennent, protested against the rule of the synod. Further bitterness was caused by the participation of the Log College men in Whitfield's revivals. The controversy resulted in a division of the Synod of Philadelphia in 1742 and the erection of the Presbyteries of New Brunswick, New York, and New Castle into the Synod of New York in 1745.[129]

After the schism leaders like Pierson, Dickinson, Burr, and Pemberton realized the need of a plan more extensive than that of the Neshaminy school. In order to accomplish their purpose and establish an institution for the liberal education of young men, they sought a charter from the Governor of New Jersey. The petition was refused by Governor Morris. The reasons for this refusal are not known. However this executive was a representative of the Church of England who probably deemed it inexpedient to grant to a body of Dissenters the powers and privileges which such a charter would give them. The application was renewed when John Hamilton, president of the Council, became acting Governor. This petition was granted and the College of New Jersey was chartered October 22, 1746.

This first charter was not recorded. However a newspaper item announcing the action of the Governor and Council mentioned the trustees named in the original document as Jonathan Dickinson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Aaron Burr, and John Pierson. It should be noted, "gentlemen."[131] The names of the latter are given in two other newspaper accounts of the founding of the college. One of these reads as follows:

> These are to give Notice to all concern'd That by His Majesty's Royal Charter for erecting a College in *New-Jersey,* for the Instruction of Youth in the Learned Languages and in liberal Arts and Sciences, bearing Date *October* 22d. Messrs. *William Smith, Peter*

[127] See sketch of Tennent's life; Murray: *op. cit.,* pp. 206-09.
[128] Records of the Presbyterian Church, p. 147; Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia for 1739.
[129] Maclean, John: *History of the College of New Jersey,* Lippincott, 1877, pp. 24-32. Murray: *op. cit.,* pp. 205-12.
[131] *New York Gazette,* February 2, 1747.

*Vanburgh Livingston, William Peartree Smith,* Gent. and Messrs. *Jonathan Dickenson, John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton,* and *Aaron Burr,* Ministers of the Gospel, are appointed Trustees of the said College with full Power to any four or more of them to chuse five more Trustees to the exercise of equal Power and Authority in the College with themselves. By Virtue of which Power, the said Trustees nominated in the Charter, have chosen the Rev. Messrs. *Gilbert Tennant, W. Tennant, Samuel Blair, Richard Treat & S. Finley,* as Trustees are by the said Charter, constituted a Body corporate and politick, both in Fact and Name, with full power to act as such to all Intents and Purposes, and rendered capable of a perpetual Succession to continue forever. . . . And these may further notify all concern'd, that the said Trustees have chosen the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Dickenson, President, whose superior Abilities are well known; and Mr. Caleb Smith, Tutor of the said College; and that the College is now Actually opened, to be kept at *Elizabeth Town* till a Building can be erected in a more central Place of the Province for the Residence of the Students; and all who are qualified may be immediately admitted to an *Academic Education,* and to such Class and Station in the College, as they are found upon Examination to deserve; and the Charge of the College to each Student, will be *Four Pounds* a year *New Jersey* Money, at Eight Shillings per ounce and no more.[132]

The second notice was somewhat briefer, yet it confirms the information given in the extract quoted.[133]

The College of New Jersey was, from the foundation, controlled by a self-perpetuating body of trustees without supervision by either the Presbyterian Church or the colonial authorities. This body had full power to act as a corporate body in holding property, making contracts, electing officers of instruction—tutors and president, granting degrees, and passing ordinances for the government of the institution so long as such regulations were not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain and the Colony of New Jersey.

The exact reasons why the trustees were dissatisfied with the first charter and requested a second are not known. It has been suggested that the original trustees wished to increase the number of persons on the board or to include representatives of the government. Another suggestion as to the possible cause of the request was the move to introduce representatives of other denominations into the control of the college.[134] The proposal to grant four members of the council *ex-officio* membership was rejected. Therefore those officials whose names appear on the second charter were trustees by special designation.

The second charter was granted by Governor Jonathan Belcher on September 14, 1748.[135] In this document the number of trustees was

---

132 *The Pennsylvania Journal,* August 13, 1747.
133 *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* August 13, 1747.
134 Murray: *op. cit.,* pp. 214-16; Maclean: *op. cit.,* pp. 70-90.
135 For copy of charter see Maclean: *op. cit.,* pp. 90-97.

increased and an equal division was maintained between the lay and the clerical members. The Governor was named *ex-officio*[136] member of the board and the corporators were as follows:

> . . . . our trusty and well beloved John Reading, James Hude, Andrew Johnston, Thomas Leonard, John Kinsey, Edward Shippen, and William Smith, Esquires, Peter Van-Burgh Livingston, William Peartree Smith and Samuel Hazard, gentlemen, John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Joseph Lamb, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Richard Treat, Samuel Blair, David Cowell, Aaron Burr, Timothy Jones, Thomas Arthur and Jacob Green, ministers of the gospel, to be trustees of the said College of New Jersey.[137]

Dr. Dickinson's work with the new institution was brief. He died in the early part of October following the opening of the college in May, 1747. His work, however, was continued by Mr. Burr, who transferred the students to his own school at Newark.[138] There are no records to show the number of students in the college or the curriculum offered. The first commencement was held in Newark, November 9, 1748. At this time

> And after the customary scholastic disputations, the following Gentlemen were admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, *viz.*, Enos Ayres, Israel Read, Benjamin Chestnut, Richard Stockton, Hugh Henry, Daniel Thane.
>
> After which his Excellency the Governor was pleased to accept of a degree of Master of Arts; this was succeeded by a salutatory oration by Mr. Thane, and the whole concluded with a prayer by the president.[139]

In addition to attending the ceremonies incident to the granting of degrees the trustees transacted considerable business on this first commencement day. Burr was unanimously chosen president, the seal of the corporation was accepted, a committee was appointed to present to the General Assembly of the Province the needs of the college and solicit aid, a larger committee was appointed to take subscriptions for the college in various places in the colony and immediate vicinity, a treasurer for the corporation was chosen, and rules regulating the admission of students were passed.[140] These regulations were as follows:

> 1. None may expect to be admitted into College but such as being examined by the President and Tutors shall be found able to render Virgil and Tully's Orations into English; and to turn English into true and grammatical Latin; and to be so well acquainted with the Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English; and to give the grammatical connexion of the words.

---

136 The ex-officio membership of the governor is believed to be the result of a compromise.

137 See charter of the college.

138 *New York Weekly Post Boy,* October 12, 1747; Maclean: *op. cit.,* p. 127.

139 Maclean: *op. cit.,* p. 128.

140 Account of the commencement, prepared by William Smith by order of the trustees, appeared in *Parker's Gazette and Post Boy,* November 21, 1748.

MUSIC STUDIO BUILDING, NEW JERSEY COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

This Building is the Gift of the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, and ground was broken for construction in March, 1927.

> 2. Every student (that) enters College shall transcribe the Laws, which being signed by the President, shall be testimony of his admission, and shall be kept by him, while he remains a member of the College, as a rule of his Behavior.[141]

The daily program of the student is pictured in the letters of Joseph Shippen, who in 1750 was a member of the freshman class. In a letter to his father he wrote:

> But I must give you an account of my studies at the present time. At 7 in the morning we recite to the president lessons in the works of Xenephon in Greek, and in Watts' Ontology. The rest of the morning, until dinner time, we study Cicero De Oratore and the Hebrew grammar, and recite our lessons to Mr. Sherman, the college tutor. The remaining part of the day we spend in the study of Xenephon and ontology, to recite the next morning. And besides these things, we dispute every week after the syllogistic method; and now and then we learn geography.[142]

The sophomore class studied rhetoric, mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy and continued the classical studies. To the seniors was given a special course in ethics, and optional courses in mathematics and natural science were offered.[143]

Besides the work of organizing the curriculum President Burr was concerned with the problem of the permanent location of the college. At the meeting of the trustees in Newark in September, 1750, it was voted "that a proposal be made to the Towns of Brunswick and Princetown to try what sum of money they can raise for Building of the College, by the next meeting, that the Trustees may be better able to judge in which of these places to fix the place of the College.[144]

The citizens of Princeton were active to the extent that they overcame the disposition on the part of the trustees to locate the college in New Brunswick provided the latter town would "secure to the College a Thousand Pounds *proc.* money, ten acres of land contiguous to the College, and two hundred acres of wood-land, the furthest part of it to be not more than three miles from the town."[145] The citizens of New Brunswick did not meet these conditions and the trustees looked toward Princeton for compliance with them. Action was taken by the board in September, 1752, yet the actual date of the permanent location of the college in Princeton is accepted as January 25, 1753.[146] It was on this day that Nathan Fitz Randolph gave a "Deed for a certain tract of Land four hundred feet Front and thirty Poles depth, in lines at right angles with the broad street where it is proposed that the Col-

---

141 Maclean: *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
142 Quoted by Murray, p. 225; Maclean, 141.
143 Murray: *op. cit.*, p. 126.
144 Minutes of the Trustees, September 26, 1750; quoted by Maclean: *op. cit.*, p. 143.
145 Minutes of Trustees, May 15, 1751; see Maclean, p. 143.
146 Maclean, p. 144.

lege shall be built,"[147] and the other conditions were met by the generosity of the people of the town.

At the same meeting of the trustees, in which the location of the college was decided, a committee was appointed to act for the board in the erection of a college building and a house for the president. Ground for the college building was broken July, 1754, and the building was completed in 1757. Although the original plans called for brick, the stone from a quarry near the town was used. The building provided accommodations for one hundred forty-seven students and contained also an assembly hall, library, dining hall, kitchen and steward's quarters. Governor Belcher declined to have the building given his name and suggested Nassau Hall as a designation.[148] In the fall of 1756 the college was removed to Princeton and classes were begun with seventy students attending.[149]

The expenses connected with the erection of Nassau Hall necessitated additions to the funds of the college. A committee of the trustees applied to the General Assembly of the colony in 1749 for authority to raise by lottery a sum not exceeding three thousand pounds. This petition was refused.[150] However, the committee transferred its activities to Philadelphia, and a drawing took place there in 1750.[151] In 1753 the General Court of Connecticut granted permission for a lottery in that colony,[152] and in 1761-62 the General Assembly of New Jersey authorized the drawing of one in this province.[153] It is not known what sums of money the institution received from these sources. Subscriptions and gifts of friends of the institution did not provide adequate funds; therefore the trustees considered the plan of securing aid from abroad. In this campaign for funds the trustees received the support of the Synod of New York. The motion to obtain a public collection from all congregations belonging to the synod was earnestly recommended by the body and unanimous consent was given to the appointment of "Messrs. Gilbert Tennent, and Samuel Davies, to take a voyage to Europe on the important affairs of said college. . . ."[154] The synod provided for supplying the pulpits of these two ministers during their absence and furnished them with certificates and addresses to General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.[155] The certificate of the synod read as follows:

> The Rev. Messrs. Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies, the bearers hereof, undertaking a voyage to Europe, by the appointment of this Synod, in concurrence with the trustees of the college of New

147 *Ibid.*
148 Maclean: *op. cit.*, pp. 145-47.
149 Murray, p. 229.
150 Maclean, pp. 136-37.
151 *Pennsylvania Journal,* December 12, 1749; gives full description.
152 *New York Gazette,* November 26, 1753, presents the plan in full. Date of drawing, September 2, 1754, given in *Pennsylvania Gazette,* August 22, 1754.
153 *Journal of Governor and Council,* September 25, 1762; in *New Jersey Archives;* First Series, XVII, p. 338.
154 Minutes of the Synod of New York, October 2, 1752.
155 *Ibid.*; also Maclean: *op. cit.*, pp. 149-54. Address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Records of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 255-56; reply to this address by the General Assembly, reprinted in *New York Gazette,* December 9, 1754.

> Jersey, for the service of said college; the Synod do hereby certify, that the above reverend gentlemen are worthy and well approved members of their body, and do recommend them to the acceptance of the church of God, and the work of their mission, wheresoever Divine Providence may call them, imploring the Divine Presence with them and success in their important undertaking.
>
> Signed by order of the Synod.[156]

The success of the mission to Europe exceeded all expectations. It was the funds obtained in this manner that made possible the completion of the college building and the president's home. In addition to these funds there was also subscribed a sum of three hundred fifty pounds sterling to be used for the education of young men intending to enter the ministry.[157]

Soon after the removal of the college to Princeton the institution lost two valuable supporters; Governor Belcher died on August 31, and President Burr on September 28, 1757. Rev. Jonathan Edwards, selected by the trustees to succeed President Burr, reached Princeton in February, 1758. He was immediately innoculated for smallpox, and died on March 22. His successor, Rev. Samuel Davies, brought into the college an influence differing from the New England element which had controlled the institution from the beginning. President Davies was a powerful preacher and the impression of his oratory upon the students is cited as a possible origin of the debating societies.[158]

President Davies was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Finley in May, 1761. During President Finley's administration an English school was added to the grammar school, which had been established by President Burr.[159] This administration was the last in which instruction was given by the president with the aid of tutors, Hereafter the title of professor was used for officers of instruction. Furthermore the success of the college is reflected in the repeated increases in salaries to president and tutors and in the organization of the courses of instruction to provide for distinct classes in the student body. The rules adopted during the previous administration by which all candidates for the first degree were required to reside in the college at least two years were continued in force. It may be said, therefore, that the administration of President Finley was marked by a strengthening of the organization.[160]

During the interval between the death of Dr. Finley (July 17, 1766) and the arrival of Dr. John Witherspoon from Scotland (August 17, 1768) the affairs of the college were in the care of Dr. William Tennent, president *pro tem.* Important negotiations took place at this time which effected a reunion of the Old Side and New Side interests and resulted in the election of Dr.

---

156 Records of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 256-57.

157 Maclean reported that the amounts collected by Tennent and Davies are not known (p. 152). The list of the contributors to the particular fund is printed in Records of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 264-65.

158 Murray: *op. cit.*, p. 235.

159 *Pennsylvania Journal,* November 10, 1763; Maclean: *op. cit.*, p. 171.

160 Maclean presents the history of the institution by administrations. See pp. 125-168 for Burr; pp. 169-91 for Edwards; pp. 203-18 for Davies; pp. 249-76 for Finley.

John Blair as Professor of Divinity and Morality. This appointment marked the transfer of the Log College faction in the reunited synods to the support of the College of New Jersey.[161]

Dr. Witherspoon came to America during the disputes aroused by the Stamp Act. The political controversies of the time had already found their way into the activities of the students in the organization of the Well-Meaning and Plain Dealing clubs.[162] The opposition to the government was given expression in the meetings of these literary societies. Dr. Witherspoon boldly took the part of the colonists and became an influential advocate of independence. The disturbances of the time thwarted plans for the enlargement of the institution, and the position of the town on the highway between New York and Philadelphia made it the scene of an important battle. Nevertheless the events from the time of Dr. Witherspoon's induction into office until his death in 1794 show that the president was a man of action who was not overwhelmed by the troubles growing out of the struggle for independence and the establishment of the federal government. The financial condition of the college made it necessary for him to solicit funds in Europe and among friends in this country and to administer personally benefactions and legacies to the institution. He was also able to add philosophical apparatus and a considerable number of books to the material equipment of the college. The number of degrees conferred by the trustees was increased so as to include recognition of departments of law and theology. Appointments to the faculty were professorships in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, and Divinity. The scholars holding these appointments were William Churchill Houston, Samuel Stanhope Smith, Ashbel Green, and Walter Minto. The fees of the students were also regulated by the president. One guinea was paid as an entrance fee, six shillings and six pence (eighty-six and one-third cents) were paid to the steward for board and small beer, and a fine of five shillings was imposed upon resident students for failure to appear upon all occasions (except in the back yard of the college) in the proper black gown and square cap. Among the last acts of this administration was the consideration of a proposal made by Queen's College, an institution under the control of the Reformed Dutch Church, relative to a union of the two colleges.[163]

**The Reformed Dutch Church**—A fourth religious group which was influential in colonial affairs came across the Hudson River from New York and formed settlements on the Jersey side. It was the policy of these Dutch settlers to establish schools as well as churches. If the church was too poor to employ both preacher and teacher, the minister performed both functions, as the Reformed Dutch congregations deemed it necessary to true Christianity that one should be able to read the Scriptures and be able to repeat the catechism of the church.

---

161 Maclean: *op. cit.*, pp. 285-99; Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, May 22, 1760.

162 Later revived as Cliosophic Society and American Whig Society.

163 For President Witherspoon's administration see Maclean: *op. cit.*, pp. 300-67. For the names of the faculty see p. 365.

As early as 1661 the village of Bergen, then a part of New Netherlands, had a school. At this date the sheriff and council of the village set forth in a petition to the director-general that Engelbert Stuynhuysen had contracted to keep a school and to serve as church clerk, but he had resigned the offices because a soldier had been quartered upon him and a tax had been laid upon his property. This memorial also showed that Stuynhuysen had neglected to fulfill his agreement to provide a place for the school and had failed to give the required notice before vacating his offices. Stuynhuysen was ordered to satisfy the terms of his contract.[164]

Shortly after the date of this petition a log school was built. This house was used as schoolhouse and church building until 1680, when the first meetinghouse was erected. In 1665 Reynier Van Giesen became voorleser in the place of Stuynhuysen and so continued for forty-two years. His successor, Adrien Vermeule, was followed in 1735 by Isaac Van Benthuysen, who served until 1761. The duties of the voorleser are revealed in Van Giesen's agreement "to serve the church in leading the singing, and in reading, to arrange the seats, to ring the bell, to dig the graves, and furthermore, to hold the school and to look after every thing else needful thereto."[165] How long the school in Bergen retained this close relation to the church is not known. In the early days of the settlement the Reformed Dutch Church was the only religious organization in Bergen. The consistory appointed the schoolmaster. The rules of the church stated that this body "shall be careful to provide good schoolmasters, who are able to instruct children in reading, writing, grammar, and the liberal sciences, but also to teach them the catechism, and the first principles of religion."[166]

There was provision in the charter of the town, granted by Cartaret in 1668, for the support of a free school. The sixth article of this document states—

> That all the freeholders aforesaid, or the major part of them, have power to choose their own minister . . . . and being chosen, all persons, as well as the freeholders as the inhabitants, are to contribute according to their estates and proportions of land for his maintenance, or to lay out such a proportion of land for the minister, and the keeping of a free school for the education of youth, as they think fit, which land being once laid out, is not to be alienated, but to remain and continue forever from one incumbent to another, free from paying of any rent, or any other rate or taxes whatsoever.[167]

People in the outlying districts who could derive no benefit from a central school protested against the payment of taxes for its support. The mag-

---

164 See Murray: *op. cit.*, p. 9; Shaw: *History of Essex and Hudson Counties,* Vol. II, p. 121.

165 Van Winkle, Daniel: *History of the Municipalities of Hudson County, New Jersey, 1630-1923;* Lewis Publishing Co., 1924, Vol. I, p. 167 ff. and p. 27.

166 Taylor, B. C.: *Annals of the Classis of Bergen;* Board of Publication of Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1857, p. 100.

167 For Carteret's Charter see Winfield: *History of the County of Hudson, New Jersey,* 1874, pp. 105-13.

istrates ordered the payment of the tax, but the freeholders disregarded the order and they were finally threatened with immediate executions against their property as shown in the following minute:

> The Schout and Magistrates of the town of Bergen, complaining by petition, that some of the inhabitants and their dependent hamlets in disparagement of the previous order of the Governor General and Council, dated the 24th Xmber last, obstinately refuse to pay their quota to the support of the Precentor and Schoolmaster ordered, the Governor General and Council persist in their previous mandate of 24th Xmber last, and order the Schout to proceed to immediate execution of unwilling debtors.[168]

Complaints against the encroachments upon the public lands, especially with respect to the cutting of timber, made necessary extensions of the charter of 1668 and finally in 1763 a survey of the common lands of the township and a division of them by a commission. Three tracts were allotted to the Free School of the Town of Bergen. In the field book these are described as No. 177, a lot in the town "whereon the schoolhouse now stands," No. 178, a pasture lot southwest from the town, and No. 179, a pasture northeast and near the town. The schoolhouse here mentioned appears to have been built in 1708. Attempts to restore the building in 1790, when it was in a state of dilapidation, resulted in the establishment of the Bergen Columbian Academy. The trustees of the academy took possession of the school lands and remained in control of the property until the freeholders and inhabitants of the township demanded a transfer to the town authorities in 1813.[169]

The Bergen Columbian Academy was looked upon by the Synod of the Refomed Dutch Church as a possible location for a Theological Professorate. Able teachers were at various times connected with the institution and attendance at the school had advantages as stated in a newspaper item of 1796:[170]

> Agreeably to an advertisement of the Trustees of Bergen Academy, New Jersey, on April last, the Grammar School was opened the first of May and so continues. The pleasant and healthy situation of the place, its proximity to New York, and the low rate at which board may be had are advantages meriting the attention of the public, especially the people of New York, who may be assured that the best care and attention will be given to the education and morals of the children by the Teacher, Elijah Rosegrant.
>
> N. B. The price of Boarding will be from 20 to 25 pounds a year. The distance of the Academy from Powles hook Ferry is one mile and a half only.[171]

There were also in Hackensack early schools under the administration of church officials. Guilaem Bertholf, the voorleser and schoolmaster, was

---

168 *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20; Shaw: *op. cit.*, p. 1122.
169 Van Winkle: *op. cit.*, p. 26; Taylor: *op. cit.*, p. 102.
170 Shaw: *op. cit.*, p. 1123.
171 Quoted by Shaw, p. 1123.

sent by the Hackensack congregation to Holland for ordination in 1693.[172] Under the pastorate of Rev. John Henry Goetschius an academy was established. An announcement of the opening of the school read as follows:

> This will inform the Public, that it is the Design of the subscriber to open a Grammar School, on the 20th Day of April, at Hackensack, under the Inspection and Direction of the Rev. Mr. Goetschius. All Gentlemen who are disposed to have their Sons instructed in the learned Languages, as being very necessary and useful to a further Progress in the liberal Arts and Sciences may depend upon a constant Attendance a strict and accurate Instruction, by their humble Servant STEPHANUS VOORHEES, A. M.[173]

Two years later Francis Barber became assistant to Voorhees and a third person was employed to teach English, writing and arithmetic.[174]

What appears to have been a second academy under Dutch influence, if not under the actual control of the congregation in Hackensack, was the Washington Academy. In 1769 Reinen Van Giesse gave a lot upon which a fine stone schoolhouse was built.[175] Peter Wilson was appointed to the management of the school by the trustees. The classical languages were taught and later were added "Navigation, the Italian method of Bookkeeping, surveying and other branches."[176]

Occasional references show the presence of schools among other congregations. Jacob Schureman was voorleser in New Brunswick.[177] John William Kals, minister to the Calvinistic High Dutch congregation at Amwell, offered to teach gentlemen *"Latin, Greek, Hebrew,* and *Arabick,* in a plain and easy Manner" and later added French to the offerings to "Gentlemen and Ladies."[178] The will of Casper Shaver (1786) provided that a frame schoolhouse should be built at Stillwater "near the Dutch Meeting House for the use of both Dutch and English Learning" and that the school should be kept in repair by his estate for twenty-five years.[179] In Acquacknonk there was an early town school and also a classical school taught by Dr. Blachley, a physician of the place.[180] However, the great contribution of the Reformed Dutch Church was the establishment of the second colonial college in New Jersey.

Like the Presbyterians the Dutch congregations were confronted with the problem of supplying trained ministers to the increasing number of pastorates. The matter was complicated in the latter case because authority

---

172 Romeyn, Theodore B.: *Historical Discourse,* Board of Publications R. C. A., 1870, p. 39.

173 *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy,* April 3, 1766.

174 *New York Journal or General Advertiser,* January 14, 1768.

175 Woodford and Nelson: *History of Bergen and Passaic Counties, New Jersey;* Everts and Peck, 1882; p. 169.

176 *New York Journal and General Advertiser,* March 2, 1769.

177 Demarest: *op. cit.,* p. 70; see also note 19.

178 *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* February 8, 1759, and *New York Mercury,* June 18, 1759. In these items the name is spelled Hals.

179 Schaeffer, Casper: *Memoirs and Reminiscences,* privately printed, 1907, p. 18.

180 Woodford and Nelson: *op. cit.,* pp. 249, 386.

to ordain remained with the Classis of Amsterdam. Although ministers came over from Holland, the supply did not measure up to the need. Young ministers in this country were unable to bear the expense of theological education abroad or, if training were supplied in colonial schools, the long trip to Europe for ordination. Here again the questions connected with the training and ordination of ministers became the cause of conflict within the church concerned. Among the ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church there were those who stood firm in upholding the authority of the foreign classis. Others saw the matter in a different light; these deemed it necessary to meet the situation by an organization separated from the home church. In 1737 seven persons of such conviction met in New York and urged delegation of authority by the Dutch classis; formal organization, however, did not take place until 1747. This group was known as the Coetus. The ministers who opposed action independent of the Classis of Amsterdam constituted the Conferentie. Thus it came about that the American church was torn within itself and presented a divided front to the foreign governing body.

The controversy between the two factions centered upon the question of an institution of higher learning and the provision for theological instruction in the institution. Other elements entering the situation were the founding of the College of New Jersey and the establishment of King's College in New York. The first of these colleges was supported by a group similar to the Reformed Dutch Church in confession and organization; the second college was located in the center of Dutch population and had formed its charter so that a minister of the Reformed Church in New York should be a member of the board of trustees. This charter also provided for a professorship of theology conformable to the Dutch requirements. It has been suggested that the leader of the opposition to the plans for a separate classis and a college supported by the Dutch church, Rev. Johannes Ritzema, sought this divinity appointment at King's College.[181]

Acting upon the call of Theodore Frelinghuysen, the Coetus met in New York on May 27, 1755, and resolved to send a delegate to Holland to present the cause of the academy or college. Frelinghuysen was selected for this mission, but his departure was delayed until 1759. During this time communications from Rev. Ritzema and Rev. Anthony Curtenius of Hackensack augmented the natural opposition in Amsterdam to an independent organization in the colonies. However, Frelinghuysen was active in directing the work of the Coetus. His brother, John Frelinghuysen, was ministering to the congregations of the Raritan Valley and at his home was instructing in the theology of the church young men of the province. In this group were William Jackson, Reynier Van Nest, and Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh.[182]

The last named student succeeded his preceptor as the pastor at Raritan and as champion of the college idea. In 1763 he voiced to the Classis of

---

[181] Dr. Demarest gives a full and detailed account of the controversy in *A History of Rutgers College*, Chap. II. For a brief account see Murray: *op. cit.*, pp. 289-94.

[182] Demarest: *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45.

COOPER FREE LIBRARY, CAMDEN

MANUAL TRAINING AND HIGH SCHOOL, CAMDEN

Amsterdam the cause that Frelinghuysen had presented to the body at an earlier date. But the plans for changing the Coetus into a classis and for erecting a college were rejected. Thereupon Hardenbergh was warned that he must not undertake to raise funds for the projected institution.[183]

Nevertheless the men in America were carrying forward their plans without the assistance of the synod. They had determined to secure a charter from the royal government of the province. The first mention of this move is found in a letter from Johannes Ritzema to the Classis of Amsterdam, February 25, 1762. A second letter, June 21, 1764, suggests that application for a charter had been made to Thomas Boone (1760-61) and to Francis Bernard (1758-60):

> And since this matter of an academy is that which is so sadly disputed in the congregations of New Jersey, and those adjoining, we cannot omit mentioning that not withstanding two governors have refused their request, they mean to try it on the third; whence men justly expect that it is granted they must contribute to the erection of such a school, and that in order to increase yet more the number of that kind of ministers.[184]

Hardenbergh had also informed the church authorities that a petition for the charter of a college had been presented to the Governor, and added that there was reason to believe the request would be successful if the parties within the church would unite in its support.[185]

Such a charter was granted by Governor Franklin on November 10, 1766. This document, like the first charter of the College of New Jersey, was not recorded. Yet its existence was mentioned in letters to Holland. Conclusive evidence is found in newspaper notices calling a meeting of the trustees "at or near the county house of New Barbadoes, Hackensack Town, in Bergen County on the second Tuesday of May,"[186] 1767. The original trustees were as follows:

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

| | |
|---|---|
| Simon Johnson, Esq. | Theodorus Van Wyck, Esq. |
| Philip Livingston, Esq. | Abram Lott, Esq. |

OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sir William Johnson, Bart. | Col. James Brinkerhoff |
| Robert Livingston, Esq. | Col. Nicholas Stillwell |
| Col. Johannes Hardenberg | Col. Matthew Hoffman |
| Col. Abram Herring, Esq. | Bernardus Ryder, Esq. |
| Isaac Vrooman, Esq. | Rev. Samuel Verbryck |
| Levi Paaling, Esq. | Rev Eilardus Westerlo |
| Jacob H. Ten Eyck, Esq. | Rev. John Schureman |
| Col. Abram Hasbroeck | Rev. M. Goetschius |
| Rev. Barnet Vrooman | |

183 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.
184 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
185 Demarest: *op. cit.*, p. 53.
186 *New York Mercury*, April 20, 27, and May 4, 1767.

OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW JERSEY.

| | |
|---|---|
| His Excellency the Governor | |
| The President of the Council | For the |
| The Honorable Chief Justice | time being |
| The Attorney General | |
| Peter Hassenclever | Rev. John H. Goetschius |
| Hendrick Fisher, Esq. | Rev. John Lyt |
| Philip French | Rev. David Marinus |
| John Van Metern | Rev. Martinus Van Harlingen |
| Peter Schenck | Rev. Jacob Rutsen Hardenberg |
| Peter Zabriskie | Rev. William Jackson |
| Tuynes Dye, Esq. | Rev. P. Wyberg |
| Hendrick Kuypers, Esq. | Rev. Jonathan DuBois |

The trustees met on the day appointed and with regularity, judging from the newspaper notices of the time, for the next four years. No minutes of these meetings are known to remain to the present day. The organization was delayed in beginning the instruction by lack of funds for the erection of a college building and for the payment of salaries to professors and tutors. These funds could not be supplied as long as there was continued opposition within the church.

This opposition had made a counter proposal in suggesting union with the College of New Jersey. At a meeting of the trustees of this institution on June 25, 1766, Rev. Mr. DeRonde proposed a plan for the introduction of a "professor of divinity to be ordained from Holland, for the service of the Dutch as well as English Presbyterian churches in these parts."[187] The trustees postponed consideration and the matter was finally dropped. The consistory in Amsterdam expressed opinion against union with the College of New Jersey or with King's and asked the abandonment of the idea of a college until the American congregations could supply the funds for adequate support. The classis, however, yielded upon the point of instruction in theology and proposed the nomination of a professor to receive students who had completed two or three years at some college under an able teacher of languages and philosophy for theological studies.[188]

A second cause for the delay was the indecision as to the location of the college. Rev Goetschius had already started a school at Hackensack. There was also a grammar school in New Brunswick under the supervision of individuals whose names appear on the board for the new college, as shown in the following item:

> Notice is hereby given, that a school is erected at New Brunswick, in New Jersey, under the inspection of the subscribers, in which the learned languages and mathematics, are carefully and accurately taught, by Caleb Cooper, . . . . The inspection above proposed, is to consist in visiting the school at least once a quarter; to inquire into the deportment of all concerned, and to assist the

187 Demarest, p. 65.
188 Demarest, pp. 67-68.

master and scholars in all necessary regulations with respect to decency and good order, as well as the advancement of learning.

John Laight,
Jacob R. Hardenbergh,
Johannis M. Van Harlingen,
Abraham Beach,
John Cochran,
William Oake.[189]

These schools suggest the activity in the Reformed congregations that hoped, by having a school in operation, to attract the college.

A third cause of delay was a clause in the original charter, the nature of which is not clearly understood. In some way it was concerned with the residence of the trustees. It appears that the members of this body had been persistent in their efforts to secure an amendment to the original document, but final action was postponed until 1769.

> At a State Council at Burlington, November 24, 1769, over which Governor Franklin presided, a petition was received from Hendrick Fisher, Esq., President of the Trustees of Queens' College in this Province, praying that an alteration may be made in the Charter granted to the said Trustees. The Council advise his Excellency to grant the prayer of the said petition so far as relates to the distinction of residents and non-residents in the said Charter mentioned.[190]

This action was carried out in the granting of a new charter on March 20, 1770. The trustees named in the second charter were the same as those of the first except that John Covenhoven took the place of John Van Metern.

It is interesting to note that this charter which was the result of efforts of Protestant Reformed Churches provided for no ecclesiastical control of the institution and required no ecclesiastical test. The purpose as stated was "for the education of Youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity, preparing them for the ministry and other good offices."[191] The single religious requirement was the appointment by the trustees of a member of the Reformed Dutch Church to be president of the college. In honor of the Queen Consort the institution was called Queen's College. All minutes of meetings and transactions of trustees, all rules, orders, regulations and accounts were required to be in the English language. The Governor, the president of the Council, the chief justice, and the attorney-general of the province were named as *ex-officio* trustees, the Governor being president of the board when present at meetings. Of the board not more than one-third should be ordained ministers.

The first meeting of the trustees under the second charter was held at Hackensack on May 7, 1771.[192] The important matter considered at this

---

191 Charter of Queen's College (Rutgers).
192 *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy,* March 17, 1771.
189 *New York Mercury,* February 1, 1768.
190 *New Jersey Archives,* First Series; XVII, p. 24.

meeting was the location of the institution. Both New Brunswick and Hackensack wanted the college, but the vote stood ten to seven in New Brunswick's favor. The only reason given for the decision was the larger subscription offered by this town.[193]

Although the trustees had attempted to fill the office of president, the work of the college was conducted by tutors until the election of Dr. Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh in 1786.[194] During this period the immediate government of the institution was in the hands of a small committee of the trustees and the tutor. The original committeemen were John Light, Jacob R. Hardenbergh, Johannis M. Van Harlingen and Frederick Frelinghuysen, tutor.[195] Instruction was begun in November, 1771.[196] The first college building stood upon the northeast corner of Albany and Neilson streets, then known as French and King streets. This land was leased for fifty-two years from Philip French, one of the trustees. The number of students enrolled in the first classes is unknown. There was one student, Matthew Light, graduated in the commencement of October, 1774; however, the next class contained five graduates.[197]

In connection with the college there was a grammar school. The purpose of this school was the preparation of students for entrance into the college classes. Among the early teachers were John Taylor, later tutor in Queen's, John Bogart, Andrew Kirkpatrick, afterwards chief justice of the State, and John Croes, first bishop of New Jersey. Although the instruction was interrupted and the school moved from New Brunswick during the Revolutionary War, these men succeeded in keeping the school in operation after it was necessary to close the college.[198]

During the year in which Queen's College was opened the disagreement between the Coetus and Conferentie was settled and a compromise was effected by which a Dutch clergyman was appointed to a professorship without connection with any English academy. Prompt action on the part of the trustees of the college and ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church gained the approval of the Classis of Amsterdam to a plan which permitted the holder of this professorship to act as president of the college. But the time was not favorable to the carrying out of the plan. The nomination of Dr. John H. Livingston by the classis reached America in April, 1775, a few days after the Battle of Lexington. Therefore, action was deferred until the close of the war.[199]

However, the business of the college was continued by the tutor, John Taylor. The students were moved to North Branch so that they would not be disturbed by the troops in and near New Brunswick. Sessions were held in this place until 1779. Between this date and the return to New Brunswick

---

193 Demarest, p. 79; Murray: *op. cit.*, p. 290.
194 Demarest, pp. 151-57; Murray, p. 293.
195 Demarest, p. 83; Murray, p. 290.
196 *New York Journal or General Advertiser,* April 29, 1772.
197 *New York Journal and General Advertiser,* November 3, 1774.
198 Murray, p. 290; Demarest, Chap. V.
199 Demarest, p. 93; Murray, pp. 292-93.

in 1781 classes were conducted at Millstone and at Raritan. At the close of the war the condition of the college was precarious. The building was destroyed, the students were scattered, and the tutors were engaged in other pursuits.[200]

Dr. Hardenbergh took the lead in calling attention to the needs of the institution, especially to the continued vacancy of the office of president. In 1784 Rev. Dirck Romeyn[201] was selected by the trustees for this position, but he declined the appointment and the college remained without an official head until Dr. Hardenbergh's election in 1785.[202] After the first president's death in 1790 the friends of the college again attempted to combine the duties of this office with the professorship of theology and made efforts to secure the services of Dr. Romeyn and, later, of Dr. Livingston.[203] The financial condition of the college was none too promising. This fact may have prevented the acceptance. Other expedients included a plan of union with the College of New Jersey; this plan, as previously stated, was reported unfavorably.[204] In order to continue instruction Dr. Ira Condict, professor of moral philosophy, was given authority to employ tutors.[205] Finally, in 1795, the trustees suspended all collegiate exercises and devoted their efforts to maintaining the grammar school.[206]

**Summary**—The foregoing pages have shown that the educational history of New Jersey during the colonial period was the result of three lines of endeavor. At times these lines were separate and distinct; at times they crossed or combined with one another. There were schools controlled and supported by towns, there were schools established by religious groups, there were schools conducted by individuals, and there were various combinations of control and support of educational institutions. In addition to these organized agencies there were provisions for the education of poor children and apprentices. In such cases only reading and writing were taught. These branches were mastered by the student before he was admitted to the typical school of the period, the Latin grammar school. No mention has been made of the place in which these skills were acquired because nothing in the references used gave evidence of the elementary school, usually designated in educational history as the dame school. It should be noted, therefore, that the secondary school and the college were the divisions of the educational system toward which our colonial ancestors directed their efforts. New Jersey was the seat of two of the nine American colleges established prior to the Revolution. In both cases the primary motive was the education of ministers. The grammar schools were added because they were found necessary in order to

---

200 See Demarest, Chap. V, pp. 141-51.

201 Demarest, p. 154.

202 Elected June 7, 1785; accepted position as pastor of New Brunswick church and president of the college February 9, 1786.

203 Demarest, pp. 169-72; Murray, p. 293; Bradley, Historical Discourse, Joel Munsell, 1870, pp. 46-47.

204 Demarest, pp. 173-78; Maclean, pp. 351-53.

205 Demarest, p. 183; Bradley, pp. 47-48.

206 Demarest, pp. 184-215 for the conduct of the grammar school.

give students adequate preparation for the work of the college classes. Thus the American school system evolved from the higher levels of learning downward to include the kindergarten and nursery school of the present.

REFERENCES:

The following publications contain references to schools in New Jersey before 1800:

Allison, Samuel: *Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey;* Burlington, 1776.

Bradley, Joseph W.: *Historical Discourse at Centennial Celebration of Rutgers College;* Joel Munsell, 1870.

Budd, Thomas: *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in America;* reprint by William Gowans, 1865.

Dally, Joseph W.: *Woodbridge and vicinity;* New Brunswick, 1873.

Demarest, W. H. S.: *A History of Rutgers College;* Princeton University Press, 1924.

Hatfield, E. F.: *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey;* Carlton and Lanahan, 1868.

Hills, G. M.: *History of the Church at Burlington;* W. S. Sharpe, 1876.

Kemp, W. W.: *Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;* Teachers College, 1913.

Leaming and Spicer: *Grants, Concessions, and Original Agreements;* W. Bradford, Philadelphia, n. d.

Maclean, John: *History of the College of New Jersey;* 2 vols., J. B. Lippincott, 1877.

Murray, David: *History of Education in New Jersey,* Government Printing Office, 1899.

*New Jersey Archives,* First Series; 28 vols.

Paterson, William: *Laws of New Jersey,* Abraham Blauvelt, New Brunswick, 1880.

Prowell, George: *History of Camden County, New Jersey;* L. J. Richards Co., 1886.

Records of the Presbyterian Church; Presbyterian Board of Publication, Jas. Russel, Agt., 1841.

Shaw, William H.: *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey;* 2 vols., Everts and Peck, 1884.

Taylor, B. C.: *Annals of the Classis of Bergen;* Board of Publications of Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1857.

Van Winkle, Daniel: *History of the Municipalities of Hudson County, New Jersey;* Lewis Publishing Company, 1924.

Van Winkle, Daniel: *Old Bergen;* John W. Harrison, Jersey City, 1902.

Whitehead, William: *Contributions to East Jersey History;* Newark, 1846.

Whitehead, William: *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy;* D. Appleton and Co., 1856.

Whitehead, John: *The Passaic Valley;* New Jersey Genealogical Company, 1901.

Woodruff and Nelson: *History of Newark;* 3 vols., Lewis Publishing Company, 1913.

Woody, Thomas: *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey;* Philadelphia, 1923.